INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942,

from the British Library, London

Part 8: Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942; Bihar and Orissa 1920

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
Part 8: Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942; Bihar and Orissa 1920

Part 8 consists of newspaper reports for the Punjab 1896-1924; Sind 1936-1939; Burma 1938-1942; Bihar and Orissa 1920. The Indian Newspaper Reports from the Asia, Pacific and Africa Department at the British Library, constitute an important series to be found in the Record Department Papers of the Oriental and India Office Collections. The reports consist of abstracts of Anglo-Indian and Vernacular newspapers for the different regions of India.

Punjab

Introduction

After the First Anglo-Sikh War from 1845 to1846, the area of the Punjab between the Sutlej and Beas rivers and Kashmir were ceded to Britain. Some British troops were stationed in the Punjab to oversee the regency of Maharaja Dhalip Singh who was a minor and the Sikh army was reduced greatly in size. In 1848 unrest spread throughout the Punjab between the Sikh troops and the British which developed into the Second Anglo-Sikh War. This resulted in the annexation of the Punjab by the British East India Company in 1849 and the Punjab becoming a province of British India.

The geographical and political predominance of the Punjab made it one of Britain's most important assets with Lahore as a centre of learning and culture and Rawalpindi becoming an important centre for the British army.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Punjab became a centre for anti-British sentiment and called for independence from Britain, culminating in the Indian National Congress proclaiming independence from Lahore in 1930. The All-India Muslim League grew stronger in this period and in 1940 the Lahore Resolution of the League to work for Pakistan made the Punjab a centre stage for the violence between the majority Muslims and the Hindu and Sikh minorities which was to result in the ultimate partition of the Punjab in 1947.

Punjab Newspaper Reports, 1896-1924

The reports were completed weekly and consist of typewritten abstracts of the contents of Native Newspapers published in the Punjab. The early reports contain a list of the newspapers looked at, divided into Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi. The place of publication is given and the circulation number. Hamdard-i-Hind for example in 1900 had a readership of 500 which had grown by 1903 to 3,300. The later reports are divided into English, Urdu, Persian and Gurmukhi.

Around 100 newspapers were looked at weekly giving a wide spectrum of opinion, including: *Arya Gazette*, *Jahan Numa*, *Kaisari Akhbar, Lahore Punch, Punjab*, *Punjab Theosophist*. The majority of the reports contain an extra section devoted to topical subjects such as the Punjab disturbances. These give extracts on the subject from extra-provincial newspapers in cities such as Calcutta and Viswamitra.

The earlier abstracts are divided into the following themes:

Political, Home and Abroad
General Administration
Kine Killing
Native States
Legislation

Later abstracts have additional themes of Education and Communal and Religious.

Topics are wide ranging, with much on the call for independence and the growth in popularity of Gandhi. Topics include:

- Famine
- The Congress movement
- Complaints against the police
- Cholera
- The situation in China, Russia, Turkey
- Native Press
- Zamindars
- Assaults by Europeans on Indians
- Visits by the Viceroy
- Punjab Alienation Bill
- Establishment of military colleges
- Railways – expansion, grievances
- Muhammedans and the National Congress
- Political prisoners in India
- All-India Muslim League
- Letter bombs

- Indian Press Act
- Indian students in England
- Hindu University
- Afghan campaign
- Rowlatt Act
- National Congress

Sind

Introduction

Karachi was the first part of Sind to be occupied by the British East India Company in 1839, and by 1843 all of the remaining parts (except for the state of Khairpur) were under the jurisdiction of the British. Sind was made part of the Bombay Presidency in 1847 and the British built railways, developed the postal service, constructed canals and opened up education to all.

Sind became a vociferous centre for freedom from British rule. In 1918 the Sind branch of the All-India Muslim League was established by Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgari and Abdullah Haroon was elected President in 1920. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the prominent Muslim leader, was educated at the Sindh-Madarsat-ul-Islam in Karachi and later practiced law there.

In 1936 Sind became a separate province and after the partition of Pakistan and India in 1947 it regained its self rule.

Sind Newspaper reports, 1936-1939

The newspaper reports consist of typed monthly abstracts of Indian newspapers published in Sind for an important period in its history. Lists of newspapers are not given but the name of the paper and the issue referred to are given next to the abstract.

Newspapers consulted include: *Sind Observer*, *Public Opinion, Sind Sentinel, Sind Samachar, Karachi Daily, Daily Gazette*, *Maha Gujerat*.

The material is not divided into themes but all manner of subjects are covered including WW II, self government, foreign politics, the Native Press and Gandhi.

Topics include:

- All-India Muslim League
- Rejection of the Federation by Indian Princes
- Re-election of Subash Bose as President of the Indian National Congress
- Indians' attitude to Britain's involvement in World War II
- Partition of Palestine
- Cotton prices

- Abdication of Edward VI
- Withdrawal of Indian troops from Abyssinia
- Establishment of the Federal Court
- Pandit Jawaharlal's attacks on the Press Laws
- Gandhi's policy of non-violent boycotts
- Gandhi's faith in Dominion status for India
- Congress Party's success in the General Election of 1937

Burma

Introduction

After the Third Anglo-Burmese War Burma was made a province of India in 1886, with the capital at Rangoon. After the opening of the Suez Canal the demand for Burmese rice grew and much of the land was taken over for cultivation of the crop. The work was mostly carried out by indentured Indian labourers and whilst the Burmese economy grew all the power and wealth remained in British hands. The civil service and the army were staffed by Indians and the Anglo-Burmese community and there was much discontent among the Burmese.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the nationalist movement, Young Men's Buddhist Associations had begun to take shape and a new generation of Burmese leaders who had been educated abroad began to clamour for more autonomy for Burma. In the 1920's there were strikes by university students and anti-tax protests. This came to a head in 1930 when the Galon rebellion had to be put down by British troops and the Dobama Asiayone (We Burmans Association) was formed. A second university strike by students took place in 1936 which spread to Mandalay and led to the formation of the All Burma Students Union. The unrest culminated with Burma becoming a separately administered territory in 1937. In 1938 discontent in the oilfields of Burma turned into a general strike and in Rangoon and Mandalay protestors were killed by the British.

Ba Maw served as the first Prime Minister of Burma, but was succeeded by U Saw from 1939 until 1942 when he was arrested by the British for communicating with the Japanese.

The Communist Party of Burma was co-founded in 1939 by Aung San. When the Japanese invaded Bangkok in December 1941 Aung San announced the formation of the Burma Independence Army and hoped that the Japanese would rally to his side but instead they asked Ba Maw to form a government. He was declared head of state and his cabinet included Aung San as War Minister. In 1943 the Japanese declared Burma independent but this turned out to be a sham and in 1945 the Burma National Army rose up against the Japanese and Aung San began negotiations with the British which lead to the rout of the Japanese from Burma by May 1945.

Burma Newspaper Reports, 1938-1942

The newspaper reports are divided into weekly abstracts. The lists of newspapers consulted show a wide variety of opinions. Titles include: *New Mandalay Sun*, *Progress*, *New Light of Burma*, *Deedok*, *Sun*, *Daily Gujerati*, *Thakin Thadinsa*.

Most of the monthly reports begin with a very interesting general introduction which gives an overview of the week's news and the material is then divided into the following themes:

Political
Military
Educational
Communal
Economic
Miscellaneous

Topics covered include:

- Hunger strikes and political unrest
- Independence for Burma
- Immigration of Chinese and Indian workers
- WWII, the Japanese and Nazis
- Burmese Army
- Taxes
- Modernisation of agriculture and industry
- Reform of the education system
- Riots and demonstrations
- Coalition government
- Situation in Mandalay
- Strikes by oil-field workers and students in Rangoon
- Religious disturbances between Hindus and Muslims

Bihar and Orissa

Introduction

The territories of Bihar and Orissa were part of the Bengal Presidency, the largest British province in India until 1912 when they were separated from Bengal after a long local campaign forming the Province of Bihar and Orissa. The Province saw much support for the nationalist movement and for Gandhi. In 1936 the Province was divided into two: Bihar which included Bihar and Jharkhand and Orissa and the princely states.

Bihar and Orissa Newspaper Reports, 9-16 October 1920

Only two weeks of reports exist. They are divided into:

Foreign Politics
Native States
Home Administration
General
Miscellaneous

There is a separate section for Oriya Newspapers.

Topics included are:

- Police
- Working of the courts
- Jail sentences
- Education
- Railways
- Irish politics
- WW I

Liz Sargut
January 2009

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. The *Vakil* of the 20th December says that America has declined to ratify the peace treaty, and her delegates have already left Paris. This has brought about quite a new state of affairs. Internal troubles do not allow Italy to participate in the discussion of international questions. The fate of Europe, Asia and Africa now rests in the hands of England and France alone, and they will do whatever they like. If the Turkish question is decided against the wishes of the Muhammadans even in these circumstances, they will be justified in inferring that England does not sympathize with their aspirations. We hope, therefore, that she will spare no pains in having the Turkish question settled in conformity with Muhammadan sentiments.

Egyptian affairs.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Muhammad Hussin, editor.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 19th December states that Lord Milner has reached Egypt. He is president of the committee which will inquire into the grievances of the Egyptians and determine what share they should get in the administration of their country. The committee was appointed a long time back, but the Home Government decided to wait till the conclusion of the treaty with Turkey. The treaty has not, however, been concluded as yet, and it is difficult to say when that event will come to pass. As a result, the wishes of the Egyptians are being neglected, and this has led to a series of serious disturbances. We would respectfully suggest that now that Lord Milner has reached Egypt it will be better to waste no more time on an inquiry and promptly to introduce reforms calculated to promote peace and contentment in Egypt.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

3. The *Leader* of the 20th December says that reports are constantly received of attempts by the Bolshevik leaders to spread Bolshevism in India. They have been doing [illegible] in this respect. Everyone acquainted with the present condition of [illegible] doubt that the Bolshevist movement can bring nothing but

ruin upon her. It therefore behoves every Indian to help Government in putting down this movement. Bolshevik bacilli find nourishment mostly among the poor classes and direct their attack against starving and hungry people. In order to kill these germs it is necessary to banish poverty from the country. If this is not done, there will be much likelihood of Indians falling a prey to Bolshevism. It is the duty of Government and its well-wishers to find employment for the people of India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians abroad.

4. In the course of an article on the Congress resolutions regarding the Fiji indentures and the position of Indians in South and East Africa, the *Tribune* of the 1st January observes :—" We live in strange times, times when on the morrow of the greatest war ever fought in history for the establishment of the equal rights of nations and nationalities, we find an attempt made by some of the very peoples who took part in this war endeavouring to deny the equal rights of their own brothers who fought side by side with them."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SIYASAT (Lahore), Muhammad Husain, editor.

The Reform Act.

5. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 19th December says that the proposed reforms do not satisfy the demands of Indians. For instance, the Congress and the Muslim League demand complete provincial autonomy and the subjection of the central Government to control by the representatives of the people. Neither of these demands has as yet been conceded. A commission will, however, be appointed after a decade—if possible earlier to suggest further reforms. Indians should not, therefore, feel much disappointed. They have cause to feel pleased and gratified with what has been given to them.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd December :—" We are sure the country will rejoice to learn that the House of Lords also has passed the Government of India Bill without any material change in the joint committee's recommendations . . . It is a matter of great pride that Indian constitutional agitation has at last scored a great victory, and we are prepared to say that if the Indians now make it a common cause to make the best of what has been given to India and continue to agitate further, a full measure of self-government and complete fiscal autonomy will be granted to them in the no distant future. This fact should serve the Sikhs as a beacon light to guide them in their efforts for their political resuscitation."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The following extracts are taken from an article contributed by **MRS. ANNIE BESANT** to the *Tribune* of the 23rd December :—"The change wrought by the Reform Act in India is great; but it is brought about in such a thoroughly British way that its extent may hardly at first be realised. For instance, fiscal autonomy has been demanded with one voice by all Indian politicians; it is of magisterial importance. It is given; but how? It does not appear in the Act at all, though it implies the farthest reaching change in the position of India towards the rest of the world; though it compels the Dominions to deal with her on equal terms; though it places in her hands the key to her own doors, enabling her to open and close them at will; though it ensures to her the power of imposing reciprocity on those who would use her to their own advantage; though it enables her to guard her nascent industries, and to use her immense mineral resources for the working out of her economic independence, instead of having them exploited by foreigners to her own economic slavery and impoverishment." [The writer makes a quotation from the joint committee's report in support of this, and continues :—] "The charter of Indian fiscal freedom could hardly be more clearly and explicitly worded, and what it means to the whole country cannot be over-estimated. No longer shall India sink into deeper poverty as Britain waxes wealthier. The days of her financial subjection are over, and her industrial salvation is in the hands of her own sons. In the Reform Act are many reservations of power, many 'safeguards.' But those who are acquainted with the Parliamentary Acts which led to self-government in the Dominions recognise in them familiar faces, and know how little they have hindered the development of free institutions. . . . They will mean very little in practice. . . . India's central Government directly is not [illegible] while the [illegible] of [illegible] is [illegible] the power of the [illegible] [illegible]. . . . The Act marks a very [illegible] advance on the road to Home Rule. By it India passes out of serfdom into freedom, a freedom that will soon broaden into Home Rule, if she be true to herself. Power and opportunities are placed within her reach; let her grasp the power and seize the opportunities."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor

(d) The *Tribune* of the 25th December writes in the course of an article on the amendments made by the Lords in the Reform Bill:—"Another amendment, which was moved by Lord Ampthill, ... was to the effect that communal representation should be provided for important communities. . . . . Lord Sinha's reply, judging from the cabled summary, was exceedingly feeble. More. It amounted to opening the door to what might eventually mean a virtual surrender. If, said Lord Sinha, in the opinion of the Government of India there were communities requiring communal or other representation, neither the Bill nor the report of the joint committee would preclude its being given. This may be technically a correct position to take up, but surely we have none of us ever understood it to be the intention of the British Government to give so wide a discretion to the Government of India in so vital a matter. The evolution that the policy of the authorities has undergone in this matter is something truly remarkable. In their joint report the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, after strongly deprecating communal representation in principle, declared themselves to be in favour of such representation, for present purposes, not only in the one case in which it was already in existence, but in another. The joint committee has added the non-Brahmans to the list. Now Lord Sinha tells us in effect that the Government of India have discretion to go further and make any additions to the list they consider necessary. Where, then, is the process going to stop? We think in this matter public opinion in India must definitely, strongly and unequivocally express itself. To divide India into watertight compartments and then to give partial self-government to her would be to take away with one hand what you give with the other, for such self-government would never be national and would never be real or effective."

Khalsa Akhbar (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(e) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 12th December says that the grant of the proposed reforms is due to the services rendered by *zamindars*. The agricultural classes are, therefore, of opinion that the division of the new rights in regard to the civil service and the executive councils should be based, not on numerical strength, but on the services and merits of each community. They know that the commercial classes rendered no help in supplying recruits during the war, and desire that the services rendered by them should be borne in mind in the allotment of rights. They further hope that a tax will be levied on net agricultural income, and that the practice of realising land revenue will be abolished. There should be the same rate of income tax for both agricultural and commercial classes—nay, there should be a lower rate for the former, because agriculture yields much smaller profits than trade, although it involves much harder work. They are also of opinion that each class or tribe should supply recruits for the army in proportion to its numerical strength. After the reforms scheme has been in force for some time, the system of allotting rights on the basis of numbers might be reverted to.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The royal proclamation.

6. (a) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 25th December:—"The expected has happened. The prayers of the people of India have not gone in vain. He to Whom they were addressed has moved the royal heart of the King-Emperor and his advisers. The result will be seen in the great proclamation which we publish on another page, and which in its happy phraseology and in the nobility and loftiness of the sentiments it breathes will take rank with the historic proclamation of Queen Victoria of revered memory, which has justly been designated the Magna Charta of India. The present proclamation, indeed, not only carries a good deal further the charter of Indian liberties than the proclamation of 1858 and all subsequent proclamations, but represents a substantial fulfilment of all that was contained in them, as the tree is contained in the seed. The proclamation has three parts, each organically and indissolubly connected with the others. By the first we are told, in the clearest language possible, and for the first time in a royal proclamation, that political freedom, and not merely the happiness and contentment of the people, is the goal of British policy in India. . . . . The third, which in a sense is the most important part, removes what is perhaps the most formidable difficulty in the path of that healthy and mutual

coöperation between the officials and the people on which the future of the country inevitably depends. 'I direct my Viceroy,' says His Majesty in words that will reverberate from one end of the country to the other, 'to exercise in my name and on my behalf royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the state or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restriction upon their liberty.' If these words are properly interpreted, as we hope and trust they will be, then all purely political prisoners—all who are suffering for offences against the State, either alleged or real—will be released forthwith; and this, as we have said repeatedly, is the first essential condition of the restoration of that mutual confidence and understanding between the Government and the people which the restrictive measures of the last decade and a half and their culminating achievement, the tragedy of April, so violently disturbed. If the words are properly interpreted, we should have in our midst during the next few hours not only the majority of the martial law prisoners, including all the leaders of Lahore, of Amritsar and of Gujranwala, but most of the persons convicted in the Alipur, the Delhi and the Lahore conspiracy cases, as well as the persons interned in any part of India under the Defence of India Act or similar other measures; and all such orders as those restricting the movements and activities of individuals or individual newspapers under any of these measures should go immediately. For it is perfectly certain that all this would be not only 'compatible with the public safety,' but would go further than anything else could possibly do towards ensuring that at safety. That this policy of magnanimous statesmanship will be fully justified is, indeed, as clear to us as the noon-day sun. Such a policy has never yet failed. Far less can it fail in India, where the heart and the imagination of the people are touched by every single act of kindness and mercy, however small, to a degree which would be regarded as incredible elsewhere."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 27th December writes:—"While the happy phraseology and the noble sentiments of the royal proclamation, no less than its great opportuneness, have touched all hearts, and have evoked feelings of satisfaction and gratitude all over the country, there are those, especially in this province, who think that it would have been better if a few words of royal sympathy with reference to the sufferings of the Punjab had found a place in the historic pronouncement. The feeling is quite natural, not only because of the nature and extent of the sufferings, but of the horrible disclosures made by some of the witnesses before the Hunter Committee, especially by General Dyer—disclosures which even the British press, usually indifferent to official misdoings in India, has found it difficult to pass over in silence. But the reason for the omission seems to us to be obvious. It would have been difficult to include in the proclamation a reference to the Punjab affairs without seeming to express an opinion upon some aspect or other of those affairs; and such an expression of opinion, it must have been thought by His Majesty's advisers, was not the correct thing for His Majesty to do until the Hunter Committee had submitted its report. If this surmise is correct, it may be confidently expected that an addition, in substance if not in form, will be made to the proclamation in the course of the next two months or so. It is, indeed, unbelievable that the same feelings of horror and indignation which the callous disclosures made before the Hunter Committee have created in the minds of all true-hearted Englishmen and Indians should not have been created in the royal heart, and that His Majesty will delay a minute in giving expression to those feelings when the time for such action arrives."

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 30th December writes:—"The whole country is awaiting with bated breath the fulfilment of that part of the royal proclamation which relates to the release of political prisoners and the removal of such restrictions upon the liberty of individuals as may have been imposed in the past under any special or emergency legislation. Hitherto action has been taken only in a very small number of cases of undoubted importance in pursuance of the royal command. What the country has been asking during the last three days is why the Government has been proceeding in so leisurely, so niggardly and so grudging a manner in this vitally important matter, in which practically everything depends upon immediate, liberal and whole-hearted action. The executive Government had [illegible] opportunities of doing the right thing, of applying the healing balm of conciliation, by [illegible] [illegible] of political [illegible]. . . . In the

Government going to utilise this fresh opportunity or to spoil it by approaching the supreme question of the moment in a pettifogging spirit? Upon the answer to this question, more than upon anything else that we can think of, will depend the country's response to the call for coöperation with the King's officers and agents in India which has emanated from His Majesty, and to which the whole country is naturally anxious to respond in the fullest measure compatible with its own clearest interests. Let no one imagine that the words 'so far as possible' or 'which in his judgment is compatible with the public safety' really give any discretion to His Excellency to act as he pleases. The discretion given to him is, in the first place, a matter of courtesy more than anything else. Secondly, it is strictly limited and is intended only as a sort of safeguard against persons of a manifestly dangerous character being let loose on society as the direct result of royal action. Such men cannot be more than a handful; at the time of writing we find it difficult to recall the name of one single political offender who comes in the category. The overwhelming majority, if they have offended at all—for many have not—have offended only in the sense of 'loving their country not wisely but too well'; and this is exactly the class of persons whom His Majesty has in view when he speaks of 'those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law' and of 'persons who for offences against the state or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restriction upon their liberty.' These persons clearly include the vast majority of martial law prisoners, practically all the internees in Bengal, in the Punjab and elsewhere, and most of those who have been sentenced to transportation or imprisonment in connection with the several conspiracy cases during the last decade and a half. Let one thing be distinctly remembered. It is not for the release of a small number of prisoners whom the police and the Criminal Investigation Department may certify to be 'safe' that a Sovereign declares an amnesty. Such a thing, as Cobden said on another occasion, is good enough for an under-secretary. It is beneath the dignity of the Sovereign.... To look upon the words of the royal proclamation in any other way would be violently and flagrantly to misconstrue those words; it would be disrespectful to the Sovereign and would nullify his gracious wish. The result would be, instead of effacing the bitterness that exists at present between the King's officers and the King's people, to add materially and unmistakably to that bitterness."

(d) The *Pindi Mail* of the 30th December writes:—"The proclamation issued by the King on his signing the Government of India Act.... will certainly be regarded as one of the most monumental documents, for it marks the beginning of a new era of hope, liberty and progress. To a nation reared for centuries in traditions of loyalty and devotion to its King, a proclamation so sympathetic and full of deep feeling cannot but make a forcible appeal. Its significance at the present juncture is all the greater as the new Reform Act has not merely placed India on the road to self-government but has enabled her to make an appreciable stride in the direction.... Even the most confirmed pessimist will not, we think, be inclined to draw a veil over the great event and the immense possibilities which it has opened up for Indian political expansion."

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(e) RUCHI RAM SAHNI writes to the *Tribune* of the 27th December:—"The noble proclamation of the King-Emperor has sent gladness to many a stricken and sorrowing home. But people are naturally asking: what about the students? Will they alone remain untouched by the royal clemency?... Sir Edward Maclagan has already been pleased to make substantial reductions in the punishments inflicted upon them. What is now wanted is that in view of the royal proclamation all the university students be restored, as far as may be practicable, to the position which each occupied before the martial law régime. I am sure it is only necessary for the matter to be brought to the notice of the Vice-Chancellor for the needful to be done. I hope and trust the Vice-Chancellor will be pleased to make the necessary recommendation to the Chancellor of the University at an early date and thus earn the gratitude of the students, their parents and teachers."

(f) The *Desh* of the 25th December says that every hair on the body of the people of India will assume the form of a tongue to express gratitude for this royal favour and benignity.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

INSAF
(Lahore);
Amar Nath,
editor.

(*g*) *Insaf* of the 29th December says that the proclamation has undoubtedly been issued at a very suitable time, and that its wording is most reassuring. What it says about political offenders in particular will be viewed with feelings of gratitude throughout the country. It is regrettable, however, that it contains not one word of sympathy about the distressed in the Punjab. In view of the calamity which befell the inhabitants of this province everyone naturally be expected that the Punjabis would have been consoled in the royal proclamation. A sensation has been created in England by the statements of official witnesses before the Hunter Committee and the revelations made in regard to martial law, especially by General Dyer. It is surprising, therefore, that the proclamation should contain no reference to the matter.

AKASH
(Lahore);
Diwan Chand,
editor.

(*h*) The *Akash* of the 1st January says that His Majesty the King Emperor has shown the greatest kindness in ordering the release of the Punjab leaders. It is to be hoped that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will not rest contented with the release of these men, but will also recommend the grant of permission to them to carry on their former avocations. In other words, the vakils and barristers set free should be permitted to practise at the bar.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Extremism in India.

7. (*a*) Commenting on an article on extremism contributed to it by "AN ENGLISHMAN," the *Tribune* of the 24th December writes :—"As regards the Punjab disturbances, what he clearly has to prove is that it was in the first place a rebellion, and secondly that the rebellion was brought about by 'extremist' principles or 'extremist' methods. How does he prove it? The following quotation will supply the answer :—'How did he (the 'extremist') prepare his countrymen to receive the reforms scheme? By anti-European agitation, by fostering race-hatred, and inoculating the masses with new and dangerous political propaganda. And what has he done in the Punjab, a year ago the most loyal of Indian provinces? By a campaign of malicious lies, by the control of a venomous press, by the despatch of political missionaries whose business it was to vilify the Government and to misrepresent every act and motive of the administration he so incensed the educated classes and the people of Amritsar and other cities in the Punjab that they rose in open rebellion against the British.' Every part of this statement is contemptibly false; every part constitutes an atrocious libel; every part reveals either colossal ignorance or the working of that deep-seated prejudice and hatred which is incapable of seeing the plainest truth on the other side... Take lastly a passage like the following :—'Can the Indian extremist honestly pretend that the British are not rapidly dealing out liberty with both hands in a measure that would have seemed unbelievable to the dreaming idealist of 1916?'... It was only the other day that the statesman who at present occupies the highest official position in connection with the administration of India described the Government of India as 'too wooden, too iron, too antiquated, too antediluvian.' The people had not a shred of political responsibility or of real and effective control over the administration in any of its aspects then—that is, a century and a half after the establishment of British rule. They have not a shred of responsibility or real and effective power to-day, and will only have just a beginning in responsible government in the provinces even to-morrow. If this is what the writer means by 'the rapid dealing out of liberty with both hands,' the words 'rapidity,' 'liberty' and 'with both hands' have no meaning in his vocabulary... He thinks that the Indian 'extremist' must be dishonest in one of two things, either when he agitates for the transformation of the present form of government or when he professes his faith in the British connection. Let us quote his exact words :—'He (the extremist) cannot be honest in this profession (of loyalty to the British connection) and in his indictment of British character at the same time. Why this confidence in the future seeing that in the past, according to his own allegation, the union has been so disastrous to his country, and the British so false, mercenary and mean?'... We are not aware of any Indian 'extremist,' however irresponsible, who has even in moments of spleen drawn a picture of the British as a race so extravagantly and so transparently false. As a matter of fact the 'extremist' is not concerned with the British as a race at all. His whole concern is with the handful of Britishers in India, a considerable section of whom are spoiled by the exercise of arbitrary power, and with a system of government which, except in small details, is not British in [illegible]; and when he indicts this section and this system and in the same [illegible] professes

his faith in the British connection, he is not guilty of any inconsistency at all, far less of insincerity, for the simple reason that the whole is not the same thing as a small part, especially when that small part is partially the product of abnormal conditions in strange surroundings, and the system to the introduction of which he is looking forward is the genuine British article, and not a variant of the system that he condemns. Perhaps the writer will better understand the position if we put a straight question to him. Does he want the Indian to judge of British character and the British race by what General Dyer did at Jallianwala Bagh? Is it insincerity or mere sanity to indict such a man as General Dyer and at the same time retain our faith in British justice intact and confidently expect that that justice will promptly and inevitably overtake the wrong-doer? And where is the inconsistency of professing our faith in genuine British institutions and in asking for their introduction in India at the same time that we condemn institutions which are not characteristically British, and under which alone a tragedy like that of April could take place?"

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) Commenting on the same article, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th December says that no sensible Indian can agree or sympathize with those extremists who dislike everything done by Englishmen and call it bad. England has conferred many obligations on this country. The peace established by her in India and the education which she has imparted to it are obligations which it is difficult to repay. This does not, however, mean that if British statesmen make a mistake, the Indians, who have been educated by the English and been taught to criticize and to demand rights, should not take advantage of the same. "AN ENGLISHMAN" asserts in the course of his article that the Punjabis, who were ready to shed their blood during the war for the sake of Government, raised an open rebellion in April last. As a matter of fact, however, the people of this province resorted to no rebellion. An excitement certainly prevailed among the general public owing to the Rowlatt Act, but the people never transgressed the bounds of law and procedure. There were mobs, and they said some absurd things in a state of excitement; but such excited meetings were held in other provinces also. The people never jumped out of their pantaloons, nor did they act like madmen before the authorities fired on the mobs. Indeed, they never acted in an unlawful manner either in Gujranwala or Lahore or Kasur or Amritsar. And if they burnt buildings or resorted to murder, they did so only in places where they were fired upon first. The writer attributes the agitation against the Rowlatt Act to the extremist party. Does he not know that all the Indian members of the Imperial Council, among whom there were many loyalists, unanimously opposed the measure? That was also the attitude taken up by almost all sensible Indians and the whole of the indigenous press. The extremists may have joined in the agitation and some of them may have incited the people, but it is not correct to say that all those who protested against the Act were extremists. Similarly it is a mistake to accuse all the people who differ with the writer over the caliphate question of being extremists. There may be some extremists among them, but the latter must be very few. All peaceful and loyal Muhammadans have cordial sympathy with the caliphate question. Even those of them who never joined in any agitation are at one with the others in regard to this question. And their views are shared even by some experienced British officers, who have held the posts of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and the like. Are all of these officers also extremists? As to the growing excitement among the Muhammadans, it is attributable to the fact that although the Viceroy and certain provincial rulers plainly told the Home Government what the wishes of the Indian Muhammadans were, still British ministers have paid no heed to these. Again, the Muhammadans of this country find that the principle of self-determination, which the Allied powers proposed for all nations, is not being applied to Turkey. The Greeks have been given the part of Asia Minor which is inhabited mostly by the Turks, while another portion has been made over to the Italians. It is all very well to say that, being enemies, the Turks will be treated like the Germans, Austrians and Bulgarians. While, however, the latter have suffered very little loss of territory and none of their possessions have been handed over to aliens, it would appear that Turkey is to be dismembered, her bigger provinces are to be separated from her and she is to be reduced to a state of helplessness. In conclusion, the *Paisa Akhbar* says that the Indian

Muhammadans are a most loyal and law-abiding people. They will never make disturbances and will merely express their views in a constitutional way. According to their religion it is a heinous sin to cause disturbances under, or rebel against, a peaceful rule. But now that the nation has unanimously felt the necessity [of agitating over the caliphate question], how can it abandon a truth because of the charge of extremism by an English writer? The Muhammadans believe that the British Government has not as yet been so bereft of statesmanship and farsightedness as not to abide by its promises. They know also that England is the greatest and most powerful of the Allied countries, and that no state can, or has the right to, prevent her from having her way in the reorganization of the world, especially the Near East.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The moderates and the Congress.

8. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 22nd December writes:—"When our moderate friends first seceded from the Congress and pitched tents of their own, it was stated that their separation was but temporary, and that as soon as the reforms were made safe the moderate party would return into the fold of the Congress and take its due part in the discussions and deliberations of that body. The reforms have become safe... but the moderate organization.... declines to come back to the parent stock.... 'We have by our united efforts,' says the Calcutta exponent of the moderate school, 'secured the beginnings of responsible government; and now we must witness what indeed is the common incident of self-government, division into parties and government by parties. There is no escape from it.' Let us examine this argument a little.... The present reforms do not profess to give full responsible government to India. They certainly lead us a definite step on the road to self-government, but the goal is not yet reached and will take certainly more than ten years to reach. Till the goal is reached, India must continue to speak with one voice and with one tongue, and this one tongue and voice can only be the Indian National Congress and no party organisations. To give up the one tongue and one voice and to start several tongues will surely retard our progress towards the common destination.... We therefore fail to appreciate the argument of parties now advanced in support of a permanent moderate organization as distinguished from the Indian National Congress.... Mr. Banerjea will have noticed the esteem and respect with which Mr. Bonar Law referred to the Amritsar session of the Congress. This is because the Congress has hitherto figured as the one convention of India representing all classes and all parties. Once let it appear that the Congress is but a party institution, the respect and influence attaching to its deliberations will disappear, and the moderate organisation will not be any the better for it. This, we feel, will be an incalculable loss to the best interests of the country. Do the moderate leaders realise this? If they do, surely the responsibility of the greatest disservice to their country will rest on their shoulders."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 21st December reproduces a letter addressed to the moderate leaders by Swami SHRADHANAND urging them to join the Amritsar Congress. The following extract is taken from this communication:—"Whatever the differences of the political parties in India might have been during the year that is at its end, over the question of the sufferings of the Punjab there are none. The doings of the bureaucracy during the late disturbances and the subsequent conduct of the authorities has made Punjab the question of the hour. It is not now a question of obtaining political rights and privileges but the supreme question whether Indians are to be allowed to live as human beings or to become helots and slaves for ever. At such a crisis in the history of our motherland can you have the heart to stand aside and look on at the tragedy which is being enacted?"

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 25th December publishes a communication from "TRUTH," who refers to the appeals in the newspaper by Messrs. Mahmud Yasin and Maqbul Muhammad to the moderates to return to the Congress fold, and comments as follows:—"I ask Messrs. Ghulam Yasin and Maqbul Muhammad, as well as other politicians, Hindu or Muhammadan, who sympathise with these appeals: Is not the continuance of the Muslim League as a separate body from the Congress to be deprecated on exactly the same grounds as the secession of the moderates, as keeping up a 'permanent cleavage in the national ranks,' even at the 'dawn of a new era' and upholding a 'dual movement' in the [illegible] Parliament. As

India at a time when the 'united thought of the nation should be lent to the grave problems awaiting solution'? How does it lie in the mouths of the friends of the Muslim League, which has carried on a separatist movement against the Congress ever since its birth, and has not yet shown signs of giving it up, to condemn the secession of the moderates on far more radical grounds than at present the Congress and the League? For the differences between the moderates and the extremists are not confined now to their attitude in regard to the reform scheme only, but relate to the general outlook, future policy and methods of work, as can be understood from the utterances of the respective party leaders. There are differences not merely of opinion on a particular issue, but in constitutional habits of thought and action which have developed with the change of circumstances. The reform scheme is 'as safe' as the sacred Himalayas no less for the Mussalman politicians than for the moderates. Moreover, the former have got by it as much in the way of special privileges as it was or will ever be possible to get, considering the declarations of both Mr. Montagu and the joint committee, who have given what they have in this matter simply out of deference to the Lucknow joint scheme. What justification then is there for the Muslim League to continue as a separate body from the 'National' Congress, unless it be to emphasize before the world that there are Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan politics in India, and that 'the twain shall never meet'? The old plea that the Mussalmans are a backward community, and therefore require special advantages and privileges, no longer holds good; for they are now able to take as good care of themselves as any other Indian community, and have even learnt to get the better of others, while in politics they have mostly drifted to the advanced or extremist school. The existence of the Muslim League side by side with the Congress, first as a hostile movement, then as a rival, next as a semi-friendly, and now as distinctly friendly since the joint scheme has been obtained, gives the lie direct to the assumption that the Congress, whether past or present, has ever been a 'national assembly' fit to be called the 'non-official Parliament of India.'.... That the Muslim League has for some years past been holding its sessions side by side with the Congress at the same places, and passing similar, if not identical, sets of resolutions, instead of being a ground for excusing the separation, makes it all the more meaningless excepting as shewing that the Indian Mussalmans regard themselves as a body quite different from other Indians in respect of political aims and aspirations. Excepting for purely denominational purposes e.g., the caliphate movement) the Muslim League has no longer any reason for separate existence with the 'dawn of the new era' unless the phrase national politics is to be a misnomer. That some prominent members of the League, such as Messrs. Jinnah and Hassan Imam, have also joined the Congress does not at all matter so long as the League exists as a body with differential aims and claims. To tolerate and fraternize with the Muslim League and carp at the moderates' conference is like swallowing the camel while straining at a gnat, for the latter can never go so far astray from the Congress as may the former on certain contingencies arising, as it has done in the past. .... Now that religious and caste obstacles are claimed to be vanishing, and Hindus and Muhammadans have begun to drink out of the same cup, while the former at least have made a common religious grievance with the latter, there is absolutely no reason for the Congress and the League to exist as separate bodies, a circumstance which has been the greatest stumbling-block in the way of India's political progress in the past. And if they coalesce the moderates could be shamed into doing so—otherwise all the recent appeals to them are like the kettle calling the pot black."

Political work in the Punjab.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

9. DR. GOKAL CHAND NAURANG writes to the *Liberal* of the 22nd December:—"The Punjab is admittedly one of the most backward provinces of India so far as political organization is concerned. . . . The reason for its backwardness in politics is that it has found no Hans Raj to consecrate his life to politics. Political activity in various parts of India has always been in proportion to the number of competent men entirely dedicated to politics. ... The times are gone when politics were approached in a more or less academic spirit and political meetings were attended and addressed in a light-hearted fashion. We have entered upon a real and earnest struggle with the monopolists of political power, and the fights that we shall now have to fight must be fought with a grim

and stern resolve. Fear and folly, the two stumbling-blocks in the way of political success, must be removed. Fear, either of the ever-watchful and jealous bureaucracy or that of the undisciplined and ill-informed Demos is likely to blind the vision and lead to political cowardice or political folly. And folly in politics is more dangerous than lack of boldness. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that there should be well-defined lines of work and a perfect organization to carry on the work on those lines. Men derive courage from one another and the chances of folly are minimized when momentous issues are not left to individuals working as isolated units. The coming reform scheme has made it all the more necessary for the Punjab to organize itself politically. . . . If the councillors are to come from among the 'natural leaders' of the people, in other words, men with wealth and titles but not necessarily men of education, the scheme might have better been dropped. The bureaucracy is expected to strain every nerve to push on *jo' hukms*, and unless there is a strong political organization in the province the seats may all be captured by such people and the real exponents of public opinion may be altogether left out. . . . There is also another very important reason for having a complete political organization in the province. Recent events in the Punjab have shown that political organization has a steadying effect upon the masses. The great majority of the places where disturbances occurred were such where no political organization existed. . . . From all points of view, therefore, it is essential that political centres should be established throughout the length and breadth of the province. A large number of delegates and visitors will be assembling at the Amritsar Congress, and I suggest that they should all meet together during the Congress days and settle a definite policy and line of work for the Punjab and make arrangements for establishing district and *tahsil* Congress committees to be affiliated to the provincial Congress Committee. Thus alone can political work be carried on systematically and thus alone can it be fruitful of desired results."

DESH
(Lahore);
Dina Nath,
editor.

M. K. Gandhi's *swadeshi* movement.

10. The *Desh* of the 19th December publishes an article over the signature of Lala DINA NATH, the editor. He says that Mr. Gandhi's spinning-wheel movement has not been well received in any province. Indeed, it could not have been, nor should it be, so received in any place. Mr. Gandhi is involuntarily putting back the hands of the clock of India's progress by centuries. Economic progress consists in producing a thing with as little labour as possible. Machinery and factories are important factors in the modern world and can on no account be set aside. The spinning-wheel, the use of which is so warmly advocated by Mr. Gandhi, is a thing of the past. It cannot fulfil the requirements of the present times and has already been ousted from the field by the spinning machine. The public is as likely to give it preference at the instance of Mr. Gandhi as it would prefer a bullock cart to a railway train. The Bombay mills turn out as much yarn in one month as could not be spun by the whole female population of India in one year. Can anybody hope for the revival of the spinning-wheel in this country? Mr. Gandhi's advice in the matter is both unsound and impracticable. If India acts upon it, she will be left behind other countries in the race for industrial progress. It is our moral duty to object to Mr. Gandhi's movement: the leaders have failed in their duty in this respect. The Punjab public should plainly tell Mr. Gandhi that he should not waste his time in preaching his movement.

JAT GAZETTE
(Rohtak);
Molar Singh,
editor.

Indians in the army.

11. The *Jat Gazette* of the 16th December says that every fair-minded Indian and Englishman will agree that higher posts than those of Subedar-Major and Risaldar-Major should now be thrown open to the Indians recruited into the lower grades of the army. The arrangement by which even the oldest, ablest and most experienced Indian officers are placed under the youngest and most inexperienced British officers has now become untenable. Its continuance is both unjust and inexpedient. Nobody dare deny that Indians have proved their fitness to hold commissions in the army and can reasonably demand that proper facilities should be afforded to them in securing these Continuing, the editor says that the salaries now paid to Indian soldiers and Sardars are wholly inadequate. The prevailing high prices render it imperative that a substantial addition should be made to these salaries. We greatly fear that if this is not done, it will become extremely difficult to obtain recruits.

Government should not conclude from the silence of the sepoys and the warlike communities that they are satisfied with the present state of affairs. We can confidently assert on the basis of personal experience and knowledge that Indian soldiers consider their salaries most inadequate. We therefore hope that the Indian Army Commission will consider this important question in a liberal and sympathetic spirit.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Disorders Inquiry Committee.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. The *Tribune* of the 1st January writes:—"It is sincerely to be hoped that the Hunter Committee will avail itself of the opportunity of rectifying a serious omission afforded to it by the messages of the Congress sub-committee and of Lala Harkishen Lal, Pandit Rambhaj Dutt and Dr. Satyapal. . . . expressing their readiness to lead evidence, now that the condition insisted upon by the people's party has been fulfilled. No one knows better than the committee that the inquiry it has so far held into the Punjab disturbances has been almost wholly one-sided, and it must see that the only chance of rectifying this defect lies in its acceptance of the offer made by the Congress sub-committee and by the three leaders. Of course the offer, as any one can see, is conditional—it could scarcely have been otherwise,—the condition being that official witnesses who have already tendered evidence will be recalled for examination, where necessary, except in those cases where the witnesses have left the country. This is only a matter of elementary fairness and is obviously essential if the offer is to serve its purpose, that of ensuring a thorough and impartial investigation."

The Punjab disturbances.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

13. The *Desh* of the 24th December says that even Mr. Montagu appears to be ignorant of the details of the firing at the Jallianwala Bagh. Continuing, the editor remarks that if a summary of General Dyer's evidence can create so much disturbance in public opinion in England, the people of that country will assuredly be thunderstruck when they receive the full text of the evidence.

Non-agricultural Hindus.

HIMALA (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

14. The *Himala* of the 12th December publishes a communicated article on the difficulties of non-agricultural Hindus. It says that, hard pressed by the Land Alienation Act, village Hindus are wandering about in cities in search of employment. They have had bitter experiences. Their house property in villages is taken possession of by *zamindars*, and they cannot afford to buy houses in cities. Their life in the latter places is miserable and they have to go about from door to door. In one respect, these non-agricultural Hindus are worse off than even the menial classes. The latter can change their places of residence whenever they like, but the former cannot leave a place after advancing loans to *zamindars*. They are always at the mercy of the agriculturists. The Land Alienation Act prevented them from buying land, but further orders have stopped even the leasing and mortgaging of land to them. As for the Insolvency Act, it laid the axe at the very root of the money-lending business. The non-agricultural Hindus have now only two means of making a living, namely, Government service and shopkeeping. As regards the former, the recent orders of the Punjab Government about the employment of agriculturists in the public services have well nigh dashed their hopes to the ground. In shopkeeping the coöperative banks have ousted them from the field. These banks supply even the ordinary necessaries of life to the *zamindars*. The doors of employment have thus been closed against the Hindus in both villages and cities. Agriculturists also have taken to shopkeeping and do not hesitate even to make use of unfair means. Again, in explaining the advantages of co-operative banks, their officials lay stress on the dark side of Hindu shopkeepers and moneylenders, with the result that the latter come to be hated by the *zamindars*. The poor village shopkeepers possess very little knowledge and are thus unable to remove the impressions created against them. On the other hand, *zamindars* come into contact with Government officers, who send for them on their visits to villages. The Hindus are neither sent for nor do they go to see these officers. Agriculturists often complain against them to the officers, and such complaints do not go in vain. Continuing, the writer says that the Hindus not infrequently fall victims to dacoits, but get very little help from *zamindars* at such hard and critical times. A village

sahukar once told him that he had no property left except his account books. They served their King-Emperor in the war by working in military hospitals, and also subscribed to the war loan They pay large sums of money in income-tax. They have, however, never asked for any concession, nor has any Hindu newspaper done its duty in the matter. The Land Alienation Act has told heavily upon the Hindus not only in the Punjab but in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan as well. This law is the chief source of their troubles. The Hindu leaders should urge Government to repeal the Act.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Hindu-Muhammadan unity.

15. The *Desh* of the 23rd December refers to the questions asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces about the Katarpur case and cow sacrifice at certain places. Commenting, it says that his questions are likely to revive old and bitter memories and cannot but wound the feelings of the Hindus. The movement for a union between the Hindus and Muhammadans is spreading in every part of the country. Maulana Abdul Bari has appealed to his co-religionists to discontinue sacrificing kine, so as to avoid injuring Hindu susceptibilities. It is a pity that such objectionable and offensive questions should have been asked by Mr. Raza Ali. He belongs to the advanced wing of the nationalists, and it is a mystery why he should have discussed topics which could only revive the memory of unpleasant incidents.

V.—EDUCATION.

AL-QURAISH (Amritsar); Muhammad Ali, editor.

Missionary educational institutions.

16. *Al-Quraish* of the 16th December states that in its November number the *Purda Nashin* reproduces from the *Ifada* a note on missionary education in India. The latter journal publishes *fatwas* from Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Aziz-ul-Rahman of Deoband, Maulana Ibrahim, Maulvi Qadir Bakhsh of Badaon, Maulvi Ahmed Raza Khan of Bareilly and others to the effect that it is unlawful to read at missionary educational institutions. They say that educating Muhammadan children at institutions where education antagonistic to the *shara* is imparted is unlawful and calculated to vitiate the faith. This view is held not only by *ulema* but also by others, including the women.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The new nickel coins.

17. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st December says that, owing to the dearness of silver, four-anna and eight-anna nickel pieces have now been minted. The greatest objection to these coins is that they closely resemble the nickel pieces of smaller value. For instance, the four-anna piece is like the anna coin in appearance. The size and shape of the new coins should be quite different from those of the nickel pieces already in circulation, so that the illiterate may be able to distinguish between the two.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Sir Sankaran Nair.

18. The *Tribune* of the 27th December writes :—"The appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair to the Council of the Secretary of State will give universal satisfaction among his countrymen. If the Council of the Secretary of State is to remain, the least that the authorities can do is to have men of the right stamp on it, and no man better answers to this description than the great Indian who resigned his portfolio on the Viceroy's Executive Council as a protest against the prolongation of the terrors of martial law in the Punjab."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 3rd January 1920

221 SB—167—7-1-20—SGPP Lahore.

Supplement to Punjab Press Abstract, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1.

Selections from Extra-Provincial Newspapers.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

MUHAMMADI (Calcutta), Bengali.

1. The *Muhammadi* of the 12th December states that though, for reasons which are known to everybody, the formal conclusion of peace with Turkey is being constantly delayed, England and France are nevertheless absorbing Turkish territory. Indeed, the absence of a regular treaty notwithstanding, the absorption process has already been effectually completed; but this the Allies are not prepared suddenly to admit. Considering the immense stir which the caliphate question has created among the Muslims all over the world, rousing them up and spurring them on to real active. feeling, the Allies are reluctant to aggravate the situation by frankly announcing the destruction of Turkey and the caliphate. The refusal of America to accept her share of the spoil is an additional cause of delay: England and France have had to reopen the negotiations and work out how America's share is to be divided between them. But whether the Allies speak out or not, the Muhammadans realize without any possibility of mistake that nineteen-twentieths of Turkish territory is passing into non-Muslim hands. The tremendous wave of sympathy with Turkey has been due to no mere apprehension, but to a realization that apprehension has taken a concrete shape in actualities. On the 4th December a cable from London announced that the Allies were considering the propriety of reopening negotiations with Turkey at Paris. The suggestion is that the terms of this make-believe treaty are still to be determined. What surprises us in all this is the persistent idea of the Allied statesmen that the Muhammadans cannot yet see through these little twisted phraseologies of theirs. They are altogether mistaken if they think that Muslim feeling will die down with the postponement of the treaty. They are mistaken for this reason: the caliphate agitation is not fomented by any individual politician. It is intimately associated with religion and patriotism. It is wholly genuine; and it will not abate so long as a single Muslim remains alive.

THE REFORM ACT.

SANJ VARTAMAN (Bombay), Gujrati and English.

2. Commenting on Mr. Montagu's speech on the third reading of the Reform Bill, the *Sanj Vartaman* of the 9th December writes:—Mr. Montagu seems to be labouring under the impression that political agitation in India will stop on the passing of the Bill. On the contrary the agitation will be continued with increased vigour. Indians will not rest quiet until and unless their political aspirations are fully satisfied. Acceptance of the Bill and agitation for more powers will be the motto of the Indian people. Even a mother does not give her dear child more than that it asks. Will then Mr. Montagu and his countrymen give us increased powers unsolicited?

BANGALI (Calcutta), Bengali.

3. The *Bangali* of the 10th December says:—The reforms have come, not because of any extremist agitation, but simply because the British people realized their necessity. Our gratitude is due to the English Parliament. We must have done in the future with the old constant harping on the shortcomings of the British. Three great duties now confront us. Firstly, we must cut off all connection with those who find fault with the British administration and thereby create sedition. Secondly, we must have nothing to do with the Amritsar Congress if it does not accept the reforms. Thirdly, the moderates must start a party fund; they must set up a real party organization on the lines of the English party organizations. To do this, disinterested and patriotic speakers and writers will be required; and unless we get to work promptly at the beginning of 1920, the elections will be upon us

unprepared. Let us remember that the British hold in their one hand the Montagu reforms and in the other the Rowlatt Act. It will depend on our own behaviour which of these two is to be applied to us. The Rowlatt Act is for the anarchists; the Montagu scheme is meant for the law-abiding people.

NAYAK (Calcutta), Bengali.

4. The following is translated from the *Nayak* of the 17th December :—So the moderates and the extremists are now two distinct parties. The whole idea of the Montagu reforms is that the educated classes in India are now to adopt the English system of party politics. Unhappily for this idea, nobody in India cares a straw for the welfare of the country as a whole; each man looks rather to his own chance. Already the beginnings of a bad faction feeling are observable. The Amritsar Congress being under the entire control of the extremists, the latter want to show off their authority by tying the moderates, as it were, to the wheels of their triumphal chariot. Hence it was that invitations were sent out to them by Swami Shradhanand, on the plea of the Punjab incidents. In this particular case the moderates have seen through the trap—that is immaterial. The point is that already, before the Montagu reforms have even been passed, there is acute faction feeling between the two parties. How much more acute, then, will that feeling be later! To the British politics are no more serious than sport. With us Indians it is different: a party spirit will undermine our whole social fabric, for the simple reason that neither party will stop short of anything less than the total ruin of the other. What to the English is mere play may prove to be death to us. Party politics cannot but cause vast changes in our society—and our national unity will be wholly lost.

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

5. The followiug appears in the course of an article published in the *Leader* of the 27th December :—"It will have been noticed that among the tasks that we have suggested for the coming year is not included agitation for an amendment of the Government of India Act of 1919 so as to confer more political power upon the people of India. We do not pretend that the Act is perfect. We urged several more points than have been accepted by Parliament. But we maintain that now the Act is on the statute book, we must regard the chapter of that agitation as definitely closed for the time being. The Act represents the maximum result of the unwearying effort of more than three years. We have succeeded to the extent we could persuade the joint Select Committee of the feasibility of our proposals; we have failed where we could not so convince them. No one can argue us out of the conviction, based upon what we observed, that for at least a part of this failure two causes were responsible; the hesitancy produced by our treatment of our depressed classes, and by the non-Brahman opposition from Madras due at the source to the predominance of caste distinctions that mortify the non-Brahmans; and, secondly, the hostile temper betrayed by at least three of the Indian witnesses, which led the committee to doubt gravely if the future Indian legislature would not seek to utilize its power unfairly to the detriment of British interests. . . . . An immediate renewal of agitation for further constitutional reform will only serve as a notice to the statesmen in England that we are lamentably devoid of a sense of the practical. It will not and cannot achieve any positive result. To persist in agitation that antagonizes is not unlikely to bring fresh trouble, and may possibly affect the character of the rules that are to be promulgated under the Act; whereas a recognition of the actual facts of the situation and a steady application of our talent and energy to the business that has to be done, in the social and the economic not less than in the political sphere, will be all to the good and yield substantial results. After all is the country so rich in public men endowed with ability and possessing knowledge and genuine public spirit; is our work in the present day councils so very efficient; is the calibre of our average members of council so high: that instead of proceeding to set our house in order and to prepare ourselves for our new responsibilities, we should dissipate our activities on an unseasonable and ill-conceived agitation for the unattainable; which besides may do actual harm by generating unnecessary friction ?"

INDEPENDENT (Allahabad), English.

6. The *Independent* of the 31st December writes :—"The president of the Congress, as in duty bound to the country which has elected him to that office, has pronounced the Reform Act worthless in the absence of a declara-

tion of rights. Without this constitutional pledge and safeguard of our liberties, no reform short of complete Home Rule can be of any value to us. A Reform Act which cannot make a recurrence of the atrocities of the Punjab impossible is useless It is like placing a crown on the skull of a skeleton, and no better than clothing a dead body in fine raiment. The failure to incorporate it in the Reform Act, the absence in the joint committee's report of so much as a courteous mention of so important and fundamental a claim, is criticized with appropriate vigour and emphasis. . . . . The president has no illusions about the Reform Act It is defective in every aspect of it. It is not a graceful or a generous measure. With Governors so powerful; with the powers vested in the people so illusory; with councils which cannot be sure of the measures they pass, nor influence, as the organs of the people, the finances of a province; with the supreme Government more autocratic than ever; without a declaration of rights to safeguard and maintain inviolate the liberties of the nation: the Reform Act is a halting, ungenerous measure, incompatible with the deserts of the country and unworthy of the statesmanship of England. Such is the verdict of the president of the Congress, and such, we venture to say, is the verdict, so far, of the large majority of Indians."

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

7. The following extracts are taken from a leading article published in the *Leader* of the 26th December:—"The recital in the first paragraph of the proclamation of the successive stages in the progress of India towards freedom under British rule must bring pride to all Englishmen engaged in the government of this country. For these progressive steps would not have been possible but for their efficient administration and devoted work. Often is it our duty to criticize them adversely. To-day we invite our countrymen to think of their successes and to thank them for their services. The new régime will bring a brighter future for India only if both Englishman and Indian will cordially shake hands as brothers and determine, as the King-Emperor bids them do, to act as comrades in a common cause. Let neither make a mistake about it. The failure of the great experiment that is about to be inaugurated will bring discredit to both; while, as His Majesty says, the results of its success 'will be momentous in the story of human progress.' . . . To complete the joy and happiness of the princes and people of India on this historic occasion His Majesty has announced his intention to send the Prince of Wales to India next winter to inaugurate on his behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitution in India. We can assure his Royal Highness of a welcome worthy of him and of India. It will be a tribute at once to his exalted station as the eldest son of our Sovereign and Heir-Apparent to the Throne and to his distinguished personal worth. From all accounts he has knowledge and wisdom beyond his years; he has won distinction by service to the state during the war; his triumphal progress to Canada is known to India. The reception that will be accorded to him by our countrymen will be at least as hearty as it was in Canada. It will not suffer by comparison with the magnificent receptions that were accorded to his royal father and grandfather."

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta), English.

8. The following is taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 28th December:—"The portion of His Majesty's proclamation wherein he has been pleased to express his 'earnest desire' to obliterate as far as possible any trace of bitterness between his people and those who are responsible for his government would powerfully move Indians from one end of the country to the other and clear the atmosphere of distrust, suspicion and hatred, were it unfettered by any reservation. But the royal wish has been, to a great extent, neutralised by ministerial narrowness. The passage to which we refer is:—'I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my royal clemency to political offenders in the full measure which *in his judgment* is compatible with the public safety.' We cannot but deeply deplore the woeful blunder of the minister who was responsible for the introduction of the qualification to the royal clemency. It is thus that good intentions formulated in a moment of generosity are defeated in the next by an exhibition of distrust. The royal clemency, if unfettered, would perhaps have involved the release of a few unfortunate men who, even if they were so inclined, could not move the British Empire in India from its place by a hair's breadth or make any impression on a loyal population. But this unique opportunity of striking the imagination of a whole people and clearing the atmosphere of

distrust was lost unfortunately by a spirit of suspicion. There is but one way in which His Excellency the Viceroy can yet undo the unfortunate effect of the qualification, and that is by granting an amnesty to all political offenders without reservation. We have suggested this course times without number, but the Government has always been frightened by mischievous and irresponsible utterances and warnings in a section of the Anglo-Indian press. In this supreme and fateful moment we appeal to them once more to rise to the full height of the occasion. Let them realize for once that trust begets trust and suspicion cannot but beget suspicion."

Reverting to the same subject in a second article, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says:—"While we acknowledge the note of earnestness which rings through the Royal proclamation, we cannot but regret that not a word of sympathy is expressed in it for those who have suffered and are suffering unmerited punishment and humiliation in connection with the late disturbances in the Punjab. The royal clemency is extended to persons who for offences against the state or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering from imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. The latter part obviously refers to the Punjab prisoners, the victims of the martial law ordinances. The evidence of the official witnesses before the Hunter Commission discloses that the offence for which some of the most respectable men in the Punjab were imprisoned was that they held leading positions and tried their best to quell the disturbances! Not a word of sympathy is expressed for such men in the proclamation. On the other hand, it enjoins them 'so to demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.' The victims of the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, the persons who were flogged in the public streets under the most humiliating circumstances, and the victims of other wanton cruelties find no sympathetic mention, even distantly, in the proclamation; though we are told that the British public, including Mr. Montagu, have been profoundly disturbed by the disclosures made by the official witnesses before the Hunter Commission. Nobody expected that the proclamation would prejudge the matter under inquiry; but a sympathetic reference to the Punjab tragedies, which at this moment are the most distracting factors in the political life of the country, would not, in our view, have been inopportune or out of place. If that was not possible all such references which are calculated to give offence to the popular party should have been as religiously eschewed. But what do we find? It is plainly stated in the proclamation that all the political offenders now to be pardoned were guilty of 'extravagances' and broke the law 'in their eagerness for political progress.' The victims of the special or emergency legislation, who have been more sinned against than sinning, are expected to justify the 'leniency by their future conduct, and the threat is held out that if they do not demean themselves properly in the future the law may be enforced against them hereafter. We do not at all appreciate the justice or logic of this one-sided admonition, particularly when the ghastly doings of the military officers in the Punjab are being revealed from day to day."

INDEPENDENT (Allahabad), English.

9. The *Independent* of the 1st January says:—"Epoch-marking as is the gracious proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the declaration of policy contained in it is remarkable for its outspokenness. The message of hope that His Majesty gave to his Indian subjects is well-nigh fulfilled by the proclamation. More than the Reforms Act the proclamation has added another link, if any were needed, in the golden chain that binds Indians of all classes and communities to the Crown. And the Crown, as the Prince of Wales has observed, does not represent merely the 'British system of administration,' which varies and is variable, but 'the unity of the Empire.' If the proclamation had only announced that the royal assent had been given to the Reforms Bill, it would hardly have been a momentous document; it is the recognition therein of India's claims to political freedom that has given to the proclamation its epoch-marking character and will ever afterwards cause it to be looked back upon with the same pride, interest and gratitude as are being expressed all over India to-day and as are still evoked by the proclamation of 1858. . . [Hitherto,] for striving to win the right to govern her own affairs, India has been grossly misrepresented by parties who would like, to further their own interests, to perpetuate her political subjection. Pleas the most absurd, grounds the most extraordinary, arguments the most capricious, and allegations the most baseless have been pressed unceasingly ever since India

began to grow impatient of the artificial and galling restrictions forcibly put upon her, and the hymn of hate has been sung so vociferously and so systematically that Indians have come to be regarded in the outside world as extremely imperfect human beings who will relapse into rank barbarism unless dominated by the Civil Service, the police and the administrative system hitherto considered the most perfect and efficient,—a pattern worthy to be adopted by all powers having colonial possessions. The glory of the proclamation is that it casts aside the convenient bureaucratic theory against which Indians have consistently protested, and admits their claim to 'the fulness of political freedom.' . . . In the name of efficiency India has been kept in bondage in spite of her past history, achievements and civilisation. It is only to-day that the Imperial proclamation rights the great wrong done to India by fully recognising her claim and bringing within sight the blessed day of her deliverance from political thraldom. Any attempt to delay the day and whittle down the promise contained in the proclamation, or to explain away, according to precedent, its inner meaning, will give rise to a situation of the gravest difficulty. Indians must be masters in their own house, and no conflicting considerations or depressing reasons can ever be allowed to stand in the way. By loyally fulfilling the purpose underlying the momentous proclamation of 1919 and freeing India from the bonds of serfdom let Britain prove, to quote the memorable words of the noble Prince of Wales, that 'the British people has long left the Grecian and Roman idea of empire. Behind the Empire is now something far grander. It implies the partnership of free nations living under the same system of laws, pursuing the same democratic aim and actuated by the same humane ideals.'"

THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS.

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

10. The *Leader* of the 29th December criticizes the presidential address delivered by Pandit Motilal Nehru at the recent Congress session:— "The narrative of events in the Punjab, which fills a large space in the address, gives a connected and comprehensive account of the unhappy doings of the officers charged with the duty of maintaining order. The whole of the melancholy story is told in simple, striking and telling sentences, and is bound to make a most painful impression on the mind of every reader. It is such as to rouse the feelings of men . . . . To whatever wrong was done on the side of the Government ample justice is done in the presidential address. Whether it was necessary that the whole tale should be recounted in all its ghastly detail in the address to the Congress, at this juncture and in the Punjab and at Amritsar, may admit of doubt. That the wrong was there and loudly calls for redress and reparation, is common ground to us all. But the president ought not to have made his condemnation so one-sided. He ought to have spoken out with equal plainness on the inexpediency—to say no more—of the ill-fated *satyagraha* movement. Instead, he has chosen to indulge in high falutin such as, 'India's masses were suddenly awakened, and the message of *satyagraha* entered the humblest house.' . . . . The president's treatment of the Government of India Act betrays a manifest disinclination to render justice to the British Government where credit is its rightful due, and to exaggerate, sometimes grossly, whatever defects can be got hold of. If one were to derive all one's knowledge of the character of the constitutional reforms of 1919 from the criticisms uttered by the president of the Congress, one can only think that they are camouflaged unreality. The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru has spoken as if the Act had been passed with the one desire of giving to Indians as little as possible . . . . One cannot rise from a perusal of this part of the presidential address without the uneasy conviction that it is a partizan production; that the arguments are made to fit in with a foregone conclusion that the reforms are not substantial and must be attacked—because the impossible standard set by Delhi has not been attained or because it is against the prevalent notion of what political criticism in India must be. Its tone and temper as well as substance is what may in one word be described as extremist, and its tendency is decisively the opposite of that of Congress addresses of old."

INDEPENDENT (Allahabad), English.

11. The *Independent* of the 30th December says:—" 'Fellow-delegates, you have assembled here in deep mourning over the cruel murder of hundreds of your brothers; and, in electing your president, you have assigned to him the position of chief mourner.' It is in the spirit of these words that

the greater part of the address is conceived. The exposure of the 'most shameful barbarities' committed in the Punjab is appropriately prefaced with a brilliant analysis of the various causes which finally led to the red climax of last summer . . . [Pandit Motilal Nehru] does not by so much as a word seek to justify the outrages of the maddened populace. His denunciation of them is sincere, emphatic and unqualified. . . . But he does not, on that account, regard the action of the authorities as any the less culpable. He justly accuses them of a failure to understand the Indian mind, a lack of imagination, a feeling as of monomania, of conspiracies hatched and revolutions brewing, and a foregone determination to discard the methods of persuasion and the forms of justice and to appeal instead to the arbitrament of the sword. The result was the ruthless massacre of 'the Khuni Bagh as it is aptly called.' He asks in sad, simple words: 'What words, fellow-delegates, can I use to express your feelings and mine, whose kith and kin were mercilessly shot down by the hundred in cold blood? Well may we grieve in the words of the Persian poet—

'*Our country is flooded with sorrow and woe,*
  '*Oh, for our land woe* !

'*Arise and for coffin and cerements go* !
  '*Oh, for our land woe* !

'*With the blood of our men killed in this pursuit*
  '*The moon shines red*;

'*Hill, plain, and garden blood-red glow*;
  '*Oh, for our land woe* !'

And in his generous indignation he adds: 'The plea of necessity is raised—the plea that the massacre produced a good effect on the surrounding districts. We have heard of these excuses before when Louvain was razed to the ground, when atrocities were committed at Dinant and Termonde. For these crimes against humanity the late Kaiser and his underlings are going to be tried. But General Dyer is secure.' We may add that the difference is not only in General Dyer's security, but in this: that while the Kaiser's crimes were committed in the midst of the greatest war of history against a hostile and conquered country, the English general's 'cold and calculated massacre' was a graceful compliment to a province essentially loyal and peaceful."

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

12. The *Leader* of the 3rd January writes:—"The Congress has resolved to found a memorial to commemorate the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. It is an act of doubtful wisdom to perpetuate the memory of a most painful incident. Our effort should be to wipe out, as far as possible, the memory of the terrible events in the Punjab and to begin the new era in hope and charity. The doctrine of forgive and forget is ever higher than that of keeping alive the memory of wrongs. Another resolution which the Congress passed urged the immediate recall of Lord Chelmsford. The speeches delivered in support of it were severely condemnatory and entirely one-sided. We do not hold any brief for His Excellency, but we deprecate the use of unbalanced language with regard to His Majesty's highest representative in the land. In passing judgment upon Lord Chelmsford, one should not forget the good work that he has done which is of permanent value. Mr. Sarma pointed out some of his beneficient acts. It was in his time that the indentured labour was abolished and a departure, however halting, made in military policy towards Indians. The one great mistake he committed was in respect of the Punjab. If this is excluded, there is almost nothing left on which to base a demand for his recall. With regard to the Punjab incidents it would be premature to pass a final judgment upon him. The Hunter Committee has not yet reported. It will depend upon the nature of its findings and the action which Lord Chelmsford's Government take to vindicate British justice as to whether he will deserve the confidence of the Indian public. To base his recall upon the happenings in the Punjab without waiting for the report of the committee of inquiry is to prejudge the issues, which is hardly fair."

THE DISORDERS INQUIRY.

BOMBAY CHRONICLE, (Bombay), English.

13. The following is taken from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 9th December:—"Why was the Punjab handed over to the military? All the cruel oppression to which that unhappy province was subjected is closely

related to this cardinal and most important question. . . . The civil command owes to itself and the people it 'governs' a sacred duty. It should never surrender its supreme authority. . . . The civil authorities must be held responsible for their failure to rise to the occasion and keep the control in their hands. Under what law and by what authority can the civil authorities hand over the administration to the military? If the Lieutenant-Governor says the civil power has ceased to exist, does the civil power cease and give place to the military? Is it open to a petty magistrate to hand over the administration to the subordinate military officer in his area? Does this *ipso facto* introduce martial law? And whether people know it or not that there has been a change in the administration, are they liable to all the penalties of military law? We believe such hopeless imbecility was never bargained for; and it is clear that the whole thing has been scandalously mismanaged in the Punjab and that the erring officials must be held responsible, be their position high or low. . . . It is needless to go into the harrowing details of the administration revealed in the evidence of General Dyer, Colonel Johnson *et hoc genus omne*. Though these military officials are primarily responsible, responsibility does not end with them. It is those who put them in power who are really responsible; and we trust that, indemnity or no indemnity, they will fully be made to answer for the Punjab horrors Those civil authorities who surrendered their authority to the military officials and those military officials who wantonly committed excesses are alike responsible."

SERVANT OF INDIA (Poona), English.

14. The *Servant of India* of the 11th December writes:—"Colonel Macrae was another of the witnessses examined. He thought fit to resort to vulgar insolence and an attitude of bravado. He is a devoted follower of the Johnsonian school of cane-cure, . . . but the great achievement of the colonel was his studied insolence to the members of the committee. Time and again he refused to answer questions, referred Sir C. Setalvad to the dictionary, put counter-questions to him and distinguished himself by various other signs of ill-breeding. This is not the first instance of an insolent attitude on the part of witnesses towards the members of the committee, especially the Indian members. We cannot but be sorry that Lord Hunter does not think it fit to teach these witnesses their place. The ill-concealed racial prejudice and the vulgar air of bravado of certain witnesses have as yet met with no reproof from the chairman of the committee. We thought that it was one of the duties of a chairman to resent insults offered to the members of the committee and to make refractory witnesses realize that the committee is not to be trifled with. Lord Hunter does not seem to think so. So far as we can see, he does not seem even to notice these lapses at all, but rather appears to plead with his colleagues to drop obnoxious questions which witnesses refuse to answer. We sincerely regret such a weak attitude on the part of Lord Hunter, from whom more independence of action and a greater solicitude for the dignity of the committee were certainly expected."

MISCELLANEOUS.

VIJAI (Delhi), Hindi.

15. The following is translated from the *Vijai* of the 4th December:—Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the ex-satrap of the Punjab, the saviour of the British Empire, the chosen beloved of the Indian heart, the very embodiment of compassion, is now in Delhi. Sir Michael is a great man. Long ago the Duke of Wellington saved the British Empire on the battlefield of Waterloo. That Empire has now a second saviour, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who, working through his underlings, achieved the triumphant victory of Jallianwala Bagh. Sir Michael has now come to India to receive the thanks of the grateful Indians. He is very brave, Sir Michael. Had he not been brave, he would never have wired that messaage "Well Done" to General Dyer after the wholesale massacre in the Jallianwala garden. And even now the evidence of his bravery is there for us to see. The hotel in which he stays is surrounded by multitudes of soldiers, a distinction never enjoyed, so far as we know, even by viceroys. A brave man indeed. Sir Michael O'Dwyer has bestowed such great benefits on India that he fears to visit or to stay in India lest he should grow wearied with the never-ceasing gratitude of the people. That is the reason why he keeps himself surrounded day and night by soldiers.

The *Vijai* then goes on to urge that Sir Michael's evidence should be produced before the Hunter Commission. It asserts that justice can never be done to the Punjab until its Nadir Shah has been called upon to give evidence and has been cross-examined by Pandit Jagat Narayan.

FATEH (Delhi), Urdu.

16. The *Fateh* of the 11th December describes the *Haq* as the most worthless and silly weapon of the O'Dwyerian régime, and asks how long this sheer waste of money is to continue. In order to contradict various false rumours and misunderstandings about the war, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and other officers sharing his views thought it necessary to form publicity committees in every province. The Indian press protested against this waste of public money, but their protests fell on deaf ears. A publicity board was duly formed in each province and official newspapers were started. In its expenditure in this connection the Punjab Government was perhaps the most extravagant of all the local administrations. The *Haq* first appeared as a weekly and was sold at three pies a copy In bulk it was exceptionally large. Indeed, the value of the paper on which it was printed was actually greater than its sale price. This led many shopkeepers to purchase a number of copies for use as waste paper. One of the Delhi newspapers exposed the real nature of the *Haq's* popularity and large circulation at the time. Clerks, village officials, *lambardars* and *zaildars* subscribed to it in order to please their superior officers; as well as with the idea of collecting waste paper, which was then selling at an unusually high rate. This gave the *Haq* newspaper the largest circulation in all India. Poetical contests were held and rewards were given on a lavish scale to authors for composing poems in praise of the Government and in condemnation of the enemy. In spite of all these efforts and all this extravagance rumours and misunderstandings went on increasing. This extravagance, moreover, was not confined to efforts at securing a cheap circulation. The expenses incurred in connection with the editorial staff were even more extensive. Something like a thousand rupees a month was spent on the editorial staff of a weekly newspaper. The various rewards given from time to time to contributors, translators and poets were in addition to this. With the close of the war, other Governments stopped their publicity organs. But the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was by no means willing to sheathe its worthless weapon. Sir Michael O'Dwyer made the Punjab Publicity Committee and its twopenny-halfpenny organ, the *Haq*, a permanency: it would henceforth publish educational, literary and industrial articles. In the meantime the Rowlatt Act was passed. The *Haq* published a series of articles in support of the Act. It spoke of its critics as seditionists, though it never attempted to reply to their criticisms. The publicity board of the Punjab distributed copies of the Act broadcast in order to turn the public against the popular leaders. But the result of all this extravagance is well known. Later, in the martial law days, the Punjab Publicity Committee endeavoured to teach the advanced public of the twentieth century the mediæval political lessons of Sadi and Hafiz. All over Lahore posters were stuck up containing old sayings of Sadi and Hafiz, advising the people not to meddle with politics and to avoid setting up their views against those of kings. It hoped thus to set the political clock back by several centuries. But who can check the rising of the tide? Or who can slacken the fast-moving pace of advancing time? All this lavish expenditure of the board proved a sheer waste of public money, and nothing else.

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

17. The following is taken from the *Leader* of the 20th December:—"So far as the question of intention goes, it has been conceded by many of his critics that Mr. Gandhi is actuated by the highest of motives, and that he stands head and shoulders above any one else in India in loftiness of thought and ideals. But is he quite sure that all those who profess to follow him are also actuated by the same unexceptionable motives? Is he still unaware that the propaganda he sanctions in the 'relentless pursuit of truth' is utilized for stirring up anti-British feeling and appealing to and arousing the lower passions? Our whole complaint against Mr. Gandhi is that, with the best of intentions, he is lacking in political judgment and a knowledge of the motives of many who use his great name to subserve their own purpose. . . . Then, Mr. Gandhi ought to know that only so much of his advice is accepted as is found palatable and convenient by his so-called followers. He has often preached that strong and abusive speeches or writings should be avoided, and that truth should be scrupulously followed. But we doubt very much whether all his exhortations have had any effect upon those who swear by him in public and in private. He has been urging that Indians should love Englishmen as themselves. We would like to know in how many of his followers a change has been wrought by his appeal to the higher law of love. Mr. Gandhi may believe that his doctrines are spreading and his followers increasing; but so

— far as we are able to see, very few, if any, are advanced enough to follow him faithfully in spirit. Mere outward compliance with his instructions, whenever they happen to be of a nature calculated to embarrass the Government and to diminish respect for law and order, is no evidence of the purity of the motives of his followers. Mr. Gandhi opposed the resolution passed at the Khilafat Conference at Delhi in favour of the boycott of British goods. But was his advice accepted ? We are constrained to say that he has been, however unconsciously, feeding the anti-British sentiment in the country by his specifics for advancing the cause of truth and justice, as he understands it."

18. Commenting on certain proceedings in a recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 12th December says :—" Quite a number of hon'ble members brought to the notice of Government the fact that certain Brazilian subjects were freely purchasing cows in Gujarat, and that as many as sixty thousand had already been exported. We regret that Government do not yet seem to have realized their responsibility in the matter. It may be that the Government of India have imposed no restrictions. But are they going to wait till all the milch cattle in India are exported ? There is quite a struggle between Germany and France over the handing over of milch cattle, and each nation in Europe is anxious to preserve its milch cattle to itself. Was it not possible for the Government of Bombay to take action under the all-comprehensive Indian Dora and stop the export of cows immediately ? When exactly did they learn about it ? They are now going to make inquiries regarding the nature and extent of the trade. By the time their inquiries are concluded and the Bombay and Simla secretariats end their discussion, another sixty thousand cows may be on the way to Brazil. Some immediate action is required. Government possess ample powers to deal with the matter. All export of cows should first be stopped. Government may then inquire at their leisure. Are Government incapable of taking prompt action even in matters of such moment ? "

BOMBAY CHRONICLE (Bombay), English.

19. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 25th December publishes a leading article on " Christmas Day " :—" Some two thousand years ago Jesus Christ brought his message of peace and hope. He lived and died, to leave an example to man how to bring peace to the world and establish the kingdom of heaven on earth. What was his cardinal teaching ? *Ahimsa parama dharma* (not to harm anybody is the highest religion). How did he seek to impress his teaching on mankind ? By allowing himself to be persecuted and ultimately crucified without demur and without an expression on thought of ill-will towards his persecutors. ' Forgive them, Lord ; they know not what they do '— those were his words. . . . Since the Prince of Peace laid down his mortal frame far other doctrines and principles have steadily supplanted those he died to give. So at the end of twenty centuries since he lived and preached we find that the kernel of the faith he promulgated has become altogether a different substance, and the shell only remains. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is now an empty expression. ' Love thy enemy ' is the doctrine of the weak who cannot revenge themselves on their enemies. The poverty in the midst of which the son of God was born is a crime. The humility which was the breath of his nostrils is the sign of cowardice. The humble garment which he wore is for the despised poor. The cross at which he sacrificed his life to teach men how to forgive their erring fellow men is now improved out of recognition into the most destructive engines of warfare to kill as many erring innocent fellow men as possible. It is a tragic irony that the followers of the religion of the Prince of Peace should have been the foremost people in the world who have invented and used most profusely the most powerful instruments of destruction which have made peace and good-will among men a grim mockery."

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta), English.

A. V. ASKWITH,
Personal Assistant to the D. I.-G. of Police,
C. I. D., Punjab.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Egypt.

1. The *Vakil* of the 7th January says that the Egyptians persist in their demand for freedom and view Lord Milner's commission with suspicion. The history of England's relations with her colonies shows that the English nation at first regards with distrust the desire for advancement and freedom of peoples under her and displays an inclination to grant concessions only when things grow critical and agitation reaches its last stage. The present circumstances demand that England should change her policy for the sake of maintaining peace.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

RAJPUT GAZETTE (Lahore); Sukhram Das, editor.

The royal proclamation.

2. (*a*) The *Rajput Gazette* of the 27th December says that the royal proclamation displays the greatest statesmanship. The people of this country fully expected this from their beloved Emperor. The tidings regarding a new era being ushered in in India and the orders about the release of internees and political prisoners will deepen the feeling of loyalty among the people. It will also greatly please them to hear of the Prince of Wales' coming visit to India and they will accord such a warm reception to His Royal Highness as will remain memorable in history. The proclamation will cause rejoicings in and impart a new life to thousands of mourning families in the Punjab.

VICTORIA PAPER (Sialkot); Brij Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Victoria Paper* of the 4th January says that every word of the royal proclamation is worth its weight in pearls. We cannot find words to express our gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor for his great kindness to us. The proclamation will still more captivate the hearts of the loyal people of India. The passing of the reforms bill means a veritable blessing for Indians and affords a fresh proof of the fact that His Majesty's Government is sincerely desirous of giving them a share in the administration of their country.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(c) The *Leader* of the 7th January complains that His Majesty's wishes regarding the release of political prisoners have not been fully complied with. All political prisoners should have been released forthwith. The Viceroy has displayed no broadmindedness even on this occasion. Thousands of these prisoners are still confined in the Hazaribagh and other jails. We hope that they too will be restored to liberty in pursuance of the royal proclamation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) The *Tribune* of the 8th January writes :—" Our information is that, barring only a few persons, no martial law prisoner in the Lahore central jail, with a sentence of more than two years has been released, and the same must be the case with prisoners of the same class in other jails. We are frankly unable to see either the justice or the expediency of this differentiation. These prisoners were originally tried along with other persons for substantially the same alleged offences; and though the evidence in one case may have differed from the evidence in another, all or most of them were originally sentenced to the same punishment, varying from death to transportation for life. It was only at a later stage that a differentiation as regards punishment was made by the executive Government between one case and another. . . . . This differentiation, however, whether right or wrong, has nothing whatever to do with the exercise of the prerogative of clemency. Here there are two things to consider, and only two: namely, whether a person is a political prisoner, and whether his release would be compatible with the public safety. The merits of the case, on the supposed basis of which a differentiation in the matter of punishment was made by the executive Government, are relevant only to the extent that they have a bearing upon either of these considerations. But we venture to think that they have no bearing whatever on these considerations. . . . The policy of conciliation in driblets is a doubtful policy at all times. It is absolutely unsound and indefensible when pursued in connection with a royal decree for a general amnesty, of which the very essence is its capacity to strike the popular imagination."

(e) The *Tribune* of the 10th January thus concludes an article on "The Amnesty and Students" :—" Three things are perfectly clear. First, the students are as a body loyal and harbour no ill-feeling towards their European professors. Secondly, they were guilty of no act of violence. Thirdly, if they were guilty of certain breaches of college rules, they have already suffered for their youthful indiscretion. The truth of the matter is that while the students were not responsible for the happenings at Lahore the worst that can be said against any of them is that they allowed themselves in certain cases to be led away by the circumstances of the moment. . . . The question that we want specifically to raise is whether as a matter of reason and of fairness, as well as of commonsense, these students are not entitled to have the benefit, in the fullest measure, of the principle laid down in the gracious proclamation of the Sovereign or of the spirit in which Sir Edward Maclagan has declared it to be his intention to give effect to it. . . . It will, we think, be universally agreed that the class of persons who deserve in a preëminent degree to have the benefit of the royal clemency, is the one composed of students, who, though not guilty in the eye of the ordinary law, have yet already suffered heavily under the long arm of martial law. It will not do to say that because only disciplinary action was taken against them, they do not come under the terms of the royal amnesty. To a student nothing can be more severe as a punishment than expulsion from a college. It spells ruin not only to him personally but also in a lesser degree to those connected with him by natural ties. From another point of view, too, the case of these students deserves specially sympathetic consideration in this connection. . . . The students who have been adversely affected by the martial law régime are at the most impressionable period of their lives. Bitterness engendered at this stage is bound to have an undesirable effect on their future careers. It is bound also to affect the future relations between the officials and the people; for, in the first place, the students of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow, and, secondly, it is inevitable that the country as a whole should deeply sympathize with its young hopefuls. It is the privilege of youth to err, and we think even the authorities are far from believing that these students have sinned beyond reclamation. As the head of the province and the chancellor of the University we appeal to His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan to remit all outstanding sentences in the case of students and also to withdraw the circular [prohibiting their entry into Government service] issued by his Government on the morrow of martial law. If a policy of 'let by-gones be by-gones' is to be followed, nowhere can it be better or more appropriately begun than in the case of the students."

(*f*) In another place the newspaper writes :—" One important question, which has not been raised so far in regard to the clause in the royal proclamation directing His Excellency to exercise the royal prerogative of clemency to political offenders, but which must be raised now, is as to the precise meaning of the word clemency. Does it mean a free pardon, which, under the English law, means a total wiping out of the past ? Or does it mean merely a remission of the unexpired part of the sentence ? In our opinion the context makes it perfectly clear that it is the first and not the second which His Majesty means. 'It is my earnest desire,' says His Majesty, 'that so far as possible *any traces of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my government should be obliterated*.... Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to *forget the extravagances* they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with *a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose*.' Not only the spirit of these words as a whole, but even the letter of the words we have put in italics is incompatible with the theory that all that His Majesty has been thinking of is merely a remission of unexpired sentences. Such a remission, however welcome to the individuals who are benefited by it, cannot possibly lead to the obliteration of 'any trace of bitterness' between the officials and the people. It cannot make it possible for the officials to 'forget the extravagances' they have had to curb. Lastly, it cannot, by itself, be conducive to that coöperation between the people and the king's officers which is so dear to the heart of His Majesty.... Among the convicted persons there were not a few who were either Government servants, or *quasi*-Government servants, or pleaders or other officers of courts. In the cases of all these men, there is obviously the greatest practical difference between one meaning of the word 'clemency' and another. A convicted pleader, for instance, who is freely pardoned would be able automatically to resume practice ; while if clemency only meant a remission of sentence it would be discretionary with the High Court to allow him to resume his practice or not.... Similarly a good many of these persons, and some of them in the very front rank of our public life, were originally sentenced to transportation for life, and their sentences, even on revision by the executive Government, remained more than six months. It depends entirely upon the interpretation of the word clemency whether these men or any of them are to be eligible for membership of the Legislative Council. It is inconceivable that in the same breath that His Majesty is calling upon the people to coöperate with his Government and expressing his earnest anxiety to obliterate all traces of bitterness between the two, he can uphold the exclusion from the council of the people's leaders. Such exclusion would not only keep the memory of the bitterness alive, but would necessarily deprive popular coöperation of much of its value and effectiveness.... Another question allied to this one, and which is of even greater practical urgency, is as to the applicability or otherwise of the words of the proclamation to sentences of fine. To our mind it is as clear as anything can be that sentences of fine are as much covered by the words as sentences of imprisonment. Indeed, in the principal clause the word imprisonment does not occur at all, and all that we are told is that His Excellency is to exercise in His Majesty's name and on His Majesty's behalf his royal clemency to political offenders 'in the fullest measure compatible with the public safety.' Even if clemency meant only a remission of sentences, these words would clearly mean that all sentences, whether of imprisonment or fine, that could possibly be remitted consistently with the public safety should be remitted ; and surely no man of reason or commonsense could argue for a moment that while a sentence of rigorous imprisonment or of transportation for life could be remitted without endangering the public safety, a sentence of fine could not be so remitted. Unhappily the Government has, to the best of our information, been proceeding hitherto on the assumption that only the remission of sentences of imprisonment is contemplated in the words of the proclamation, and not of sentences of fine, and concrete cases have been brought to our notice in which persons, whose release had been ordered by Government, were actually detained pending the payment of their fine. Indeed in this matter the position of Government has from the beginning been both inconsistent and indefensible. . . . We do hope the Government will yet see the error of the course they have been following in this matter, and remit all sentences of fine."

(*g*) Elsewhere the newspaper writes:—There is another class of persons whose case deserves in an equally eminent degree the benefit of the royal clemency. As a result of the April disturbances we understand that some three hundred railway employees were thrown out of employment. In some cases the gratuities of men who had grown grey in the service of the department were also forfeited. The bulk of these unfortunate men, who in many cases were the sole bread-winners of their respective families, were dismissed more or less summarily. . . . So far as we are aware these dismissed railway employees were not guilty of any criminal offence, because it is presumed that in that case they would have been tried under the ordinary law or some emergency legislation. With the merits of the case we are, however, not concerned. All that we desire to do is to bring to the notice of the Railway Board the cases of these men. If all traces of bitterness between the people and His Majesty's officers in India are to be obliterated, it is of the first importance that all classes of persons adversely affected by the April disturbances should have the benefit of the royal amnesty in the fullest measure possible. We hope Sir Arthur Anderson and his colleagues on the Railway Board will deal in a sympathetic spirit with the dismissed railway employees."

PANJAB
(Amritsar);
David Shahbaz,
editor,

Lord Chelmsford.

3. The *Panjab* of the 7th January writes that the National Congress and the Muslim League have demanded the recall of Lord Chelmsford. The whole country is with them in the matter: if they ever correctly interpreted the true feelings of Indians, they have done so on the present occasion. Some of Lord Chelmsford's admirers argue that His Excellency has been the author of many good acts, and that the demand for his recall is therefore unjust. They want this unsympathetic and harsh Viceroy to be allowed to rule India for an indefinite period of time. We should look at the other side of the shield also and see how far he has been able to win the confidence of the public and what he has done to strengthen the foundations of the British Empire. After remarking that he suddenly emerged from obscurity on the expiry of his predecessor's term of office, the *Panjab* says that the tale of Lord Chelmsford's want of sympathy—nay, his cruelty—is a long one. His first act in this direction was his utterly unsympathetic and one-sided attitude towards the deputation which waited upon him to complain of the rigours of the Press Act. He took an undue advantage of his powers to lay the axe to the root of independent journalism, and very mercilessly stifled the liberty of speech and writing. As to the Rowlatt Act, the passing of it alone is sufficient justification for the public in demanding his recall. There was absolutely no need for this measure in the presence of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. India was then confronted with no danger, and all classes of the people had been sacrificing their lives to uphold the honour and dignity of the British Empire. Their loyalty had stood a severe test, and they opposed the Act in a body. All the non-official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council also offered opposition to the measure. In spite of all this, however, his lordship considered it necessary to pass it. This resulted in an India-wide agitation, which was perfectly natural and lawful. Some deplorable incidents took place in the Panjab as a result, but can any fair-minded person lay the responsibility on the public or its representatives? Lord Chelmsford and his advisers alone were responsible for the occurrences. They took no heed of the warning given by the popular representatives, and passed the Act in the teeth of opposition. And when the incidents in question took place, they sanctioned the introduction of martial law without caring to study the facts and the situation. Indeed, his lordship admitted in the council that he did not care for the facts and had empowered provincial rulers to do whatever they thought expedient to put down the unrest. Unprecedented hardships were practised in the name of martial law. Hundreds of persons lost their lives, while thousands were punished and tortured. Lord Chelmsford legalised all the atrocities committed by martial law officers and indemnified their acts. He had not one word of sympathy for the victims of martial law, whose innocence has at last been [illegible] [illegible] in the council. In writing

example of his callousness is afforded by the fact that he did not stay the execution of the martial law prisoners sentenced to death. A fresh proof of his indifference and want of sympathy has been afforded recently. He did not for weeks send any information to His Majesty's Government regarding the horrible occurrence of the Jallianwala Bagh. All these facts go to show that he is wholly unfit to rule over a vast continent like India, and that the sooner he is recalled the better it will be. If all these horrible events are weighed along with Lord Chelmsford's good acts, the scale of the former would be so heavy that it will carry him to the lowest depths along with it, whereas all that we ask for is his recall and removal.

The Congress.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

4. (a) The *Liberal* of the 5th January writes :—"The Amritsar Congress beat all previous records. The attendance at every sitting of the Congress was the largest that has ever been witnessed and overflow meetings became necessary on more than one occasion. The seed of Hindu-Muslim unity that was so propitiously sown in Lucknow gave full evidence of its having taken root at the Amritsar session. The union between the two great communities of India was complete, and it had now the seal both of the Congress as well as the Muslim League. There is yet another aspect from which the Amritsar Congress could be regarded as the Victory Congress. It was on this occasion that the Sikhs as a community included politics in their programme of work. . . . . Viewed from all these standpoints, the Amritsar Congress will be a landmark in the history of this national assembly."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 6th January :—"If the session of the Congress that came to a close on New Year's Day may, in more senses than one, be described as the greatest ever held, the message which the president delivered to the assembled delegates in dissolving the gathering was in every way a fitting sequel to the proceedings of the session. . . . 'The work that lies before us,' he said 'is the spread of a spirit of organised democracy throughout the length and breadth of the country until not an individual is left without an active desire to do his share in the great work of uplifting this great and ancient land.' The task is one of no ordinary difficulty . . . But it is a task that the country has to face, that it must face, if the dream of *swaraj* is to be realised in the fullest sense and to the fullest extent . . . The Government of India Act, when it comes into operation, will enfranchise five million Indians. That is a small proportion of the total Indian population of three hundred millions, but it is a proportion larger than that which has hitherto taken an interest in the work of the Congress itself. Surely if the Congress believes in democracy, and if it is to justify its existence after the new councils have come into being, it must make it its supreme business to extend its sphere of influence and so to educate the body of the people politically as to make it inevitable for the British Parliament to extend the franchise to a much larger proportion of the people with the minimum of delay. Nor is this necessary only for enlarging the area of the governing body. It is equally necessary for extending the measure of self-government itself. . . Secondly, it is not enough for the evolution of this organised democracy merely to seek to educate the people in the sense of awakening in them an interest in the country's political well-being. It is essential that the habits of combined deliberation and combined action should be developed in them, and to this it is necessary to foster the spirit of tolerance of differences of opinion and of respect for one another's feelings. Never was this respect and this tolerance more needed than now. So long as the problem before us was that of wresting power from a bureaucracy alien to all of us, perhaps the strongest incentive for unity was afforded by our very opposition to that bureaucracy. Now this incentive must cease more and more to be the determining factor of Indian unity it has been so far, and its place must be taken by a common interest in the country's political well-being; and such an interest can only bind men so long as they respect one another's opinions and feelings, so long as they follow the principle of 'live and let live' in the largest sense of that expression."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(c) Commenting on the presidential address the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th January says that most of the public men in the country cannot identify themselves with the *satyagraha* movement, to which Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has lent his support. Experience has clearly proved that the movement has had an injurious effect in the country. The general public cannot keep in view the limitations of the principles of *satyagraha*, which frequently results in disturbances. This compelled Mr. Gandhi himself, the originator of the movement, to give it the go-by. Continuing the *Paisa Akhbar* says that the president not only tried to show that the proposed reforms were inadequate but also suggested that whatever had been given should be accepted with an unwilling heart. Such dejection does not become the present occasion, when all should be united to make the reforms a success. There can be no doubt that these reforms constitute a reasonable step towards responsible Government. It is to be hoped that India will gradually obtain self-government. Rome was not built in a day.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

The Moderate Conference.

5. Writing on the Moderate Conference, the *Tribune* of the 7th January says:—"We do not forget the new-fangled cry..... that agitation must cease for a time. But the cry only shows the levity with which even serious men can under the influence of party passion handle subjects of vital national importance. Is there a single one among the great moderate leaders who really believes that with the passing of the Government of India Act the need for further agitation for full responsible government has disappeared, or that the provisions of that Act will automatically lead us to the promised land?—and this in spite of the fact that there is sure to be almost as strenuous opposition to the next step as there has been to the present one; that the Sydenham party will not be idle, that the Anglo-Indian press in India, reactionary members of the Indian Civil Service and the European mercantile community will not be idle; that Mr. Montagu will not be the Secretary of State for India for all time, that the next Secretary of State may be a man of a wholly different political complexion and moral calibre? Of course there is the probability that the British Parliament in the future will be more democratic than the present Parliament, or that the Labour party may come into power; and in either case our prospects may be better. But surely our moderate friends do not expect more from the most democratic British Parliament or even a Labour ministry than the popular adage, embodying the wisdom of ages, bids us expect from heaven itself. For our part we feel absolutely certain that if all agitation in India for further and fuller reform ceased to-day, the next step would either never be taken at all, or would be taken not much before doomsday; for the cessation of all agitation for further reform, in circumstances like ours, even if it were possible, would mean the death of public life, and with all their good wishes neither the King-Emperor nor the British Parliament would care to make a present of full responsible government to a people who were politically dead. Indeed, in spite of all that Mr. Montagu or any one else may say to the contrary, it is our firm conviction that the August announcement, the Government of India Act, the royal proclamation and all such documents are based on the assumption that agitation will not cease, but on the contrary will grow in both volume and intensity."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Hunter Committee.

6. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 6th January says that on their release the Punjab leaders requested Lord Hunter's committee to arrange for their examination. It has, however, declined to accede to their request, which is a matter for regret. Its reply is to the effect that an opportunity having once been afforded to them for the purpose, no such chance can be given them again. When, however, the committee was appointed to ascertain the causes of the April occurrences, is it not necessary that the other side of the shield also should be presented to it? It is also noteworthy that the Punjab leaders never refused to make their defence. In these circustances, the decision of the committee is most deplorable and discouraging.

LEADER (Lahore), Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 6th January says that the committee's reply is very disappointing. The question is whether the inquiry into the Punjab disturbances has really been completed. We can say that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence is of the greatest importance, and that until it is recorded the inquiry cannot be said to be complete. We have, therefore, the right to adduce our evidence and reveal the facts which have not hitherto been laid before the committee. If the committee remains stubborn and does not record non-official evidence, no sensible people, let alone Indians, will be able to call its report complete. Its disappointing reply to the leaders has filled the whole country with feelings of sorrow and grief. We earnestly request His Majesty's Government, as well as the Government of India, to interfere in the matter. We also request the Hunter Committee to reconsider its decision.

The Punjab disturbances.

PANJAB (Amritsar); David Shahbaz, editor.

7. (*a*) The *Panjab* of the 25th December publishes the following headed "The Madman of the Jallianwala Bagh: O Murderer, it will not be removed: Do not be a child: The Stain of our Blood is no Mudstain:—Thanks to the Hunter Committee, the unenviable and blood-stained reputation of General Dyer has reached England. The savage pride and stone-hearted vanity with which this heartless but "honest" butcher of the Jallianwala Bagh narrated the story of his barbarity before the Hunter Committee are being severely criticized there. The *Civil and Military Gazette*, the Lahore organ of the Anglo-Indian community indignantly asks why the newspapers of England have set down General Dyer's action as reprehensible and why their views have been disseminated in India. It does not perhaps know that the English newspapers are not, like itself, given to bigotry and killing of the conscience. [The editor next reproduces the criticisms of the *Daily News* and the *Daily Herald* and continues as follows:—] In contrast to these justice-loving and truthful newspapers there is the *Morning Post*, a chip of the same block with the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman*, which is the mortal enemy of Indian aspirations, a foolish friend of the civil service and a short sighted supporter of the Sydenham party. It is eloquent in extolling Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer and considers the Government of India worthy to be hanged and quartered for having permitted the National Congress to hold its annual session at Amritsar. How can a newspaper which has girt up its loin to defend the "madman" of the Jallianwala Bagh and which daily sings the praises of the enemies of this country like Lord Sydenham and of repressive and reactionary Englishmen like Sir Michael O'Dwyer be expected to view the political movements of India with satisfaction and approval? It strained every nerve in opposing the scheme of reforms. It was now its bounden duty to join its voice with that of the Anglo-Indian newspapers in opposing the holding of the Congress at Amritsar. What can be the reason for this? Probably it is merely this, that there is a likelihood of the bloody story of the general massacre by General Dyer being recited at this year's Congress. The cry for justice by the blood of innocent persons unjustly shed will be heard in every corner of the Congress *pandal* this year. The veil will this year be lifted off the high-handed acts not only of the madman of the Jallianwala Bagh but of other generals, colonels, captains and lieutenants as well. How can these newspapers' love of darkness tolerate all this? These foolish and short-sighted journalists do not even know that if the Congress had not been permitted to meet at Amritsar, the effect produced by the unbridled and bloody doings of General Dyer on the people of India would have been still more accentuated. We are of opinion that it argues foresight (which, it is to be regretted, was extremely scarce during the April events) on the part of the Government of India and the Punjab Government that they did not stop the session of the Congress. Otherwise it was possible that opposition to this India-wide movement would have inflamed all Indians, and the seed sown by General Dyer and others would have assumed the shape of a mighty tree. The London *Times* also is at one with the *Morning Post* in this matter. But special interest attaches to the side of its opinion in which it holds both the public and General Dyer to have been the offenders. If the Punjab disturbances constitute "open rebellion" in its eyes, the action of General Dyer is a "general massacre," in defence of which nothing can be produced. The *Times* considers it extremely deplorable that although the mob began to disperse at once, bullets continued to be rained on them. The *Times* has drawn from General Dyer's evidence the inference that he held a wholly unwarrantable conception of his own powers and of the steps necessary to restore order. Nevertheless, the *Times*' brain is so possessed by the Bolshevik demon that it perceives Bolshevik bacilli even in the Punjab disturbances. It says that the organisers of these disturbances had been carrying on a secret intrigue with the Bolsheviks, whereas nobody excepting one or two official witnesses expressed this view before the Inquiry Committee—nay, even the existence of any particular conspiracy or any organisation in connection therewith has been

denied. The *Times* considers Sir Michael O'Dwyer pardonable on the ground that he had insufficient knowledge of the facts, and that he wired his approval of the savage doings of General Dyer merely through ignorance. But if this is true, are we not justified in holding that martial law also was enforced owing to ignorance of facts? Is not such "deadly ignorance" synonymous with administrative incapacity in the case of a provincial ruler who is so proud of his alertness as to venture to ridicule the rulers and inhabitants of other provinces in the Imperial Legislative Council; in whose administrative capacity Anglo-India takes pride; whom the European residents [of this country] regard as their saviour; and who, in the words of the *Statesman*, is considered to have saved India from a recrudescence of the Mutiny of 1857. He was ignorant, but his ignorance caused the blood of thousands of innocent persons to be shed, and hundreds are still incarcerated in jail.

What means blandishment to you is death to others.

The truth is that the opinion expressed by the *Times* has brought to the fore another aspect of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's rule. This demands that the evidence of this conceited and self-opinionated Lieutenant-Governor must be adduced before the [Hunter] Committee, although we do not expect this hope to be realised. But will the procedure adopted by the Hunter Committee absolve Sir Michael O'Dwyer of his responsibility? We firmly believe that when all the facts relating to the Punjab disturbances are revealed to the British public, public opinion in England will be certain to make [another] Warren Hastings of Sir Michael. It will extremely disappoint Indians to hear from the *Times* that when these heart-rending events were happening in the Punjab no one in England had any knowledge of them. In the words of the *Times*, Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu never even hinted at these occurrences. Is it not surprising that while a general massacre should be going on in a part of the British Empire in India, nobody should know anything of it in London, the capital of the Empire? Does not this attempt at concealment on the part of the responsible persons argue that they were afraid to lay their doings before the British public, and that they did not care that anyone in the dwelling-place of the Emperor should know what His Majesty's representatives are doing here in the name of justice and civilisation? But can the blood of innocent persons remain concealed? If the Hunter Committee considers it proper to deprive itself of help from the representatives of the public, the statements of the official witnesses themselves sufficiently expose those doings. We hope that when the British public comes to have a thorough knowledge of all the facts, its verdict will not be lacking in justice and impartiality. This is the one hope under which those smitten with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's sword are sometimes heard to exclaim in their dying struggle:

The Resurrection day is near, O friends; how will the blood of the slain be concealed?

If the tongue of the dagger remains silent, the blood on the sleeve will yet cry out.

(*b*) In the course of another article on the same subject, published in its issue of the 1st January, the *Panjab* states that some leading Congressmen were taking refreshments at the Amritsar railway station "yesterday" when a military officer appeared on the scene and mixed with these blackies contrary to the usual practice. Without introducing himself or asking any question as to their identity, he inquired from them how the Congress was being conducted. They replied casually that it was in full swing; that its *pandal* was overcrowded; and that a resolution had been unanimously passed to the effect that Lord Chelmsford should be recalled, that his lieutenant, O'Dwyer, should be prosecuted, and that the latter's lieutenant, Dyer, should be turned out of the army bag and baggage. The officer in question felt greatly displeased at this plain talk and quietly slipped away. The editor next states how he happened to arrive just then and informed the Congressmen there that the stranger was General Dyer, the old [illegible] of Amritsar, at which they were filled with amazement and subsequently burst into laughter.

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 8th January inquires whether the men who gave false evidence in the martial law cases are to go unpunished. They have been instrumental in making a blot on the fair fame of British justice. One of the special tribunals remarked in its judgment in the Gujrat case, in which [illegible] Gopal, a barrister, and thirty other persons were involved, that the evidence of official witnesses was not free from colouring, and that there had been clear perjury in some instances. Has any action been taken against the officials who knowingly imparted a colour to the evidence in cases against respectable people? Or have those persons who were guilty of perjury been prosecuted? To manipulate evidence is an ordinary offence, but it becomes serious in the case of an official. The public has a right to ask what steps Government has taken against the offenders. Justice demands that legal proceedings should be taken against all officials who gave false evidence in the martial law days in order to satisfy personal grudges.

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(*d*) In an article on the Amritsar Congress, the *Pindi Mail* of the 8th January writes :—"What is singular in the address is the absence of strong condemnation of the mob excesses at Amritsar, Lahore and other places. That in several places the mob got excited and perpetrated acts which bear the impress of disgrace is as true as that, in the suppression of the disturbances, certain over-zealous officials went perhaps a bit too far. It may be that in certain areas martial law was retained longer than was necessary; but that is no ground for condemning the action of the Government, which under the stress of circumstances was forced to resort to the only means of restoring law and order by declaring martial law in the areas affected. The Hunter Committee is now inquiring into the disorders as well as into the measures adopted by the Punjab Government to cope with the emergency. . . . . Such being the case, we cannot refrain from thinking that a good deal of what the president said in regard to the Punjab affairs might better have been left unsaid."

SIKH SEPOY (Ferozepore); Tek Singh, editor.

The Arms Act.

8. The *Sikh Sepoy* of the 19th December says that if the Government of India is safe against attacks from the semi-barbarians of tribal territory, this is due to the bravery and the strength of the Punjab. This province is rightly called the sword-hand of India. But the new rules under the Arms Act have assigned to the Punjab a lower position than that of other provinces. Let alone the grant of fresh concessions, it has been laid down to be unlawful even to keep guns which are regarded as heirlooms. This means that the sword-hand of India has been deprived of its sword. The people of the rest of the world are strengthening themselves by making scientific inventions in the matter of arms. But even the simple arms of ancient times are being wrested from the inhabitants of the Punjab. Does Government think that the Punjabis are so strong that they can withstand other people's arms with fisticuffs? The Government of India should reconsider the matter and confer on the Punjab at least as many rights as are enjoyed by other provinces. The Sikh community particularly objects to the new rules, because it contains many *raises*, who have the heirlooms referred to. Will they have to obtain licences for these or have to deposit them with the Government? We most respectfully request Government to exempt swords, spears and the like from the operation of the Arms Act.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Lahore High Court.

9. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 5th January writes :—"With the death of Sir Henry Rattigan, the office of the Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court has fallen vacant. Who will succeed to this exalted office is the question that is uppermost in everybody's mind. . . . . Mr. Justice Chevis and Mr. Justice Scott-Smith, the next two hon'ble judges, are both civilians, and under the constitution of the High Court they are, eminently fit though they may be for the office, precluded from being raised to the chief judgeship of this honourable court. The choice, therefore, should in all possibility fall upon Mr. Justice Shadi Lal, who besides having occupied a most eminent position at the Bar, has held the office of the judge of this honourable court with distinction and success for the last several years . . . . . We have not the least doubt that the claims of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal, high and pressing as they are, will be fully recognised and in honouring him an honour will be done to the province to which he belongs."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 6th January says that Lala Shadi Lal is entitled to the post vacated by the late Sir Henry Rattigan. It has already been proved that an Indian can efficiently perform the onerous duties of Chief Justice. The late Mian Shah Din officiated for Sir Henry for some time. What is needed now is that Lala Shadi Lal should be permanently appointed to the post to which he is fully entitled. We hope that impartial justice will be done in the matter, and that he will not be deprived of this honour owing to his being an Indian. His Majesty observed in his proclamation and Mr. Montagu asserted in the course of a recent speech that a new era had been ushered in in India. The expression "new era" can only mean that Englishmen and Indians should be placed on a footing of equality, and that no Indian should be deprived of any right or honour because of his nationaliy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) The *Tribune* of the 8th January writes:—"Mr. Justice Shadi Lal. . . . being a member of the English bar is the first judge of the High Court who is eligible for the office. . . . But . . . . no Indian has so far been appointed permanent Chief Justice of an Indian High Court. The difficulty, however, has only to be mentioned to be brushed aside; because the Reform Act and the royal proclamation, if they have any meaning, mean that the old era of racial superiority on one side and of racial inferiority on the other is fast receding to a past which the Government have no wish to recall, and that in the new era every career will be freely open to talent, as it should be. . . . Of the qualifications of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal no two opinions are possible. . . . As a judge he enjoys in an unstinted measure the confidence of the country, and the esteem and respect both of his colleagues and of the profession. Not only this. We have taken care to ascertain what is in a sense the most important fact in this connection, that the better mind of both the Hindu and the Muhammadan community are singularly united in desiring the appointment of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal as permanent Chief Justice. We refuse to believe, until the contrary is shown, that the claims of such a man can be lightly brushed aside by those with whom the appointment rests."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

Cow-sacrifice.

10. (a) Commenting on the Muslim League's resolution regarding cow-sacrifice the *Leader* of the 7th January says, that the passing of this resolution proves that the two largest communities of India are now ready to make every sacrifice for the sake of union. The day is not, therefore, far off when other nations of the world will have to admit that Indians are civilised people and deserve to be treated as a free nation.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(b) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th January suggests that the Muhammadans who can sacrifice sheep and goats should not sacrifice cows. The slaughter of kine cannot, however, end even if those Muhammadans who sacrifice cows under compulsion leave off doing so, since thousands of kine are daily slaughtered in cantonments.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) A. L. ROY, a retired journalist, writes to the *Tribune* of the 6th January:—"The declaration of Hakim Ajmal Khan in his presidential speech at the recent session of the All-India Muslim League, urging upon his co-religionists the abandonment of cow sacrifice at the Bakr 'Id and in Hindu sacred places, followed as it was by a formal resolution passed by the League to the same effect, will be hailed by all lovers of true Hindu-Muhammadan amity, which I use as a better word than unity, as having more a social signification than a political one. For such amity can be placed on a sound and sure footing only when the members of the two communities enter into each other's feelings in matters which come home in their daily life, specially on the religious side on which both are keen. Political interests are too shifting, and sometimes too superficial, to afford such a basis. The action of the Muslim League is all the more welcome since few, if any, of the prominent Hindu leaders of the Congress have ever shown the same anxiety for the religious feelings and interests of their own community, and the rights of their sacred places such as were involved in the Katarpur riot case, as they have now displayed in respect of the religious feelings and interests, including the safeguarding of the sacred places of the Musalmans. The leaders of the latter have made a graceful return—wholly unasked, I believe, by the Hindu leaders—showing their political sagacity and keenness, whose value the Congress has had the belated wisdom of appreciating. In view of this new sentiment, which has found such prominent expression, is it too much for the Hindus to hope that Lord Chelmsford will be graciously pleased to commute the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] sentenced to death in the

Katarpur riot case, the appeal on whose behalf is now pending before His Excellency? Such an act of opportune clemency would be not only hailed with the deepest gratitude by all classes of Hindus, but would also, I believe, be sincerely appreciated by the leaders of Muhammadan public opinion."

Kine-killing in India.

Insaf (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

11. *Insaf* of the 4th January publishes a communication from Abdur Rashid, an assistant surgeon, Gujranwala, who says that the present dearness of milk and *ghi* is due chiefly to the slaughter of kine and buffaloes. Traders in foreign lands rear cows and make millions of rupees by importing [tinned] cow's milk to this country. In India, however, the dagger is placed at the throat of our cows. It is not very long ago that even poor people used to keep two or three cows, but to-day even the well-to-do residents of big cities do not keep a single cow. The reason for this is that cows are being slaughtered. As, however, the dagger placed at their throat operates on our necks also, we request the Muhammadan public to establish a society to protect kine and to render it sincere help. This would be to help ourselves, our children and our future generations. Come, let us unite to launch it.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Labour strikes in India.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. The *Tribune* of the 7th January writes:—"The Bombay mill strike affecting no fewer than twenty-five mills, closely following a similar labour strike in Cawnpore, another important industrial centre in India, indicates the existence of deep-rooted causes which it is the duty of the Government to examine. The policy of leaving labour disputes to be settled between the employers and the labourers, however sound in itself in Great Britain, cannot be considered as being satisfactory or just in India, for the simple reason that the employers are strong and organised and the labourers are both ignorant and unorganised. The main problem is to inquire whether the wages have increased in proportion to the cost of living and house-rents, and if not, to fix a standard minimum wage for working men, ensuring them a minimum of comfort as well as of working efficiency. If legislation is necessary in this direction and takes time, Government can intercede in the interests of justice and induce employers to recognise and adopt the principle indicated above. Labour discontent is rapidly growing and affecting the more important middle class people, and it is absolutely necessary that Government should do something to allay it and prevent further troubles of the kind."

High prices.

Al Munir (Jhang); Ghulam Hussain, editor.

13 *Al-Munir* of the 24th December says that the poorer people, especially Government servants, whose income remains the same as it was five years back, have been hard hit by hunger and cold. We wonder why Government, which willingly changes its policy to promote the welfare of the people, is silent at such a time. "The poor are dead, the middle class people are dying and the turn of the rich is near at hand." Government should think how the poor *sufedposhes* are passing their days.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

Lahore:
The 10th January 1920

288 SB—167—14-1-20—SGPP Lahore.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH; CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1919.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. H. Hardy	*Civil and Military Gazette* Press, Lahore; 4,000.
2	**Pindi Mail**	Rawalpindi	Muhammad Sharif	Commercial Union Press, Rawalpindi; 1,200.
3	**Tribune**	Lahore	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 4,175.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 677.
5	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore;
6	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 600.
7	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
8	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
9	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	Ram Rattan, B.A.	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,350.
10	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	Khosla Brothers' Press, Lahore; 700.
11	East and West	Simla	S. Jogindra Singh	Army Press, Simla; 410.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 462.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 325.
14	Vedic Magazine	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 465.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore;
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Aftab**	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 815.
17	**Akash**	Do.	Diwan Chand	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore;
18	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 2,300.
19	**Insaf**	Do.	Amar Nath Shad	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore;
20	**Leader**	Do.	Sham Lal	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
21	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
22	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,900.
23	**Punjab**	Amritsar	David Shabbas Akhgar	*Punjab* Press, Amritsar;
24	**Sirat***	Do.	Malik Muhammad Tufail	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 500.
25	**Siyasat**	Lahore	Badri Nath	Lal Steam Press, Lahore;
	BI-WEEKLY.			
26	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 878.
27	**Paigham-i-Sulah**	Lahore	Zahur Ahmad	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 333.
28	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,624.
	WEEKLY.			
29	Ahl-i-Hadis	Amritsar	Sana Ulla	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,186.
30	Ahluwalia Gazette*	Do.	Lahna Singh	Ahluwalia Press, Amritsar; 500.
31	**Akhbar-i-'Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
32	Al-Hakam	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	S. Yakub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 600.

*Temporarily defunct.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1919—continued.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—continued.			
	Weekly—*concluded.*			
33	**Al-Munir** ...	Jhang ...	Ghulam Hussain ...	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang; 1,495.
34	**Ar-Rai** ...	Lahore ...	Fateh Muhammad ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
35	Arorbans Gazette ...	Amritsar ...	Narain Das ...	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 900.
36	Arorbans Sudharak ...	Lahore ...	Salig Ram ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
37	**Arya Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Mastan Chand, B.A. ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,529.
38	Brahman Samachar ...	Do. ...	Vidya Rattan ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 950.
39	Desh Upkarak ...	Do. ...	Thakar Dat Sharma ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
40	Dharam ...	Do. ...	Karam Chand Bahl ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
41	Faruq ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Qasim Ali ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 495.
42	**Himala** ...	Lahore ...	Dina Nath ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 4,880.
43	Hindu Gazette ...	Do. ...	Kishan Chand ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 385.
44	Intikhab-i-Lajawab ...	Do. ...	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,682.
45	Ishait-ul-Quran ...	Do. ...	Fazal Ahmad ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 400.
46	Ittihad ...	Amritsar ...	M. Maula Bakhsh ...	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 250.
47	**Jat Gazette** ...	Rohtak ...	Molar Singh ...	Hariana Press, Rohtak; 691.
48	Jiwan Tat ...	Lahore ...	Amar Singh ...	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 334.
49	**Kashmiri Magazine** ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Din, Fauq ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 980.
50	**Khalsa Akhbar** ...	Do. ...	Sardar Singh ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,300.
51	**Loyal Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,550.
52	**Municipal Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Din Muhammad ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 410.
53	Nur Afshan ...	Ludhiana ...	Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry ...	Mission Steam Press, Ludhiana; 493.
54	**Nusrat** ...	Amritsar ...	Hakim Muhammad Inayat Khan	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 350.
55	**Paisa Akhbar** ...	Lahore ...	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 4,610.
56	**Parkash** ...	Do. ...	Radha Kishen, B.A. ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,545.
57	**Peshwa*** ...	Ferozepore City ...	Lachhman Parshad ...	Bijli Press, Ferozepore City; 2,000.
58	Phul ...	Lahore ...	Mumtaz Ali ...	Universal Printing Press, Lahore; 2,000.
59	**Rajput Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Sukhram Das ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 970.
60	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak ...	Amritsar ...	Ralia Ram ...	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 728.
61	Sanatan Dharm Patrika ...	Lahore ...	Diwan Chand, Sharma ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
62	**Shanti** ...	Rawalpindi ...	Kishan Chand, Mohan ...	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 875.
63	Sharif Bibi ...	Lahore ...	Fatima ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 100.
64	Tahzib-i-Niswan ...	Do. ...	Mumtaz Ali's daughter ...	Universal Printing Press, Lahore; 1,000.
65	**Victoria Paper** ...	Sialkot ...	Brij Lal ...	*Victoria Paper* Press, Sialkot; 800.
66	**Virat†** ...	Lahore ...	Banke Dial ...	Ranjit Steam Press, Lahore; 650.
67	**Watan** ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Insha Ullah ...	Din Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 620.
68	Zulfiqar† ...	Do. ...	S. Ahmad Shah Shamsi ...	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 250.
	Tri-Monthly.			
69	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat ...	Amritsar ...	Abu Turab Muhammad Abdul Haq.	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 300.
70	Intikhab ...	Gujranwala ...	Wali Ullah ...	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
71	Mukhbir ...	Amritsar ...	[illegible] ...	Silcock Press, Amritsar; 250.
72	**Sialkot Paper** ...	Sialkot ...	Todar Mal ...	Indar Press, Sialkot; 200.

* An [illegible]

† Not received during the quarter.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1919—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
73	Aijaz-ul-Quran	Amritsar	Zia Ullah	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar; 200.
74	Al-Faqih	Do.	Hakim Miraj Din	Majudadi Press, Amritsar; 300.
75	Al Quraish	Do.	Muhammad Ali, Bannaq	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Works, Amritsar; 300.
76	Brahm Parcharak	Lahore	Nirmal Chandar	Universal Printing Press, Lahore; 242.
77	Mister Gazette	Do.	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 200.
78	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ahmad Hussain	Qadian Magazine Press, Qadian; 417.
79	Paigham-i-Sarin	Lahore	Dogar Mal	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
80	Rajput Hitkari	Do.	Daswandhi Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 375.
	MONTHLY.			
81	Ahmadi Khatun†	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Yaqub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 500.
82	Ahluwalia Rajput†	Lahore	Amar Nath Shad	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
83	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra	Amritsar	Moti Ram	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 200
84	Al Aziz	Batala	Q. Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Majudadi Press, Amritsar; 250.
85	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 400.
86	Anwar-us-Sufia	Do.	Hafiz Zafar Ali	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 800.
87	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Mukand Lal	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 550.
88	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai Bishwasi	Universal Printing Press, Lahore; 300.
89	Chamakta Tara‡	Do.	Ishar Das	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 200.
90	Darshananand	Do.	Nar Singh Sharma	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
91	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
92	Mehra Sudhar*	Do.	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A.	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
93	Makhzan	Do.	Sh. Abdul Qadir, B.A.	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 752.
94	Martand	Do.	Ram Lal	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,035.
95	Mastana Jogi	Ferozepore	Sufi Lachhman Parshad	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
96	Naqshband	Sialkot	Ahmad Din	*Naqshband* Press, Sialkot; 400.
97	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mittar Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala; 800.
98	Qasid	Montgomery	James William	Universal Printing Press, Lahore; 250.
99	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Lahore	Pir Bakhsh	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
100	Sairab‡	Montgomery	Imtiaz Ali Khan	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
101	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore City	Manohar Lal	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 345.
102	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar; 300.
103	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore; 569.
104	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 4,300.
105	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore; 226.
106	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Mirza Mahmud Ahmad	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 700.

* Defunct.
† Temporarily ceased.
‡ An irregular periodical.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1919—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI.			
	WEEKLY.			
107	Khalsa Samachar	Amritsar	Vir Singh	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,224.
108	Panch	Lahore	Ram Singh	Model Electric Press, Lahore; 1,600.
109	Panth Sewak	Do.	Chanda Singh	Universal Printing Press, Lahore; 2,000.
110	Punjab Darpan	Amritsar	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 800.
111	Sikh Sepoy	Ferozepore City	Tek Singh	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 350.
112	Sri Guru Nanak Darshan	Lahore	Sant Sumer Singh	Model Electric Press, Lahore; 1,000.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
113	Chandr	Lyallpur	Raghbir Singh	Royal Press, Lyallpur; 450.
114	Nirguniara	Amritsar	Khalsa Tract Society (?)	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 257.
	MONTHLY.			
115	Punjabi Bhain	Ferozepore	Takht Singh	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 1,050.
	QUARTERLY.			
116	Dukh Niwaran	Tarn Taran (Amritsar)	Mohan Singh	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 500.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
117	Sewak	Lahore	Amar Singh	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 200.

Supplement to Punjab Press Abstract, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2.

Selections from Extra-Provincial Newspapers.

THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE.

DAINIK BHARAT MITRA (Calcutta), Hindi.

1. The following is translated from the *Dainik Bharat Mitra* of the 25th December:—India does not want Bolshevism. The new cult will doubtless find a ready acceptance wherever western civilisation extends. But we look down on western civilisation; and so long as India does not change her religion, Bolshevism can have no dangers for her. Whether time forces will ultimately compel India to accept the material civilisation of the west is another question. If India wishes to escape the evils of Bolshevism, she should take steps to reject the civilisation which has given birth to it and not permit the further growth of semi-anglicised ideas in her midst.

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

2. The following is taken from the *Leader* of the 11th January:—"No one who is not a rank revolutionary, and who has not an absolutely perverted notion of social and economic questions, can view with equanimity the triumphal march of Bolshevism towards the east. In Central Asia, where there is no settled government, and which has been suffering from acute economic distress, it is likely to find a favourable field. Starvation is its greatest ally. The danger to India is remote, but the infection should be guarded against by the adoption of every measure necessary to relieve the economic pressure. The restrictions on the export of food-grains ought to be continued. The *rabi* harvest ought not to be allowed to be exploited by exporters. The economic situation is growing every day more trying, and in the interest of Government and the people, employers and employed, it is essential that the embargo on the export of food-grains should be strictly maintained. If prices are somewhat lowered India will be able to defy Bolshevism. The great hope of the country lies in the next harvest. But it will not be realised if, in the interests of exporters and of Europe and occupied territories in Asia, the Indian Government allows India to be drawn upon by other countries for their food supplies. The people are undergoing a terrible strain, and this fact ought to be clearly realised by the authorities, who have often shown their ignorance of the actualities of the situation."

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

MUFID-I-ROZGAR (Bombay), Urdu.

3. The *Mufid-i-Rozgar* of the 28th December publishes an open letter addressed to the Muslim League:—It is an article of faith with every Muhammadan that no non-Muslim must rule over Constantinople, the last resting place of Hazrat Ayub Ansari. The thousands of Muslim lives lost in its capture render the place the inalienable property of Islam. Similarly the holy city of Mecca and such places as Baghdad and Najf-i-Ashraf belong to the Muhammadans in the very nature of things. Thanks be to the Almighty that though some portion of the caliph's dominions is in the hands of the unbeliever, the seat of the caliphate remains still in Mussalman possession. Let the Mussalmans once again put their faith in God and the Quran as they did in the old days when the caliphate of Musta'asim Billah was overthrown by the robber hordes of Changiz Khan. For not only was the caliphate again established, but Changiz Khan himself was won over to the true faith. Follow, and faint not, the sayings of the Prophet. How comes it that the peace conference has slighted our sentiments? How is it that the Prime Minister, at whose word thousands went to their death on the battlefield, now pours forth words that wound the Muslim heart? Naught can extinguish Islam, the very light of God. Success lies, and lies only, in carrying out the commandments of God and the Prophet. By aiding the Turks we are aiding Islam. Abstain from every kind of festivity so long as a peace according to our desires is not signed with Turkey.

The article concludes with an appeal for funds to repair the great mosque of Omar. Elsewhere in the same issue the *Mufid-i-Rozgar* thanks God that a wave of religious fervour is again passing through the veins of the Turks, and that a Turkish association has been formed which is gaining strength every day.

THE REFORM ACT.

NAYAK (Calcutta), Bengali.

4. The following is translated from the *Nayak* of the 24th December:—The chief benefit expected to accrue from the passing of the Act is the creation of a few posts carrying fat salaries. Together with these appointments the control of certain departments will also pass into Indian hands. The new ministers will have the most ample opportunities for favouritism. We shudder to think how continually more intense all this will render our party feeling. The reason why the extremists are so cross with the moderates is because they believe the latter will be given a monopoly of the ministerial vacancies and the vacancies in the executive councils. This is the root cause of the ill-feeling towards Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in particular and the moderates in general.

LEADER (Allahabad), English.

5. The following forms the opening part of a leading article, headed "No Sense of Proportion," published in the *Leader* of the 10th January:—"What is the most striking feature of the tendency of the popular mind at present? It is an incapacity to take a balanced view of things, or a loss of a sense of proportion. In nothing is this fact better illustrated than in the view that prevailed in the Amritsar Congress about the Reform Act. While to any thoughtful man it would be at once evident that it would be difficult to find enough men to run the democratic machinery for which the Act makes provision with any degree of efficiency and to work out constructive policies for promoting popular well-being, the Congress has declared that the country is fit for complete responsible government and that the concessions made are 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.' It was bad enough that they made extravagant demands during the stage of agitation with a view to securing the maximum possible of concessions; but to persist in them after the stage both of agitation and negotiation is over is to show a sense of utter irresponsibility and lack of sagacity. To assert that the country is immediately fit for complete responsible government is to make a large draft upon one's credulity. Where is the electorate which has been trained in the exercise of the vote? Even in the sphere of local self-government we find that the electors understand mighty little of their responsibility when they record their votes for particular individuals. It is the social position and influence of the candidates and not their views on municipal problems which generally secure for them the largest number of votes. The elected members often act as they please in supreme disregard of what their constituencies may think, for they hardly know their rights or understand municipal problems. When such is the case in the municipal sphere, where the voters are concerned with local matters, the state of affairs in the provincial sphere must be still more unsatisfactory. The number of men who can properly appreciate provincial questions is much smaller than those who can understand municipal problems, and the number of those who can take an all-India view of a particular question is much more limited than of those whose outlook extends to provincial matters. There is no electorate in existence which is educated enough to understand and form an intelligent judgment on all questions of a provincial, an all-India or an imperial nature. If the electorate consisted entirely of educated men, at least in urban areas, then it might be said that India was fit for responsible government. But the educated class is not sufficiently strong in numbers; and hence they cannot sustain a claim of fitness for complete responsible government immediately by reference to their own capacity. Responsible government has been unknown to India, at least within historical times. It is an altogether western institution. If it is to be a reality it must grow up gradually. The education of the sense of political responsibility of the Indian people will come slowly through the exercise of the right of vote. British statesmen know full well that democratic institutions take time to develop, and hence it is that they have provided for a stage of transition."

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

BENGALI (Calcutta), Bengali.

6. The following appears in the *Bengali* of the 25th December:—This proclamation is without equal since the proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858. In language, thought and diction it is unique. Never before was a King heard to utter words conveying such kindness, sympathy and deep feeling. It will be wrong hereafter to foster ill-feeling against the British

race. Our Emperor himself has expiated the misdeeds of Jallianwala Bagh and the Punjab. Henceforth there will no longer be extremists and moderates; all must follow a pro-British policy. All must join in the great march onwards, companied by the British nation. Forget Jallianwala. Forget Gujranwala.

NAYAK
(Calcutta),
Bengali.

7. The *Nayak* of the 25th December says:—Age after age, India has ever been the unhappy victim of dire oppression. The incidents of Jallianwala Bagh, Gujranwala and Kasur are not new to India. But such expiation as this, coming straight from our kindly Emperor and his ministers, is a thing wholly new—a wonderful, unlooked-for boon to the three hundred millions of India. Such kind and sympathetic treatment the Indians have never before received from any of their foreign rulers. The visit of the Prince of Wales will inaugurate a new era. As for ourselves, we are henceforth ready to act in coöperation with all, and to forget the past. In our heart henceforth envy and malice will find no place. We will forget Jallianwala Bagh, we will forget everything—forget not only in word but in deed.

THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA
(Calcutta),
English.

8. The following is taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 1st January:—"It was a happy thought on the part of the organisers of the Congress to place in front of the rostrum the full-sized portrait of a beautiful boy of twelve, one of the many victims of the Jallianwala Bagh (or what is now appropriately called the Khuni Bagh) massacre. Long after the bloody hand of General Dyer has ceased to move, the tiny hands of that pretty boy will guide his countrymen onward and onward till the goal of freedom is reached. That figure, which alive was so tiny by the side of that of General Dyer, has by a cruel death been transformed into that of a mighty giant which now overshadows autocracy in India. Year after year let the portrait of Shahid Watan Madan Mohan be hung up on the rostrum of the Congress to remind his countrymen what an autocracy it was against which they were to fight constitutionally but yet with strength and determination, imbued by the highest sacrificing spirit."

THE MODERATE CONFERENCE.

HINDU
(Madras),
English

9. The following is taken from the *Hindu* of the 3rd January:—"The Moderate Conference has certainly justified its existence if only by offering such a splendid foil to the Congress. What it lacked in numbers—and by all accounts there is a sad lack of intellectualism of the moderate variety in the country—it made up in brains. What it lacked in enthusiasm it made up in eloquence. Since patriotism is only an enlarged form of selfishness the Conference started by being enthusiastic over itself before getting enthusiastic over its country. Its modesty is characteristic. It saved Mr. Montagu's Bill, it saved the Punjab, it saved India; one can in fancy see it washing its hands in invisible soap and water waiting for the reward. . . . . We have referred to the fatuities of this Moderate Conference, its sickening self-laudation, its sugary flattery and its no less unpleasant self-abasement, only to contrast it with the firmness, dignity and moderation of the Congress. The latter's loyalty to the King-Emperor was no less marked, but its appreciation of the message was more exact and more acceptable because more sincere. Disraeli, an inimitable master of the art, once said that most people can be flattered, but that when it comes to Royalty you must lay it on with a trowel. The president of the Moderate Conference laid it on with an extra large sized one. Certainly the Moderate Conference has justified itself, for in its sheer ineptitude it has displayed to outsiders the fatuity of its claim to represent the better mind of India and the impudent absurdity of its libel on the Congress as a mob of excitables lashed to fury by demagogues. The thinking man can decide which of the two displayed more dignity, moderation and self-restraint in distinctly trying circumstances."

MISCELLANEOUS.

PRAJA MITRA
AND PARSI
(Bombay),
Gujrati and
English.

10. The following appears in the Gujrati columns of the *Praja Mitra and Parsi* of the 20th December:—In reply to a question in the House of Commons the Premier stated that the administration of Mesopotamia would not be handed over to the Colonial Secretary but would remain in the hands of the Secretary of State for India. It is deplorable that India should thus be

compelled to assume control of Mesopotamia against her will. Certain British imperialists were desirous of obtaining that province for the economic and political benefit of the British Empire; it is surprising that Great Britain should be reluctant to undertake the responsibility of the administration, now that it has actually come in her possession. The *Times* has protested against England undertaking the responsibility of Mesopotamia, and as a result of this protest the British authorities seem to have decided to saddle poor India with the responsibility. Such a decision does injustice to India, and the Congress and the Muslim League should protest against it. Other commercial bodies like the Indian Merchants' Chamber should also record their protests in this connection.

DAINIK BASUMATI (Calcutta), English and Bengali.

11. The *Dainik Basumati* of the 24th December writes:—We publish the following letter in order to make clear what steps were taken in the mufassil to secure the success of the peace celebrations:—

"Whereas, under the orders of the Indian Government, peace will be celebrated at the Raiganj police station from the 27th to the 30th instant, and there will be dancing, singing, etc., on the occasion; I hereby invite you to come and join in the rejoicings. Your sympathy and assistance is greatly needed for the effectiveness of the celebration.

"SRI NALINI KANTA MITRA,
"*Officer in Charge,*
"*Raiganj Police Station.*
"GOLAM ARAB ALI KHAN,
"*Sub-Registrar, Dhamghari.*"

This celebration was held at the Raiganj police station, Pabna. The letter sent by our correspondent was directed to a prostitute; so it must be admitted that the police officer and the sub-registrar have shown the democratic spirit in a very high degree. We hear subscriptions were raised for this purpose, and the language of the letter may even mean that the rejoicings to be held at the police station were according to the order of the Indian Government, and that the police asked for assistance accordingly.

A. V. ASKWITH,
Personal Assistant to the D. I. G. of Police,
C. I. D., Punjab.

LAHORE:
The 10th January 1920.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolshevik menace.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

1. Commenting upon the report that the Bolshevik agents are zealously at work in Afghanistan, the *Leader* of the 11th January expresses the hope that, in view of the bitter experience which the Afghans had during the recent war with the British Government, they will not suffer themselves to be misled by the Bolshevists. It is nevertheless our duty to make our house safe, and we would pray that, in view of the threatened Bolshevik danger, the Government of India will change its frontier policy.

Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th January translates a recent Reuter's telegram regarding the future of Turkey and characterizes the message as ominous. If Constantinople, it adds, is taken out of the Sultan's possession, a heavier blow will be dealt to Turkey than the loss of all her other provinces would have meant. The change would reduce her to a third class Asiatic power. The statement that everything possible will be done to avoid offending Muslim susceptibilities is ridiculous. The Allies seem to have finally decided to occupy all the provinces of Turkey and take possession of her historic capital. How can all this be done without wounding the hearts of the Muhammadans? Constantinople is a religious city for them, containing as it does numerous mosques and tombs of holy persons. It is grossly unjust to remove such a sacred Muhammadan city from under the Ottoman Government and make it over to Christian powers. If this comes to pass, which God forbid, the event will [illegible] a most severe shock to the whole Muslim world, and the sympathy which the Secretary of State, His Excellency the Viceroy and [illegible] have shown for the sentiments of the Muhammadans will all [illegible].

PANJAB (Amritsar); David Shahbaz, editor.

Egypt.

3. (*a*) The *Panjab* of the 8th January says that the British Government has declared Egypt to be a British possession. The Egyptians are not disposed to acquiesce in this. A desire for complete freedom has made them restless. After stating that the Egyptian nationalists have boycotted Lord Milner's commission, the newspaper remarks that a careful consideration will show that there is no country in the wide world which can be happy and contented under foreign rule. The desire for freedom and liberty is strong everywhere. Every fair-minded person will, therefore, endorse the demands of the Egyptians. This is the reason why the All-India Muslim League has passed a resolution sympathising with their legitimate aspirations, and the supporters of the Congress also share its feelings in the matter. A glance at the history of England and her colonies for several years past will show that the British Government has always overlooked the aspirations of the peoples under her in the beginning and has decided to realise them only when she has been put to great inconvenience by means of continued agitation. And this is also the spirit which actuates her in her relations even with Egypt. When it has been admitted that the whole world is entitled to the right of self-determination, why are the wishes of the Egyptians sought to be thrown into the background? England should not hesitate to grant their rights to the races under her sway. We feel confident that the agitation carried on by the Egyptians will cease on her taking a practical step towards fulfilling their wishes.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Commenting on the Egyptian nationalists' declaration to boycott the Milner Commission, the *Tribune* of the 15th January writes:—"The irreconcilable attitude adopted by the Egyptian nationalists towards the Milner mission, it cannot be gainsaid, is to a very large extent due to the policy of drift and delay pursued by the British Government in the settlement of the Egyptian question. The situation has been aggravated by the serious blunders of the last few months, chiefly the deportation of Zaglul Pasha and the other Egyptian ministers who wanted to proceed to England on deputation. The popular risings, followed by martial law with its inevitable excesses, have not of course in any way tended to improve the position, and it will now require all the frankness, tact and courage of which British statesmanship is capable to ease a most difficult situation and conciliate a nation which is bent on achieving complete independence."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The royal proclamation.

4. (*a*) The *Jiwan Tat* of the 5th January says that the royal proclamation is a very valuable document worthy of appreciation. It will remain memorable in the history of this country. The loving words in which the King-Emperor has expressed heartfelt sympathy for Indians and his sincere desire for, and deep interest in, their well-being, strike a responsive chord in one's heart. We extend a warm welcome to this loving proclamation and tender our sincere thanks to His Majesty for it.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 8th January writes:—"The whole of India had unanimously acclaimed the royal proclamation as one of the most important historic documents that will go down to posterity to the immense credit of British love of justice and freedom. Every word of it breathes that royal 'devotion and affection' of which the King and his people are justly proud and that broad and genuine sympathy, statesmanship and idealism that shall in no distant future be the glorious salvation of India. Many a felicitious phrase in the proclamation, such as 'the fulness of political freedom,' will continue to ring in our ears by their daily reiterated use in the press."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 14th January writes:—"Since we last wrote on the subject more martial law prisoners have been released, and if our information is correct, these include a number of persons with sentences varying from three to four years. It is, therefore, all the more difficult to make out why the several remaining prisoners convicted in the leaders' cases have not been released yet. . . . Along with them are also a number of educated persons. . . . . whose cases are in many ways identical with the leaders' cases. The fact that all or most of these prisoners are under a sentence of more than three years is clearly no argument for their continued detention, not only because the question of sentence is immaterial in exercising the royal prerogative of clemency, but because, as just stated, certain persons with a sentence of four years have been released already. . . . . If . . . . there is any disposition in any quarter to regard these cases as in any way falling under the exception contemplated in the reservation 'in the fullest measure compatible with the public safety,' all we can say is that nothing could be further from the truth. . . . . While on this subject may we inquire . . . . when the turn of those convicted and sentenced in connection with past conspiracy cases is going to come? The words of the proclamation are perfectly clear, and they cover as much and as fully the cases of these persons—of men like Bhai Parmanand and Lal Chand Falak, for instance—as those of most of the persons who have been released so far."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(d) The *Vakil* of the 14th January says that when prisoners are being released in pursuance of the royal proclamation, it is not only proper but necessary that the punitive police should be withdrawn from the places where it was located in consequence of the April disturbances. The Chief Commissioner in the North-West Frontier Province has been pleased to take this step in the case of Peshawar. We appeal to the just Government of Sir Edward Maclagan to repose trust in the people and pass similar orders in regard to Lahore, Amritsar and other places.

The Government of India Act.

EAST AND WEST (Simla); Jogindra Singh, editor.

5. (a) The November issue of *East and West* writes:—"The recommendations of the [joint] committee are liberal both in spirit and form and provide all the element of future expansion. Self-government cannot be attained in a day. It is a process of growth and the new constitution provides ample scope for healthy growth. The appointment of three Indian members to the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy of India gives equality in the Councils of the Indian Empire. . . . The glorious prize of one half of the Government of India with full responsibility is a concession which opens endless opportunities of sacrifice and service in the cause of the silent millions to those who are anxious to serve the motherland, and in serving her to serve the Empire. The constitution for the provinces is even more liberal, the elected representatives of the people are to control some of the most important departments of the state. . . . . India, for the first time, has been set free to seek its own salvation under wise guidance which British hegemony guarantees. The occasion calls for united gratitude of the whole of India for the great boon and equally united determination to work harmoniously for the attainment of a larger happiness and a brighter life on earth for the millions."

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(b) The *Leader* of the 10th January says that the reforms embodied in the new Government of India Act are inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing. It is incumbent on us to continue our struggle for obtaining complete self-government, at the same time trying to profit by what has been conceded to us. The people should send to the reformed Councils truly representative Indians, who may keep their interests in view and not allow their opponents to trample upon their sentiments and aspirations. The Congress is the only association in the country which all classes of Indians may call their own. It is, therefore, our duty to return only Congress leaders to the new Councils and pay no regard to people who always endorse every official proposal and thereby afford opportunities for the blasting of our wishes.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

(c) The *Tribune* of the 17th January writes:—"It is absurd to say, as some not very responsible persons have said, that our main duty is to obstruct the reforms and show that they are impracticable. We do not for one single moment agree with those who tell us that the question of obstruction can never arise; but surely the very worst preparation for the new era would be to enter upon it in the spirit which is embodied in the above statement of our duty. The opportunity that has been given us is primarily one of coöperating with the other half of the administration, the half that continues to be responsible to Parliament. If, instead of coöperating, we began by obstructing, we should only be playing into the hands of those who have fought us tooth and nail in the battle that has ended in our obtaining this opportunity. We do not forget that the obstructionist believes that by the time that the reforms failed the Labour party would have come into power and that they would give us all that we want. The obstructionist is welcome to forget the truth of the homely saying 'A bird in hand is worth two in the bush,' and may be left, as best he can, to reconcile his new excessive faith in the Labour party with his and our old and oft-repeated cry 'Nations are by themselves made.' For our part we firmly believe that it is in one case and only one that we can expect to have the active sympathy and support of the Labour party in making the failure of the present scheme the pillar of a better one. That case would be if the scheme failed through no fault of our own, if it failed either because of its inherent defects, or because the bureaucracy proved obstructive and did not want the scheme to succeed. If it fails through our own obstructionist tactics, depend upon it the whole of England, including the Labour party, will be against us, and then our only chance of obtaining what we want will lie in our proving victorious in a strenuous constitutional struggle with the English nation in which all the moral and political resources on either side will be engaged. The man who would thoughtlessly precipitate his country into such a struggle, without counting the cost and in the absence of unavoidable necessity, can have absolutely no idea either of the nature of the struggle itself and the indispensable conditions of success in it, or of what is best for his country. One word more. Has the obstructionist so far got any encouragement from the Labour party? Has not that party, through practically all its leaders, asked India to accept what she has got in the hope of, and while striving to obtain, something better?"

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Imperial preference.

6. In commenting on the speech which the Viceroy made in opening a conference of Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce, the *Tribune* of the 18th January writes:—"What we must guard ourselves against . . . is the possibility of our having the semblance of a new, along with the substance of the old, order of things. The present danger, we must say, is an unintelligent and unrestricted policy of imperial perference, which . . . has many of the disadvantages of free trade and but few of the advantages of protection. By all means let us avoid the snares of *a priori* ideas as His Excellency asked us to do, but let us not avoid them only on one side, and that side the weaker at present. His Excellency made it clear that 'it is not the Government's intention to adopt a policy of preference as a general principle without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion.' Unhappily enlightened public opinion in India has too often meant the opinion only of the representatives of vested interests of a particular kind. With the general principle laid down by His Excellency no one need quarrel. 'It is our interests,' he said, 'that is to say, the interests of India, that we have first to look to; but it would be unwise to take a wholly parochial point of view, and in developing the tariff policy of the future we ought to be able to evolve some system which will be to the advantage not of ourselves alone, but also of the Empire of which we are a part.' His Excellency will, however, see that this statement of policy only evades the real issue. That issue is not whether we should look to the interests of the rest of the Empire, if and where we can do so consistently with looking to our own—no man in his senses would hold otherwise—but what we are to do in those cases where imperial patriotism is in conflict with national patriotism, where in order to serve the Empire we have to make a sacrifice of our own interests. In such cases the only acceptable policy is that which makes India lose no more in one way than she gains in another. Sacrifice in any other sense would be absolute and therefore indefensible. Mere reciprocity will not do. We have an example of the application of an analogous principle in another sphere. The three Indian members of the Secretary of State's Council are to have an overseas allowance, presumably in return for the same or similar allowance to be paid to an immensely larger number of officers whom India imports for her services. Reciprocity on this basis might concede the form (it would not concede the substance) of what India wants and must have; namely, equality of sacrifice."

Parkash (Lahore); Radha Kishen, editor;

The Amritsar Congress.

7. (a) The *Parkash* of the 4th January says that the Amritsar Congress was a sort of test, and we are glad to be able to say that not only the Punjab but the whole country has emerged successful from the ordeal. We [illegible] help praising the liberal policy followed by Sir Edward [illegible] on the occasion. His Honour has to a certain extent [illegible] the people of the Punjab

forget the martial law days. Eight months back nobody could have said that any one in this province would even mention the word politics in future. But people saw and heard unexpected things at Amritsar on the occasion of the Congress. There was a day when they concealed themselves through fear, but they assembled in thousands at the Congress meetings and laid their demands before Government in a fearless manner. The Punjab was half-dead because of martial law, but Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Shradhanand, Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Nehru made strenuous efforts to restore her to life.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(b) N. GUPTA writes to the *Liberal* of the 12th January :—"The Amritsar Congress marks an ever-memorable epoch in the history of the Indian nation, an epoch which, with singular and almost divinely ordained appropriateness, has taken place in the holy city of the Sikhs, whose splendid history can never be forgotten. The sacred city which witnessed the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and submitted to the order that was given to the Serpent in Holy Writ, and men and children crawled and crept on their bellies, opened out her lacerated breast and arms to welcome the cream of the educated community as well as the peasants who really form the nation. Is there no divine purpose behind these happenings? Why was the Punjab selected for the trial it has undergone? Its political activity was not very keen when the war broke out, and the whole province was more or less in a state of quiescence. Is the series of ordeals through which the Punjab has passed merely a chapter of accidents, or is it in fulfilment of a preordained purpose? Why was a man like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, with scarcely any experience of the Punjab and none whatsoever of the administration of British India, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab? Why were his recruiting methods never known or prohibited until after the war was over? Why was he permitted habitually to affront the educated classes and the leaders of the community? Why were demonstrations of indignant protest against the Rowlatt Act treated as acts of rebellion? Why were men like Lala Harkishen Lal, Lala Duni Chand, Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt, and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal arrested and sentenced to transportation for life? Finally, why was martial law proclaimed and why was the Jallianwala Bagh massacre perpetrated? Those who are responsible for these outrages doubtless thought that they were crushing the rebellious spirit of the people. How could they know that they were the blind instruments of a power which fashions the destinies of nations, rough hew them as men in authority will? How can they understand even now that the Jallianwala Bagh massacre is the blood-baptism of the nation that calls India the motherland? It is by no accident that these events have happened in the Punjab. . . It is the land of martyrs and heroes. The martyred Gurus and their followers blossomed into the invincible Khalsa. In the last war the Punjab gave the flower of her manhood, and she had her reward in martial law and the Jallianwala Bagh affairs. There is a clear and lofty purpose behind all that has happened in the Punjab within the last four or five years. In no province were the Hindus and Muhammadans more bitterly divided than in the Punjab, and it is in the fitness of a divine purpose that the union of the Hindus and Muhammadans should be closer in the Punjab than anywhere else. The *samadhi* of the boy-martyr Haqiqat Rai at Lahore is a memory of the bitterness that once existed; the memorial at Jallianwala Bagh will be a token and symbol of the unification of Hindus and Muhammadans for all time, consecrated by the mingled blood of the Hindu and Muhammadan martyrs. The sufferings of the Punjab give it a preeminence which will be reverently yielded by the rest of India, while the clarion call of the nation at Amritsar will resound through the ages when India will stand triumphant and free at the forefront of the Empire."

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(c) The *Pindi Mail* of the 11th January writes:—"The spirit of uncompromising extremism reached its climax at last when the other day the Indian National Congress passed a resolution for the recall of the Viceroy. Even the attempted move on the part of a certain section of the Congressmen to belittle the Reform Act as disappointing and totally inadequate pales into insignificance when viewed in juxtaposition with this flagrantly irresponsible act. . . . The resolution for the recall of the Viceroy is, to say the least, an [illegible] disloyal act; for you cannot be loyal to His Majesty the Emperor if you withhold even common courtesy from his representative. Further, the ground alleged for the resolution was the Punjab atrocities. Even assuming for a moment that the acts of certain officials in the suppression of recent disturbances are regarded with extreme disapproval by the public, the fact must not be forgotten that the Hunter Committee has commenced its investigations and will record its findings at no distant date. Upon this will unquestionably depend whatever further official action is warranted to be taken. Should not the Congress have at least waited till then?"

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(d) Commenting on the resolution of the Congress demanding the recall of the Viceroy, the *Siyasat* of the 16th January says that that body has taken a very hasty step in passing the resolution. The Congressmen ought to have awaited the finding of the Disorders Inquiry Committee. The speeches made in connection with the resolution were more numerous than the occasion demanded.

TAHZIB-I-NISWAN (Lahore); Mumtaz Ali's daughter, editor.

Indian women and politics.

8. The *Tahzib-i-Niswan* of the 10th January publishes an article written by Najma Imtiyaz, daughter of Tahsildar Ahmad Husain. The writer suggests that the newspaper should publish articles on political subjects also, so as to create a taste for politics in Indian women. She does not mean to say that complicated political questions should be laid before Indian women of ordinary education, or that an undesirable excitement should be caused among them. Now, however, that everything in the world is undergoing a change it is in the fitness of things that the women of this country also should become acquainted with political matters. They need not take part in political discussions and interfere in matters beyond their comprehension. But it must be remembered that political rights can be demanded only when women are able to understand the benefits accruing from them.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

The Esher Commission.

9. The *Jat Gazette* of the 7th January urges the following points for consideration by the Army Commission:—

(1) So far the Indian section of the army has been composed of persons belonging to classes with very little education and having no organ or political societies fully to represent their case. In these circumstances, if no petitions are submitted to the commission, if the witnesses who speak on the requirements of this section of soldiers are not numerous or if there is no agitation in the press over the matter, the commission should not presume that the Indians in the army desire no improvement in their condition.

(2) Indians should at first get twenty-five per cent. of commissions in the army, half the appointments going to promising officers already in service.

(3) The status of jamadars, risaldars, subedars and the like and of the privates and non-commissioned officers in the British section of the army should be clearly defined. There prevails considerable discontent among the former over the matter, that they are not saluted by the latter.

(4) The pay of Indians in the army should be increased.

Continuing, the newspaper says that social relations between Indian and English officers and men should be improved; the procedure followed by courts martial should change; facilities should be afforded for the education of Indian officers, soldiers and their children; arrangements for sanitation and medical aid should be expanded; and so forth.

PANJAB (Amritsar); David Shahbaz, editor.

India's war services.

10. The *Panjab* of the 9th January publishes a summary of the speech which Mr. Dudley Field Malone made in presenting the case of India for self-determination before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, and in the course of which he detailed India's war services and quoted figures to show her poverty-stricken condition. Commenting, the newspaper says that it is most deplorable that while India should not [illegible] her [illegible] to preserve England's honour, General Dyer should [illegible] a machine-gun [illegible] thousands of innocent [illegible] [illegible] O'Dwyer [illegible]

recognition which the services rendered by us have received at the generous hands of these haughty and self-conceited rulers. Our brain is not dead: every blow dealt at our body has left an indelible mark on our brain. The recollection of the typhoon of martial law is still fresh in our minds, and we shed tears of blood to see that while the Americans appreciate our services, our rulers do not so much as know of them.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Hunter Committee.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

11. (*a*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 12th January:—"Much as we regret the decision arrived at by the Congress sub committee not to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee on account of the refusal by the latter to grant the Punjab leaders the ordinary right of being present when evidence against them was being tendered, we confess we cannot congratulate Lord Hunter or his committee on the most unwise step they have taken in refusing to take the evidence of the leaders, who, thanks to the initiative taken by His Majesty the King-Emperor, have been released from their unjust, cruel and undeserved incarceration, and have voluntarily offered to give evidence before the committee, should the latter think it necessary to record it. This was an opportunity which no fair-minded person charged with the heavy responsibility of arriving at a right judgment in an intricate matter like the one that forms the subject of the present inquiry could afford to lose. But the Hunter Committee, it appears from the reply it has cabled to Dr. Satyapal, cares more for technicalities than for fairness and justice. It says that the committee sat at Lahore for over six weeks, has completed the evidence and that full opportunity was given for the presentation of the non-official case. Be that as it may, has the committee any justification whatsoever in shutting out any available evidence which in the nature of things is bound to have a deep influence in shaping its decision, unless, of course, it is convinced from the official evidence that has been adduced already, of the justice of the opposite case? What matters it if the committee has sat already for over six weeks? Has it been playing with time or was every minute of it spent in recording evidence, one-sided though it undoubtedly was? That considerations of time should prevent the committee, which has been expressly appointed for the purpose, on payment, we believe, of a daily or monthly allowance, from doing full justice to the task entrusted to it, is extremely regrettable; and very little weight, if any, will attach to its decision should it happen to be against the leaders concerned."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 15th January writes:—"An Associated Press message . . . states that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is to be examined *in camera* to-day at Bombay by the Hunter Committee. It is to be deeply regretted that Lord Hunter and his committee did not see their way to accede to the popular demand for the examination of Sir Michael in public. If there is any man whose defence (if he has any to offer) and cross-examination by members of the Inquiry Committee ought to have been made in public that man is Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the chief inspirer and originator of the policy the justifiability or otherwise of which is under examination by the Hunter Committee."

The Punjab disturbances.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. (*a*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 15th January:—"In the course of [an interview with a *Pall Mall Gazette* representative] Mr. Montagu expressed the hope that 'when Indians were receiving new opportunities to serve India, the newspapers in India, Indian and European, would do all they could to avoid anything which might promote quarrels between different parts of the administration or races in India,' and added: 'There is much reform, industrial, legal, judicial, and military, to accomplish in India and coöperation will be necessary. Recrimination can only increase the difficulties and make more dangerous the obstacles which partnership could overcome.' With the spirit of these observations we heartily agree. But if Mr. Montagu's hope, which is ours, is to be realised in the fullest measure, two things are clearly essential. In the first place, a policy of impartial and scrupulous justice must be followed with regard to the events of April as between the people and the officers of Government, civil and military; and secondly the fullest effect must be given to the spirit of that part of the royal proclamation in which His Majesty expresses the hope that every effort will be made to obliterate all traces of bitterness between his

people and his Government. In other words, an attempt should be made to begin with a sort of clean slate, as far as the mutual relations between the people and the Government are concerned, and the only way in which this can be done in not only by a general amnesty to political offenders but by cancelling all executive measures of a restrictive character and repealing or suspending the operation of all repressive and reactionary laws."

Elsewhere the newspaper writes :—" 'No comments,' said Mr. Montagu finally, 'should be made or action contemplated until the publication of the report.' If this statement is intended as a reply to the resolutions of the Congress, every fair-minded person will see that in this matter it is Mr. Montagu who is wholly in the wrong and the Congress which is wholly in the right. Far from having taken no action, he took a very decided action when he sent Sir Michael O'Dwyer out to India as the virtual president of the Army Commission, and if he took this step in the absence of adequate knowledge of the Punjab affairs, surely he has no excuse, after the revelations made before the Hunter Committee, for persisting in the wrong course. As for General Dyer, every consideration of justice, of fairness, of commonsense itself makes it imperative for the Government, after his own evidence, to relieve him of his command. In neither case is the action demanded as a matter of punishment. There is no difference of opinion anywhere that the question of punishment can arise only after the Hunter Committee have submitted their report. The present action is demanded in one case as a matter of rectifying an undoubted mistake, in the other in accordance with well-established precedent. No officer charged with a grave offence is permitted to continue in active service while his conduct is under inquiry, and no man was ever charged with a graver offence than that with which General Dyer is charged by the people of the Punjab and of India; and we venture to think that the further fact that the charge in this case is one which rests on his own evidence makes the action demanded even more imperative than it would otherwise have been."

LEADER (Lahore) Sham Lal, editor.

(b) The *Leader* of the 15th January learns from its Amritsar correspondent that twenty-six police officials, including sub-inspectors and head constables, have been arrested there on the charge of having committed thefts during the April disturbances. The arrests have caused a sensation in the city, and it is feared that the matter will be hushed up. A regular case should be instituted against the accused and condign punishment inflicted on them in the event of their being found guilty. It is a fact that police employees greatly oppressed and harassed the people of Amritsar in connection with the disturbances referred to; and now that the secret has been revealed, not only should they be properly punished but some reparation should also be made for the highhandedness practised by them on innocent citizens.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Lahore High Court.

13. (a) Adverting to the High Court Bar Association's resolution requesting the Lieutenant-Governor and the Viceroy to recommend to His Majesty the King-Emperor the appointment of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal to succeed the late Sir Henry Rattigan, the *Tribune* of the 14th January writes : "We have not always or generally seen eye to eye with either the provincial Government or the Government of India, but we cannot, until the contrary is shown, do either authority the injustice of believing that in a matter of this kind, and especially in view of the passing of the Government of India Act and of the royal proclamation inaugurating a new era in the country—an era of which the dominating characteristics are to be freedom and equality—it will allow itself to be influenced in any manner or degree by racial considerations or by any considerations except those of justice and of that large-hearted expediency which is but another name for statesmanship."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(b) The *Paisa Akhbar* of 15th January says that Mr. Justice Shadi Lal is, by reason of his high legal attainments and experience, fully qualified for the Chief Justiceship. And now that the number of Indian members in the Viceroy's Executive Council has been raised to [illegible], the appointment of an Indian to the post should no longer be an unusual thing. [illegible] an experienced Indian judge. [illegible]

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(c) The *Leader* of the 13th January publishes a letter from one Babu KHEM CHAND, who suggests that Sheikh Amir Ali, the sessions judge, at Gujranwala, should be given the last vacancy on the High Court bench in the event of the appointment of Chief Justice being made from among the present judges.

PANJAB (Amritsar); David Shahbaz, editor.

A railway assault case.

14. (a) The *Panjab* of the 11th January writes under the heading "A Respectable Indian and a Military Pharoah: O Blandishments of the Beloved! Will the Turn of Enjoyment also ever come? Will this Chain of Injustice ever end?":—Our Rawalpindi correspondent sends the following for publication: A very deplorable incident took place at the railway station of Rawalpindi on the 8th January. These are the details. When the 18-Down reached Rawalpindi, a respectable Madrasi gentleman, secretary of the well-known Calcutta firm of Chary and Co., took his seat in an empty first class compartment. There was no board outside it to show that it had been reserved for any particular person. Five minutes afterwards a British amry officer came and asked the Madrasi gentleman to leave the compartment. The latter refused to do so in a most polite manner, saying that he had paid first class fare and was therefore entitled to travel in that compartment. This reply greatly upset the Sahib Bahadur, who went away saying, "You people have now got the reform scheme. You are followers of Gandhi." Shortly after he returned with four *gora* soldiers and a white-complexioned railway employee. The soldiers and their companion ordered the Madrasi to leave the compartment at once. He again refused to do so, on which the light in the compartment was extinguished and all of them began to belabour him. Eventually he was turned out of the compartment bag and baggage. Such incidents are of daily occurrence at the Rawalpindi railway station. The foregoing lines need no further comment. England has been ruling over India for more than a hundred and fifty years. Instances of such arrogance during this period are so plentiful as to fill every page of the history of India. These are the achievements on the score of which our ruling race lays claim to civilisation, enlightenment and justice. This is the sympathetic treatment which is accorded to respectable members of Indian society, and still we are expected to put up with this treatment in patience and not to open our lips in complaint. We do not know what action Mr. Chary will take in the matter. We can, however, say on the basis of past occurrences that if he goes into court, the case will end as did those of Mauzam Ali Khan, the barrister of Muradabad, and Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, the Delhi *rais*. It is useless to draw the attention of the present Government to the matter. Lord Chelmsford has proved by his past conduct that it is impossible for the cry of Indians to reach his ears. We are sorry that our long slavery, lasting for a hundred and fifty years, has deadened our sense of manliness and self-respect, otherwise such arrogant Englishmen would not have been found in India.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

(b) *Insaf* of the 16th January says that if the report is correct, the incident is very deplorable—shameful even. It is to be hoped that Sir Edward Maclagan's Government will take necessary action to prevent a recurrence of such regrettable incidents, which strain the relations between the rulers and the ruled.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

The Premier's message.

15. The *Aftab* of the 12th January publishes from Maulvi ZAFAR ALI KHAN a communication headed "Reply to Mr. Lloyd George's Message: This is the Lion's Tail: Do not catch it in Playfulness: Candid Advice to Government." The writer refers to Mr. Lloyd George's new year's message to his fellow-citizens of the British Empire, and says that, briefly speaking, it is to the effect that unless the inhabitants of the world renounce their religion, receive baptism and become staunch Christians, bloodshed and fighting will continue rampant and there will be no peace on earth. Ever since England gained supremacy in India it has been proclaimed by beat of drum on behalf of every English sovereign that Government will in no way interfere in the religious affairs of the ruled. One wonders what has led Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues to send an invitation, on behalf of Government, to the Muhammadans and Hindus of India to embrace Christianity, thereby taking a step wholly incompatible with his exalted office and position. It would, of course, have been quite a different thing if the Lord Bishop of Can-

terbury or the Bishop of London had sent a message to the people of India to renounce their respective faiths and adopt the faith of the Trinity. We should have held such conduct on their part to have been wholly justifiable. The religious leaders of every nation have, and ought to have, the right to propagate their faith and to lend it legitimate support. But how strange it is that the very same England which is the standard-bearer of liberty, the supporter of freedom and the advocate of equality, and which used to say up till only yesterday that we were welcome to follow our own religion, and that she did not consider it lawful in any way to interfere with our spiritual life, tells us to-day to forsake our respective faiths and turn Christians; for otherwise there would be no peace! Are we to take this to mean that England is going to throw into the background the policy she has been following in India for a century and a half, and is preparing to add to her rules of administration the novel principle that the propagation of Christianity should be carried on under the management of Government? Continuing, the writer says that if the Premier's message conceals some clever political move, he is free to make it, and "we think it useless to take up our pen to write on this point." But a far-sighted, alert and keen-witted statesman like Mr. Lloyd George should have at least paused to consider that his message was addressed not only to the born drunkard of Europe, France, and similar worshippers of Bacchus, but also to the eighty millions of Muhammadans and three times as many Hindus in India. The former have been bereft of their all and their empty pockets contain only the wealth that "God is one and Muhammad is true," for which they are ready to sacrifice the treasures of the world. As regards the Hindus, they also stand fast to their beliefs, although they have been passing through various troubles and calamities for thousands of years, and although Christianity made its appearance in the world nineteen and a quarter centuries back. Mr. Lloyd George's view that the progress of Christianity can ensure the peace of the world appears largely absurd. If Christianity can maintain peace in the world, how is it that Christian powers have become half dead by fighting among themselves, and shells from the cannon of one of them razed the churches of another to the ground? And why did Bolshevik Christians hang a large number of clergymen? We wish to be pardoned for saying that a message like the one in question is likely to create a number of dangerous suspicions and misunderstandings in a country like India. It may prove still more dangerous in view of the complications to which the existing tension of international relations has given rise in Asia and Europe and to which Mr. Winston Churchill made a blunt reference in his Sunderland speech. The writer gives Sir Edward Maclagan the candid advice that His Honour should draw the Home Government's attention to the Premier's unstatesmanlike action and to clear the air by issuing a *communiqué* to the effect that Government wishes to do nothing officially to propagate the Christian religion. It is true that Mr. Lloyd George's message leaves everyone free in the matter of embracing of Christianity; but the reservation cannot afford much consolation to those who are aware of the nature of the extraordinary powers wielded by Government officials in this country. And when Government sets it down as a principle that the propagation of Christianity guarantees the world's peace, where is the official who will abstain from adopting every means for the fulfilment of its desires?

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

The Badshahi mosque.

16. "A SYMPATHETIC MIND," writing to the *Aftab* of 10th January, states that he has more than once seen the British soldiers quartered in the Lahore fort shooting pigeons nesting in the walls and minarets of the Badshahi mosque. This injures the feelings of the Muhammadans, but the custodians of the mosque have not as yet taken any action in this matter. The writer has therefore felt constrained to publish the letter to get these soldiers prohibited from firing at the walls of the mosque.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Cow sacrifice.

17. The *Siyasat* of the 10th January refers to the Muslim League's resolution regarding cow-sacrifice and expresses its admiration for the boldness displayed by the League in guiding Muhammadans into the right path. Hundreds of kine are, however, slaughtered daily in the country and cow-sacrifice does not, therefore, matter much. Our Hindu brothers should take steps to check this slaughter and should not complain of the sacrifice of kine. They should appreciate the spirit which the Muhammadans have displayed in respecting their feelings and should no longer allow usury and [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of humanity.

Hindus in Mesopotamia.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

18. The *Arya Gazette* of the 8th January publishes a letter from a Baghdad correspondent named RAM LAL MAHAJAN, who says among other things:—The number of Indian gentlemen in the civil population of this place is sufficiently large. It is necessary that spiritual food should be supplied to them at once, because the work of their conversion is going on. The Christian mission is strenuously preaching its religion here. Several times reports have been received of Hindus, Sikhs and Jews having embraced Christianity. This rends the heart. Although the Aryas are striving to reclaim the converts, still they cannot accomplish much without a regular organisation. When a male Hindu dies, his body is buried, there being no arrangements for cremation. If a Christian dies, a priest comes for the funeral prayers and the like. It is a matter for regret that no one cares for the Hindus. But why should this be otherwise, when there exists no regular Hindu organisation? The authorities also complain of the absence of Hindu priests. A Hindu dead body is wrapped in cloth measuring six yards and is thrown into a pit, while a blanket worth ten rupees and a coffin are given for every Christian corpse. Preachers for this country should be highly educated men. They should be conversant with Arabic and Persian and should also know English. I would instance Pandit Ram Chandar Shastri of Delhi.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lahore municipality.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

19. Adverting to K. L. Rallia Ram's proposal regarding the representation of Indian Christians on the Lahore municipal committee, the *Liberal* of the 12th January writes:—"With the demand for a proper and adequate share of the Indian Christian community in the civic administration of the town, every Indian, whatever his creed, will be in whole-hearted sympathy. . . . But why this should be done at the expense of the other Indian communities is what we fail to understand. According to the rules now in force, as many as four seats are reserved for Christians, including Indian Christians, and it is one of these seats that is at present occupied by Mr. Rallia Ram. . . If the interests and welfare of the Indian Christians have not been fully safeguarded by the European members in the past, for that can be the only reason for the proposal now before the committee, it is only fair to all that one of the seats provided for Christians should be reserved for Indian Christians. To allot an additional seat to the Christians without making a corresponding increase in the number of Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh members, will, on the very face of it, be grossly unfair and unjust to the three great Indian communities. Moreover, the Indian Christians have much in common with the Europeans and Anglo-Indians and the reserving of one seat out of the four allotted to them all will not in any way be disadvantageous to the latter."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

A memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

20. (*a*) The *Leader* of the 9th January is surprised to learn that a committee has been appointed in Rohtak to collect funds to raise a memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We wonder how the question has cropped up, when Sir Michael's name has been deeply impressed on the minds not only of the Punjabis and other Indians, but also of all the inhabitants of the civilised world. General Dyer's name has also been engraved there at the same time. A memorial of bricks and mortar perishes after a few years, but that to which we have referred will endure so long as even one living being inhabits the world. The love which Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Punjabis bore, now bear and will in future bear each other needs no comment. In these circumstances is it not unjust—nay, unwise—on the part of a Government officer to use his influence to empty the pockets of poor Punjabis in order to raise a memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer? A memorial is already about to be erected at Amritsar at the cost of one and a half millions of rupees. If Sir Michael, General Dyer and their few official admirers are not satisfied with such a big memorial, what satisfaction can they derive from a small monument in a town like Rohtak? They should render help to the Congress, which is arranging to raise such memorials, by forthwith remitting to it all the money collected by them. We respectfully but strongly request our just and good

hearted Lieutenant-Governor to take notice of the imprudent conduct of the Rohtak committee's secretary, who is a Government officer, and warn him not to take money from the people against their will in order to raise a memorial to an officer who is considered unworthy of this honour not only by Indians, but also by all civilised and thoughtful people throughout the world.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(b) The *Desh* of the 9th January says that the collection of funds for the memorial in question did not prove a success until a local pleader became secretary of the committee. Since the appointment of this official secretary, however, money is said to have been pouring in. If this is correct, an early inquiry should be made into the matter, as it is most undesirable to make use of official influence in such cases.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

High prices.

21. Referring to the mill workers' strikes, the *Liberal* of the 12th January writes:—"In offices and railways, in workshops and factories, in fact in all places where human labour, skilled or unskilled, is employed for the benefit of the employer, there is lurking a feeling of great dissatisfaction. . . . The rise in the cost of living during the last few years, and especially during the last few months, has been unparalleled in the history of mankind. There is nothing like a corresponding increase in the earning capacity of man. It is true some sort of allowance or other, be it war, grain or compensation allowance, has been allowed in the case of workers to meet the emergency, but this bears no proportion to the rise in prices. It is the despair which seizes men when they find it impossible to make two ends meet that is the root cause of the whole trouble. The situation is too serious to allow of any time to be wasted in higgling over the matter. Let there be a universal increase of wages by employers, whether the employer be an individual, a company or even Government—an increase which should at once be liberal and generous. The sooner this is done and the more it is done of the employers' own accord, the more tranquilising and lasting effect it will have on the minds of men, who sweat hard and shed their life-blood in making their employers prosper."

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

The *Haq* newspaper.

22. The *Leader* of the 15th January says that the *Haq* came into existence when the Allies were gaining victories over Germany. A few weeks after it had started publication the Germans laid down their arms. The newspaper should have been discontinued on the termination of the war, and the money spent in running it utilised for some better work. But this was not done, and the *Haq* has now announced a change in its policy. Henceforth the journal will discuss Indian political affairs. This means that in future it will strongly support Government's policy in connection with these matters. We cannot say at present how far the new policy of the *Haq* will prove beneficial for Government. We can say this much, however, that the money which Government wishes to spend on the paper can be, and ought to be, spent to better purpose.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 17th January 1920.

Supplement to Punjab Press Abstract, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3.

Selections from Extra-Provincial Newspapers.

THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE.

HAMDAM (Lucknow), Urdu.

1. The following is translated from the *Hamdam* of the 21st December:—"A few days ago we referred to a report in the *Englishman*, based on the authority of a traveller who had arrived in Calcutta, to the effect that the Bolsheviks were in a fair way to establish themselves in Persia. This report was contradictory to all the information previously received from official and non-official sources regarding the present state of affairs in Persia, which was in the sense that the country was steadily, if gradually, recovering from the unwholesome effects of the war. The Government of Persia maintains a regular consulate at Calcutta, and the Persian consul-general regularly receives all information on important matters connected with his country. Had it been true that the Bolsheviks had succeeded in securing a hold on Persia, the Persian consul must by this time have received information about it. The news must surely have reached India long before the arrival of the *Englishman's* traveller. No information is available to show whether the British expeditionary force operating between Baghdad and Enzeli (on the Caspian)—it was in order to support this force that the Seistan-Kirman railway was extended to a distance of a hundred and fifty miles from Quetta—still exists intact, or whether with the retirement of the British troops from Russia this force has been withdrawn from Persia and the Trans-Caucasus. Even if these troops have been withdrawn, some steps must surely have been taken by the British to check the intervention of hostile forces in Persia, some steps which would have stood in the way of a Bolshevik advance. The Government of India have, since the publication of the above report in the *Englishman*, made definite inquiries from Persia. A recent press *communiqué* issued from Delhi states that "the Government of India having made telegraphic inquiries from Teheran have received authoritative information which enables them absolutely to contradict the report published in Calcutta that the Bolsheviks have openly appeared in Teheran and have found a number of sympathizers among the Persian Shias, and that corps of Persian Red Guards have been formed." This official denial will have a very reassuring effect on those who sympathized with Persia in her war time difficulties and who consider the maintenance of peace and order essential to her internal progress. On the other hand, recent telegrams confirm the view that, hard pressed by Don Cossack forces in Europe, the Bolsheviks are turning their eyes towards Asia. The fear is that if they find it impossible to maintain themselves in European Russia, they may move their seat of government to Central Asia, in several parts of which they have already established Soviet Governments. They are further endeavouring to secure an alliance with Afghanistan. We would therefore again impress upon the authorities the necessity of preserving at least the strong iron wall of Afghanistan between Central Asia and the Indian frontiers. It is high time that this Bolshevik endeavour to win over the Government of the new Amir should be counteracted by policy of conciliation.

AL-KHALIL (Bijnaur), Urdu.

2. The following is translated from a leading article in *Al-Khalil* of the 12th January:—In the course of his recent Sunderland speech Mr. Winston Churchill admitted that the armies of Koltchak were almost gone, and that Denikin's force was in jeopardy. The speech is full of disquieting references. Nobody could tell, Mr. Churchill said, what would finally emerge from Russia; but it would be something very menacing to civilization and especially to the British Empire. It is most unfortunate that this period of Bolshevik ascendency has been chosen by our politicians for the dismemberment of Turkey. Mr. Churchill states that new forces are springing up in Asia Minor, and that if Russian Bolshevism and the Turkish Muhammadans were to join hands, the situation for Britain would be grave. What can we say regarding the English diplomacy which has brought about this situation?

Had the dismemberment of Turkey been postponed; had Lloyd George respected his pledges; had Turkey been treated as other nations in Europe have been treated: there would have been no such apprehension of a union between the Bolsheviks and the Turkish Muhammadans. As matters stand it is inevitable that the Turks should regard the Bolsheviks as saviours and receive them with open arms. And unhappily the entire responsibility for this indifference towards Islamic feeling is attributed to Great Britain. A Paris telegram, dated the 1st January, states that French public opinion is determined to allow the Sultan to remain at Constantinople and will never be guilty of the folly of throwing Russia into the arms of Germany by finally closing the gate of the Mediterranean to her. Mr. Churchill's speech shows that Great Britain is prepared to forgive her worst enemy, Germany, and even to allow her concessions in order to secure her help in solving the Russian and Turkish complications. What a tragedy it is for the Muhammadans, that, according to the British statesmen, Germany is entitled to that right of equal treatment which the Muhammadans have been clamouring for Turkey and which would have lessened the impending danger! The *Daily Mail*, moved by the reverses sustained by Denikin and Koltchak, clearly states that it is not improbable that Lenin (the ringleader, the virtual king of the Bolsheviks) will advance against the Japanese army in Siberia, and that there is a great danger of his diverting his attack and threatening India and inciting our frontier tribes. It is essential, adds the newspaper, that the frontier should be in strong hands. What is the present situation on that frontier? The tribes are said to have been subdued, but fighting still continues. We can only hope that if these frontier tribes do not soon submit, further precautionary steps will be taken by the military authorities. Apart from the frontier tribes, the future conduct of the Afghans must be considered. So far there has been no contradiction of the reports relating to the establishment of relations by the Amir with the Soviet Government in Russia. The Bolshevik forces are reported to have reached Bokhara. It is high time that India should look to her defences. The first and foremost duty of the Government of India is to remove the general uneasiness and dissatisfaction which at present exists in the country—dissatisfaction which is bound to stand in the way of any coöperation between the people and the Government. The royal proclamation aims at the removal of the country's heartfelt grievances. This is the critical moment when mutual bitterness must be removed. It cannot be removed unless the relations between the public and the Government are agreeable; unless the local Governments prove that they are not merely complying with the Imperial behests under compulsion, but are themselves liberally following the same broadminded policy; unless they win the people's confidence, trust and sympathy; unless all unjust restrictions on speech and writing are removed.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

MUSLIM HITAISHI (Calcutta), Bengali.

3. The *Muslim Hitaishi* of the 2nd January publishes a letter from **ABDUL ABUD**, B.A., of Noakhali. The letter asks the Ulema for a *fatwa* showing how it is that the Muhammadan soldiers and coolies who fought against the Sultan of Turkey and helped to bring the holy places under Christian domination have not thereby become *kafirs*. Muhammadans who contributed to the war loan or rendered assistance in any other way must, it says, be considered in the same category.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

YOUNG INDIA (Bombay), English.

4. The following is taken from *Young India* of the 31st December:—"There is a reference in Mr. Andrews' telegram from Nairobi to the report of the Economic Commission appointed by the East African Government, recently published, which, he says, specifically mentions Indian moral depravity and approves the South African exclusion policy. The *East African Chronicle* of the [illegible] November contains detailed references to it, in so far as it speaks of the Indian population in the colony. A few quotations from the report will reveal the source of the agitation that is at present on foot in the colony, and also the vicious character of the arguments which are used to support it. . . ." The newspaper says that two full pages of the report are devoted to unmeasured vituperation and unmerited abuse of the Indian. We wish we had the [illegible] policy [illegible]. But the *East African*

Chornicle has selected some very characteristic sentences out of it. There is the allegation, for instance, that 'the Indians in the Protectorate are mostly drawn from the lowest type of artizan-coolies and *bania* or small shopkeeping classes and includes few representatives of the more responsible elements of the population of India,' and that 'physically the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene. In this respect the African is more civilised than the Indian, being naturally cleanly in his ways.' Reference is also made to the moral depravity of the Indian, which is represented as very damaging to the African.... In a spirit of Pecksniffian solicitude the commissioners have declared the African to be morally better than the Indian. The Indian is probably depraved because of his capacity to exercise a civilising influence over the African, for the civilised African may prove a menace no smaller than the Indian. The very state of savagery of the African makes him less undesirable than the Indian. It is his willingness to remain a perpetual hewer of wood and drawer of water that makes the African morally superior to the Indian in the European's eye. If the Indian clerk and trader can be successfully ousted—and the argument of the moral and physical superiority of the African is a convenient one for the purpose—the European would be free to pursue his policy of keeping everyone in servitude."

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

VIDUSHAK (Bombay), Marathi.

5. The following is translated from the *Vidushak* of the 27th December:—We have carefully read the proclamation through four or five times, but have found nothing in it to call forth any excessive amount of rejoicing. It is only a benediction by the King-Emperor, like the benedictions of the Brahmans all through the ages. It is said that in the old days the benedictions of the Brahmans did really come true. But the King-Emperor has no means of getting his words made good. What then is the practical value of the benediction? Regarding the amnesty, there is no need to point out how half-heartedly the Viceroy who approved O'Dwyerism is likely to enforce it; and an easy way has been left for evasion, if the Viceroy wants to use it. Of course, if anybody wishes to rejoice over the proclamation just because it contains nothing to cause positive sorrow, let him do so by all means. There is nothing in this proclamation. It is only a Christmas sugar-plum. As for the release of the prisoners—well, they were clapped into jail to satisfy the whim of the authorities; they are released for the same reason.

YOUNG INDIA (Bombay), English.

6. The following article, by M. K. GANDHI, is published in *Young India* of the 31st December:—"The proclamation issued by the Sovereign on the 24th instant is a document of which the British people have every reason to be proud, and with which every Indian ought to feel satisfied. Coming on the top of the disclosures made before Lord Hunter's committee, the proclamation gives one an insight into the true British character. For as the proclamation shows it at its best, General Dyer's inhumanity shows it at its worst. The proclamation is the evidence of the intention to do justice, as General Dyer's deed is proof of man becoming devil under fear and excitement. I believe that the juxtaposition of the two events is a pure accident. The proclamation was the inevitable consequence of the great measure which has received the royal assent. It was the finishing touch. The Reforms Act coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India; and it ought to remove suspicion on that score. But that does not mean that we may sit with folded hands and may still expect to get what we want. Under the British constitution no one gets anything without a hard fight for it. No one for a moment believes the statements made in Parliament that the reforms have not been granted because of the agitation. But just as all movement does not mean progress, so does all agitation not mean success. Undisciplined agitation which is a paraphrase of violence of speech or deed can only retard national growth and bring about even unmerited retribution such as the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. Disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth. The most correct agitation, therefore, consists in the most correct action; and we have little doubt that the royal proclamation and the reforms mean, not less agitation and less work, but more agitation and more work of the correct type. The reforms are undoubtedly incomplete; they do not give us enough. We were entitled to more. We could have managed more. But the reforms are not such as we

may reject. On the contrary they are such as to enable us to expand. Our duty therefore is not to subject them to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a thorough success and thus anticipate the time for a full measure of responsibility. Our work therefore may now well consist in agitation turned inward. Let us concentrate on ridding ourselves of social abuses, on producing a strong electorate and on sending to the councils men who would seek election not for self-advertisement but for national service."

SANDESH (Bombay), Marathi.

7. The *Sandesh* of the 1st January says:—Kitchlew, Satyapal and Duni Chand have been released; but General Dyer yet vaunts his military vainglory. The view of the British press, which declared that it would be a disgrace to British military honour if General Dyer were permitted to retain his uniform a moment longer, is disregarded. And now we have Sir Michael O'Dwyer openly moving about the Punjab as president of the Army Commission. On the one hand we see the Congress praying for the recall of the Viceroy; on the other there stands Lord Chelmsford, putting the narrowest interpretation on the royal clemency. He seems indeed inclined to content himself with the release of the Ali brothers and about twenty-two Punjab leaders. Not a single one of the fifty-four political prisoners in Bombay—they include the brothers Savarkar—has been released. We thought, at one time, that there really would be a general amnesty; we fear now that that supposition was altogether wrong.

MUSLIM HITAISHI (Calcutta), Bengali.

8. The *Muslim Hitaishi* of the 2nd January declares that the Muhammadans of India cannot whole-heartedly join in the general rejoicing over the royal proclamation. There is no mention in it of the caliphate; no message of hope is held out in this all-important matter. Then, in regard to the reforms, all the proposals made by the Indian Government for the preservation of Muslim communal interests have been ruthlessly rejected by Parliament, thanks to the intriguing of a certain other community which might be named. After all this can the Muhammadans rejoice with a whole heart? This royal proclamation recalls the memory of another regal announcement to the Muslims of Bengal. Throughout the *swadeshi* agitation the Bengali Muhammadans, acting largely at the instigation of Government, took up a firm attitude of opposition. Yet, in the final annulment of the partition of Bengal, the Muhammadans were left wholly unconsulted. They have been treated in a manner precisely similar in regard to the present proclamation. How long shall the enduring patience of the Muhammadans be thus tried? It is with a heavy heart that we write all this.

VIJAI (Delhi), Hindi.

9. The *Vijai* of the 7th January publishes an article headed: "The Essential Condition of the New Era: Lord Chelmsford should be Recalled." The Indian nation, it says, has expressed its wishes through the mouth of the Congress. It has declared with tolerable unanimity that the retention of the present Viceroy in India is injurious to the country's interests. You may slap a person in the face and then ask his pardon. But if you seriously desire his forgiveness, you must first lower your raised hand; he is not likely to pardon you so long as he sees your palm extended and threatening him. Lord Hardinge left behind him a happy India. Now after Lord Chelmsford's four years of administration the whole country is seething with discontent and dissatisfaction—dissatisfaction so great that even the reform scheme cannot by itself remove it. It is true that the bureaucratic system of government is in itself an evil. But an astute pilot can smooth down difficulties and obstructions by his wise steering of the ship of state. It is in the power of the Viceroy to dose the bureaucratic pill either with chiretta or with sugar. Lord Chelmsford has ever flavoured the pill with chiretta water, and that too in bellyful doses. A man who cannot weigh his words or smoothe down their pointed edges; a man who, like an irresponsible newspaper editor, finds his pleasure in giving pain to others; is not fit to govern a country. The first important political declaration of the present Viceroy was the speech which he delivered in reply to the press deputation. And what an impolitic and unregal utterance it was! It is no wonder that such an administration should have ended in the murders of the Jallianwala Bagh. It is said [illegible] that Lord Chelmsford [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] truth is that his lordship [illegible] [illegible]

ly devoid of the higher kind of statesmanship. And now it is the desire of our King-Emperor that a new era should begin. We are prepared to join with His Majesty in sighing for a new era; but we cannot but declare that Lord Chelmsford is the very embodiment of the poisonous memories of the past. If a new era is to be ushered in the landmarks of the old era must first be obliterated. If the old wounds are to be healed, the dagger that caused those wounds must first be returned to its scabbard. Lord Chelmsford is the living representative of that dagger. If the King-Emperor desires to usher in a new era, he must first secure the prompt recall of his lordship. The retention of the present Viceroy in India will be to invite the failure of the reform scheme. We trust that the King-Emperor and Mr. Montagu will not disregard the wishes of the people, and will promptly recall Lord Chelmsford, the fountain-head of bureaucratic rule in India.

THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS.

HITAVADA (Nagpur), English.

10. Discussing the question whether the moderates should have a separate organization of their own in India or should rejoin the Indian National Congress, the *Hitavada* of the 20th December says that however much some of the members of the Liberal party may hang on to the Congress, the latter cannot now be anything else than the mouthpiece of a single party. The Indian National Congress ceased really to represent the whole body of Indian educated opinion in the year 1907. It is useless to pretend it is still the old national organization it used to be before the days of the Partition agitation. The comparison of the Congress with the British Parliament is ingenuous in the extreme. The former is a propagandist body pure and simple; and it is useless to expect all and sundry who may wish to carry on propaganda on various lines to join forces and unite in a single body. Nothing but confusion, perpetual irritation and mutual obstruction can be the result.

BOMBAY CHRONICLE (Bombay), English.

11. The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 3rd January writes:—"For the first time in the history of the Congress—we hope it will also be the last time—the representatives of the people have united in beseeching His Majesty the King-Emperor to recall the Viceroy. In doing so the Congress merely reflected the feelings of the country, and we do not believe that even the most ardent champion of prestige will controvert the fact that the people are longing for a change in the viceroyalty. As the resolution said, Lord Chelmsford has forfeited the confidence of the people. They are convinced that Lord Chelmsford is being overborne by the forces which it is his business to master and that he is not equal to the functions of his august office . . . . Indians have survived the stage when they could be bidden to look upon the Viceroy as one clothed with the immortal attributes of kingship, and it is an insult to commonsense to suggest, as the *Pioneer* does, that a demand for the recall of a Viceroy is contrary to our feelings of homage to the King-Emperor. Why, in church law, the Pope may be disrobed of his authority, representative though he is, not of a king, but of God! The Pope, the viceregent of God, subscribes himself 'servant of servants,' and it is proper to look upon the Governor-General as the servant of the people, which indeed he is. We have had Viceroys whose policy was disapproved by the people, but never such a disappointment as Lord Chelmsford . . . . When one of the members of an Indian deputation put it to an ex-minister of the Coalition Cabinet which appointed Lord Chelmsford, how it was that his lordship was selected, the reply came that he was a stop-gap, found because for the satisfaction of all parties it was necessary to find a colourless personality without a past. We do not know about this. But now we are at the parting of the ways, when a statesman of first-rate abilities is required to lift the nation from the depths of distrust, and to work the reforms in the atmosphere of conciliation. And the fact that Lord Chelmsford's recall is demanded is a sufficient indication of the need of the obliteration of bitterness. We are not disposed to blame Lord Chelmsford as an individual. He may be earnest, he may be conscientious according to his lights; but without a man of better vision and higher statesmanship it will be impossible to establish the first essentials of concord. Very recently a moderate, esteemed in his party, told us that so long as Lord Chelmsford was Viceroy it would be impossible to secure peace and save people from sinking into deeper discontent. Nor have we heard Anglo-Indian papers argue that His Excellency is the best man to remain and carry

out the new reforms. For the sake of 'prestige' there may be new defenders, but none from an admiration of merit. The position is one of extreme delicacy for the country and the Viceroy. Does His Excellency really think that his continuation, in face of the overwhelming demand of the people, would be wise or helpful? It is for His Excellency to decide. In the meanwhile Indians, as loyal subjects of His Majesty, are right in praying for his recall. That he has failed, and that his continuance would not be a blessing, all are agreed, including the people of Britain, who, we may assure His Excellency, do not differ from the Indian people in their verdict. Lord Chelmsford must go."

GUJARATI (Bombay), English.

12. In the course of an article couched in a somewhat similar vein to that published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Gujarati* of the 4th January says:— "We do not believe that His Excellency runs any risk whatever of being recalled. As we observed a few weeks ago, it would have been better if he and his official colleagues had resigned. That brings us to a point which has not been noticed in the presidential address or in the speeches of Congressmen. If Lord Chelmsford deserves to be recalled, those of his colleagues who were mainly responsible for moulding his views and shaping the policy of his Government are, really speaking, much more responsible than an ill-informed or incompetent Viceroy and do not deserve to continue in the very responsible positions in which they have failed to give the right advice to His Excellency but proved instrumental in wrecking the success and reputation of his régime, which ought otherwise to have proved epoch-making in the history of modern India."

THE PUNJAB DISTURBANCES.

SANJ VARTAMAN (Bombay), Gujrati and English.

13. The following appears in the English columns of the *Sanj Vartaman* of the 27th December:—"The responsibility of the Indian Government in this [Jallianwalla Bagh] affair was heavy enough in all conscience, but this latest revelation of virtually withholding the news from the Secretary of State makes it a hundred times heavier. If it means anything it bespeaks a guilty conscience. . . . . . Mr. Montagu's confession that he did not know the details until he saw the report in the newspapers bears on its face the stamp of truth, and this makes it evident that the plea of congested cables will hold no water. In other words, the Secretary of State for India, in a matter of vital importance, was purposely kept in the dark by the Indian Government. Mr. Montagu's ignorance of the truth as openly confessed by him opens up another profoundly important question. If in ignorance of the true state of affairs he gave his consent to the Indemnity Bill, is he prepared, now that he knows the truth, to advise His Majesty the King-Emperor to withdraw his consent? This seems to us to be the logical sequence of Mr. Montagu's ignorance. He is virtually in the position of a person from whom under a threat—the threat here was the probable loss of India if the 'rebellion' in the Punjab were not promptly put down—a signature is extracted. Is this signature, extracted under such circumstances, valid in law? But there is yet another vitally important question worth asking. Was the ignorance of Mr. Montagu due to the fact that the Government of India was itself ignorant, and that the Punjab authorities had purposely kept the supreme Government in the dark? All these facts require to be investigated. The matter cannot stop at the lame plea of the 'cables being very congested.'"

BANGAVASI (Calcutta), Bengali.

14. The *Bangavasi* of the 3rd January writes:—The German prisoners of war in India are now being repatriated. Those interned in the Darjeeling-Ghoom area arrived here last Monday, by the Darjeeling mail, and subsequently left for Germany. They were eighteen in number. A second class compartment was specially reserved for them on the train. Contrast the treatment of these Germans with that of the Punjab suspects. Respectable pleaders of Kasur and Gujranwala, men arrested on the merest suspicion, who had not yet even been put on their trial, were handcuffed and sent to Lahore in an uncovered coal-truck, which took [illegible] hours to do a journey ordinarily lasting sixty minutes. What is the reason of this difference in treatment? If it is urged that the insults [illegible] a single English lady in Amritsar enraged the British officials [illegible] in this treatment of the Punjab [illegible] may [illegible] the [illegible] Germans. The Germans [illegible] made to travel in open [illegible]

real reply is that the arrangements affecting these German prisoners were made by men inspired with the true British character; the Punjab incidents were the work of men who were a disgrace to the whole English race.

Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta), English.

15. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 11th January publishes the following letter, written by a correspondent under the pseudonym "ENGLISHMAN":—"In a recent issue you referred to the absence of any expression of indignation or word of sympathy on the part of Europeans in this country at the terrible disclosures revealed by the inquiry into the Punjab disturbances. I think it is only fair to the community that it should be pointed out that Government servants are by the rules of the service prohibited from giving a public expression of opinion on any political matter; while as regards others, they would doubtless have difficulty in getting a hearing in any of the Anglo-Indian newspapers mostly read by Europeans as these journals are now. I have no doubt that there are not a few Englishmen in this country who, like myself, have read the account of the proceedings under martial law at Amritsar with burning shame and deep indignation, and would willingly make public expression of their sympathy, if facilities were afforded. For the rest, I cannot but think that it is a gross scandal that certain Anglo-Indian journals should be so conducted as not to allow the free expression of views in matters of this kind, at any rate to their own countrymen. That they do not do so, I have documentary proof, which I can produce if need be. Although it may be sympathy only which Indians will get in this terrible matter from justice-loving Europeans in this country, reparation will be had at the hands of the latter's countrymen at home. They need have no anxiety about this—the writing is already on the wall. I prophesy that when the full story of these terrible doings is known, there will be such a burst of anger at home that no Government will be able to disregard it and live through."

A. V. ASKWITH,

LAHORE: } *Personal Assistant to the D. I. G. of Police,*

The 17th January 1920. } *C. I. D., Punjab.*

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolshevik menace.

PANJAB (Amritsar); David Shabbas, editor.

1. (a) The *Panjab* of the 16th January states that it was remarked by Mr. Churchill in his recent speech at Sunderland that nobody could tell what would emerge from Russia. He added, however, that it would be something very menacing to civilisation, especially the British Empire; that new forces were springing up in Asia Minor; and that if Russian Bolshevism and the Turkish Muhammadans joined hands, the situation for Britain would be grave. Commenting, the editor observes that, in order to understand the situation, we should carefully examine the existing conditions in Europe and Asia. Till recently Russia and Turkey used to keep in check the strong races inhabiting Asia Minor and the wild Kurdish, Cossack and Tartar tribes. They did not let these people interfere with eastern and southern Europe. Now, however, that the Ottoman empire has collapsed, there exists no control over them. On the other hand, the young Turk party, including Enver Pasha, is imparting military training to them and converting them into a formidable army. It has already been reported by Reuter that Enver Pasha has established a separate kingdom in Kurdistan. All this being so, a new danger would assuredly be created for western and central Asia if he were to join hands with the Russian Bolsheviks. English and French statesmen are not blind to the possibility of this danger and have already devised a plan to ward it off. It was perhaps in pursuance of this plan that they made over the vast territories of Siberia to Japan, in return for which she was to end the Bolshevik menace. The danger appeared so

great to European statesmen that in displaying their unique generosity towards Japan, they lost sight of the fact that her ascendancy in Manchuria, Mongolia' northern China, Tartary and central and eastern Asia will create a "yellow peril." The fact of the matter is that Europe is in a critical state at the present moment. Russia is in the iron grip of the Bolsheviks, Lenin now having the upper hand there. The Sick Man of Europe has become enfeebled; and England, France and Italy having become very avaricious are determined to divide the Turkish empire among themselves. The inevitable result is that the Turkish Muhammadans have grown hostile to Great Britain. General Denikin had hitherto opposed the advance of the Bolsheviks in the direction of the east. His defeat has, however, removed this obstacle and the road to India is now open. It is time to adopt measures to save India from the Bolshevik danger, and the rulers and the ruled should coöperate in order to achieve this end.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th January refers to the Bolshevik menace to Asia, and says that Bolshevist teachings are, on the face of them, opposed to Islam. Such Muhammadans, therefore, as are well acquainted with the tenets of their religion can never view the Bolshevik movement with approval. The Bolsheviks, who exercise rule along with the Soviets, are at the height of their power at present. Some people may be apprehensive of the Bolshevik propaganda spreading to India, but a little consideration will show that the apprehension is unfounded. Bolshevik teachings go against the principles of the chief religions of this country, while Indians are charitable people and their needy countrymen have never to go without bread. The latter cannot, therefore, think of rising against the rich and wealthy. Again, an overwhelming number of peasants have their own holdings, and, generally speaking, the land in this country is thus already distributed. In short, Indians can hope to derive no advantage from Bolshevism There is, however, just a possibility of the ignorant going astray, and their more intelligent and well-informed countrymen should look into the matter.

AKASH (Lahore); Diwan Chand, editor.

(*c*) The *Akash* of the 15th January says that the Bolsheviks are advancing apace like an epidemic. They are spreading their net in northern Persia, the Caspian Sea, Turkistan and Afghanistan, and trying to inflame the people there, as also the tribesmen on the north-west frontier. The object in view is to deliver an attack on this country. The newspapers in England are laying great stress on the stationing of forces on this frontier and special arrangements for keeping aeroplanes there being made. This view derives support from the fact that the Bolsheviks are holding out to the Afghans the temptation that they will be given the provinces of Kushk and Merv; while the Bokhara and Khiva Governments have been promised independence. As the Bolsheviks are now gaining the upper hand they will be certain to make mischief in central Asia. It is necessary to break their rising spirit at once.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*d*) The *Vakil* of the 18th January says that the Bolshevik flood is advancing apace. It can be said without fear of contradiction that the Bolsheviks will work very zealously to spread their propaganda in both the west and east. The success to be attained by them will depend on the economic condition of the countries in which they may operate. As regards India, we think that if Government adopts special measures to make her people prosperous their prosperity will serve as a mighty barrier against the Bolshevik flood.

INTIKHAB (Gujranwala); Wali Ullah, editor.

Turkey.

2. (*a*) The *Intikhab* of the 10th January asks how, when the caliphate is in danger we can afford to be at ease and peacefully to lie in our beds. We can wait only so long as our feelings are not trampled under foot. Whatever efforts we may have made in the past, henceforth the field of our struggle must be wider. The Ulema, other spiritual guides, the popular leaders and the entire public should support the Khilafat Conference and should place their demands before the peace conference through the Government of India in as emphatic terms as possible. They should spare no pains in achieving their object. We are told that Constantinople will be internationalised. The sacred place where Abu Ayyub Ansari unfurled the standard of Islam will now fly the flag of Christianity. Heaven forbid! The only way to averting this torturous punishment is to follow the injunctions of the holy Quran. We should coöperate with the Khilafat Conference and continue our efforts—on a larger scale.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) Chaudhri Abdul Ghani, M.A., a barrister of Lahore, writing to the *Vakil* of the 18th January says that Mr. Shaukat Ali observed in his speech at the Amritsar session of the Muslim League that the Muhammadans should tell the Viceroy that if even an inch of the Arabian peninsula were transferred to a non-Muslim power, fifty crores of the Prophet's followers would march forward and sacrifice their lives for the sake of their religion. In other words, the Muhammadans have been counselled to die fighting if the fate of Turkey is not decided in accordance with their wishes. If his conclusion is correct, the writer must respectfully differ from the views held by the Ali brothers in the matter. He then goes into the history of the caliphate, asserting in this course of his remarks that Omar abandoned the use of the epithet caliph with his name, and that there were three independent caliphates during the tenth century of the Christian era. Should all the Muhammadans, he asks, who rendered obedience to their own caliphs in those days and refused to obey rival caliphs be held to have committed a sin? Continuing, he states that the Turkish Sultan Salim obtained the title of caliph on conquering Egypt from the Mamelukes. And as he conquered Syria simultaneously he also became warden of the sacred places at Mecca and Medina. He was able to become Amir-ul-Mominin to all the Muhammadans under his rule, as well as caliph, owing to his being a temporal successor to the Prophet. He could, however, be neither the ruler of nor caliph to those Muhammadans who were not his subjects, nor did the latter ever say that they regarded him as caliph. Did the Indian Muhammadans consider themselves subjects of the Ottoman caliph during the days of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan? And so long as they are under British rule, no Ottoman Sultan or any other Muhammadan king outside India can be the caliph or Amir-ul-Mominin to them. Sir Syed Ahmad also was of this opinion.

Commenting on the above in its issue dated the 20th January the *Vakil* joins issues with its correspondent and quotes different authorities to controvert his contentions.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) Writing about the Khalifat deputation to the Viceroy, the *Tribune* of the 21st January says :—"Whatever view one may take of the matter of the Viceroy's reply, there will, we feel sure, be but one opinion regarding its manner. His Excellency was evidently in a happy frame of mind and scrupulously refrained from saying anything calculated to cause irritation and offence. Whether he was able in any manner or degree to improve an admittedly difficult situation is a somewhat different question ..... He did not, at any rate, aggravate it by any words of his. On the contrary he tried, as far as was possible in the circumstances, to sugar the pill. The process required tact, judgment and an adequate sense of responsibility, and it must be admitted that His Excellency, who has so often failed to exhibit these high and essential qualities in his utterances, did exhibit them on the present occasion. Unhappily the occasion was not one where mere words, however well chosen, could be of any material help. What the Mussalmans of India have been asking for is a particular settlement of the Turkish question, and no form of words employed by His Excellency could possibly give them what they wanted."

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd January writes :—"It is impossible to go through the address presented by the Khilafat Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency's reply to it without being struck by the disparity between the Muhammadan demand and the assurance which His Excellency was able to give. The deputation asked for three things, apart from the preservation of the caliphate as a spiritual institution, 'Muslim control over every portion of the Jazirat-ul-Arab,' 'the caliph's wardenship of the holy places' and 'the integrity of the Ottoman empire'; and it asked for them, not on the basis of Mussalman sentiment, but as being essential to Islamic faith..... One has only to go through His Excellency's speech with these demands fresh in one's mind to see that as regards none of these things was His Excellency able to hold out any definite hope. The only assurance he could give was that the question of the caliphate, by which he clearly meant the spiritual aspect of it, was regarded by His Majesty's Government as one solely for the Mussalmans. For the rest he only re-iterated his oft-repeated declaration that his Government had done and was doing everything in its power to represent the views of Indian

Mussalmans to His Majesty's Government, and that he was confident that the latter, in its turn, would do its best to represent those views at the Paris conference. . . . . Some of us must have been surprised at the advice which His Excellency saw fit to give to the Mussalmans of India, whose loyalty like that of every other Indian community has hitherto been regarded as above question, that whatever decision regarding the future of the Ottoman empire might be arrived at by the Allies, they should remain steadfast in their loyalty to the King-Emperor and his Government. We now know why His Excellency incorporated this advice in his reply. The deputation in its address had reminded His Excellency of what it regarded as a basic condition of loyalty not merely in the case of the Mussalmans but of every other community in India."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(e) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd January says that the Viceroy tried to refrain from saying anything likely to give offence. His Excellency said, however, nothing encouraging or what was not already known to the world. He repeatedly assured the Muhammadans of his sympathy with them in their trouble, but added that the decision regarding Turkey's fate rested with the Allied powers and not Great Britain alone. Cannot, however, England make her wishes prevail in regard to matters relating to the east? She is determined to rule over Mesopotamia, although the supreme council has as yet come to no decision on this point. The Indian Muhammadans feel convinced that she can make her way with her allies in the case of Turkey also. It is of course a different thing if she wants to do nothing in the matter or pays no regard to the sentiments of the seventy millions of Indian Muhammadans. Continuing, the *Paisa Akhbar* says that no regard is now paid even to the speech which the Premier made on the 5th January 1918 on the Turkish problem. The Viceroy admitted the war services of the Muhammadans of India and their loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor. He has, however, lost sight of the fact that no Government in the world can afford to ignore the united voice of a loyal community numbering seventy millions, especially when a new era has been ushered in and great regard is being paid to public opinion. As it is, although Lord Chelmsford employed very sympathetic language in his reply, still the position remains as it was before. It is high time to win the sympathy of the Muhammadans in the Near East in order at least to end the serious menace which His Excellency said threatened eastern countries.

PUNJAB (Amritsar); David Shahbaz, editor.

Egypt.

3. The *Punjab* of the 19th January says that the existing state of affairs in Egypt loudly proclaims the truth that the present world-wide struggle has revived in the Egyptians the sentiments of honour and self-respect which appeared to have died in them. The frequent strikes and demonstrations in Egypt have unveiled the reality that her sons have girt up their loins to win back their lost freedom. An impartial examination of their demand will show that it is not only reasonable but indispensable. Egypt accepted the British protectorate in 1914 for the duration of the war alone. Now that the war is over and Germany has ratified the peace treaty, honour and dignity demand that the burden of the British protectorate should be removed from the drooping head of the Egyptians. So far back as 1907 it was clearly remarked by Lord Cromer that the establishment of a British protectorate in Egypt was not only objectionable but altogether inconsistent with the Anglo-French treaty of 1904, which does not admit of any change in the political status of Egypt. But this treaty is, like all others, only a scrap of paper, and to-day we see a British protectorate fully established in Egypt. In 1914 the King-Emperor himself wrote to the Sultan in a letter: "I fully trust that you will, with the help of your ministers and British officers, overcome all the influences which are bent upon reviving Egypt." The country demands the same freedom in regard to the preservation of which His Majesty expressed so much sympathy. It remains to be seen how far England, who feels proud of her love of freedom, will grant this legitimate demand. Will the League of Nations display the same indifference in regard to eastern countries which it showed in the case of India?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians abroad.

4. (a) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 18th January:—"Mr. Gandhi's admirably lucid summary of two recent judgments in South Africa and their inevitable effect on the position of our countrymen in that part of

the Empire will have opened the eyes of our countrymen to the real nature of the present Indian problem in South Africa. Of the first judgment Mr. Gandhi says that if it stands, the result will be that the existing Indian companies will become dispossessed of thousands of pounds' worth of landed property which they have occupied for years, have acquired openly and under legal advice and which has been registered in the land registry office by the registrar with full knowledge of the circumstances. This is, he says, a negation of the promise held out by Government in enacting last year the new Disabling Act, that the legislation would not affect existing companies and mortgages prior to the legislation. Of the second, Mr. Gandhi says that its result will be that Indians can be declared undesirables solely because they compete with European traders to their detriment, and no Indian can engage in any trade in South Africa at all. No wonder that Mr. Gandhi objects to giving further autonomy to municipalities on the ground that it will only lead to further oppression of the unrepresented classes domiciled in South Africa, and says that Sir Benjamin will have a hard task to secure to the Indians even a tolerable footing with the right to trade and own property without restriction. The matter is clearly one in regard to which public opinion in India ought to express itself immediately and in no weak or uncertain terms. As we said the other day, no nation can be said to deserve freedom within its own borders which does not make it a point to secure respect and fair dealing for its members abroad."

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 21st January says that the miserable condition of the Indians in South Africa and the barbarous treatment which they receive there are not unknown to newspaper readers. A voice is raised against this improper and shameful attitude on the part of the South African Government, but we are sorry to say that no heed is paid to it. An inquiry committee has undoubtedly been appointed, but this is so much eyewash. The committee has no real representative of the Indians on it, while its scope is so limited that it cannot remove our troubles. Pressure should be brought to bear on the Government of India to make earnest efforts to remove the troubles of Indians in South Africa by having a man like Mahatma Gandhi appointed to the committee.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 19th January writes :—" Heaven alone knows when we shall hear the last on the subject of the maltreatment of Indians in other parts of the Empire by His Majesty's British subjects ! The news cabled by Mr. Andrews from East Africa regarding the proposed ordinance against the Indian settler there is most disappointing and cannot but provoke deep indignation throughout the length and breadth of the country. As Mr. Gandhi has rightly termed it, the proposed ordinance is most mischievous in character and leaves every Indian at the mercy of the executive, subservient to the interest of the white settler. 'It is,' Mr. Gandhi says in the letter he has addressed to the *Bombay Chronicle* on the subject, 'the first definite legal step towards the reduction of the Indian to complete servility.' We wonder if the representative of His Gracious Majesty the King in East Africa will lend his support to this uncivilised measure threatening the very liberty of the Indian settler, who has besides his natural right the right of priority to live on terms of equality with any other settler in that troublous land. If he fails to do his duty in the matter, as we hope he will not, it will rest with His Majesty's Government to intervene and prevent the grossest outrage being perpetrated on our countrymen. The whole of India is one with Mr. Gandhi when he asserts that the position admits of no compromise such as that made in South Africa, where conditions were totally different from the East African conditions. We fervently hope that the Legislative Council which meets on the 19th January will veto the Bill and save India another agitation which will be as widespread and universal as any agitation in this country has ever been."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

CRESCENT (Lahore); Henry Martin, editor.

The royal proclamation.

5. (*a*) The following is from the January *Crescent* :—" It marks, indeed, an epoch in the history of India and ought to be carefully read and preserved by every lover of constitutional progress in this country. It shows what rapid strides we are making towards the ultimate realisation of full responsible government under the guidance of our great rulers, to whom it has now become a matter of just pride to see the development of self-governing institutions in the land of

the most ancient and revered civilisation. Indians have been granted definite and important share in the government of the country and are promised an even greater share should they prove themselves fit for the sacred task now assigned to them."

SCIENCE-GROUNDED RELIGION (Lahore); Harnarain Agnihotri, editor.

(b) *Science-Grounded Religion* for January says:—"The 23rd December 1919 will be memorable in the annals of India as the day on which it was announced for the first time in a royal proclamation in the clearest language possible that 'fulness of political freedom' and not merely the 'prosperity and contentment' of the people is the goal of British policy in India, and that the Government of India Bill, to which the royal assent has now been given, represents the first milestone on the road to that goal. . . . The proclamation, which we reproduce in full elsewhere, concludes with the pious and most significant prayer that 'India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fulness of political freedom' . . . . How welcome, kind and hope-inspiring are these words of our most gracious King-Emperor! How strongly will they bind the hearts of all loyal subjects of His Majesty with ties of loving allegiance to the throne and to the British Government to whose connection we owe that blessed consciousness of nationality and self-government within the Empire that throbs and pulsates in the hearts of the Indian peoples throughout the length and breadth of this vast peninsula and which is a significant omen of its further and greater progress in the future! Another cheering feature of this great proclamation is the general amnesty to all political prisoners. . . . For all these boons our most grateful thanks are due to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor and Mr. Montagu, who, in spite of most discouraging opposition at the hands of a certain section of his own countrymen, continued to labour hard along with our distinguished countryman Lord Sinha to carry the Bill through both Houses."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(c) The *Liberal* of the 19th January writes under the heading "Wanted; a Clean Slate":—"As the whole country understands the royal proclamation, that generous and statesmanlike pronouncement should inaugurate a new era in India. . The people of India are fully entitled to claim that the Government of India are bound not only to give the widest and fullest effect to the proclamation, but also to carry out in its fulness the new policy of trust and removal of repression which are the mainspring of this the Magna Charta of India. . . So far no official *communiqué* has been issued by the Government of India stating the extent to which effect has been given to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor's direction for a general amnesty to political offenders and detenus in India. Discretion has been given to His Excellency the Viceroy to carry out this direction as far as consistent with the public safety, but the country is entitled to know how many are still detained. A complete return should be published; and if this is not done by the Government of India on its own motion the information should be obtained by interpellation in the supreme Legislative Council. It is necessary to have this information; for then alone shall we be in a position to judge in what spirit the royal clemency has been carried out. . . It is by no means sufficient that men wrongly convicted or others interned without trial should be set at liberty. The repression that has characterized the administration for so many years will have to be eradicated. The scars may be indelible, but the canker must be removed. The series of oppressive and repressive legislation that disfigures the statute book should be immediately repealed. The Press Act of 1910 should no longer fetter the liberty of the press, or leave it entirely at the mercy of an irresponsible executive. All securities obtained from newspapers should be refunded. The Punjab has suffered as much from the Press Act as from martial law, and in both cases the suffering was wholly undeserved. To demand a security from a newspaper of the traditions and sobriety of the *Tribune* was worthy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who did all he could to suppress the ventilation of public opinion in the Punjab. The *Punjabee* ceased publication rather than submit to the humiliation of depositing a security. To mention a personal instance, the *Liberal* was required to deposit a security before it could be allowed to make its appearance. The sword of Damocles hanging by a hair over the head of the press in India must be withdrawn for good and all, and the press must be free to reflect public opinion. The sinister activities of the Criminal Investigation Department must cease, and the shadowing of patriotic public men must become a thing of the past. The full effect of the royal proclamation hould be to leave India with a clean slate and to set her on her new path as a dominion and not a dependency of the Empire."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*d*) The *Desh*, of the 22nd January states that in November 1918 about fifty residents of the Nalagarh State were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment on a charge of sedition. Now that His Majesty has shown royal clemency to political prisoners, attention should be paid to the condition of these poor and ignorant convicts. If they are released, their relatives will feel sincerely thankful to Government.

Repressive legislation.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

6. The *Leader* of the 18th January says that there can be no denying the fact that the passing of the Reform Act has brought many new rights to Indians. The country's innermost desire cannot, however, be realised until the repressive laws, which are an obstacle in her way to freedom, are repealed. Five of these especially stand out: namely, the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907, the Press Act of 1910, the Defence of India Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Rowlatt Act.

The extremists.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

7. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th January quotes the part of Lord Carmichael's speech on the Government of India Bill in which his lordship said that one had as a Governor to think more of the views put forward by the extremists than by the moderates. Commenting the newspaper says that it is Government itself that raises extremists. The state of affairs described by Lord Carmichael naturally creates a tendency in the people to favour extremism. His Lordship has undoubtedly voiced the mentality of the British authorities.

Mrs. Besant.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

8. The *Leader* of the 21st January publishes a communication from MUHAMMAD FEROZE KHAN of Ludhiana. The writer says that when Mahatma Gandhi tested Indian leaders on the touchstone of *satyagraha*, Mrs. Besant proved to be base metal. Nor is this all; during her recent visit to England this aged lady poured vitriol on the political bodies of India. We expected never again to see her taking an interest in the politics of this country. She was, however, seen sitting side by side with the leaders at the meetings recently held at Amritsar. Nevertheless, on her return from the Congress she wrote articles against it. We are extremely shocked when we see a European lady thus mix with Indian leaders and at the same time make stinging remarks against them. Can we not decide our political matters without help from an old lady? Indian leaders should not invite Mrs. Besant to their meetings but should work without her help.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Hunter Committee.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

9. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 19th January writes:—"Lord Hunter's decision not to admit independent evidence from the Punjab after the committee had closed its sittings at Lahore and moved on to Ahmadabad should, for all practical purposes, be taken as final, and no other reply could have been made, consistent with the committee's attitude in the past, to the offer of the released Punjab leaders to lead evidence. It shows that the committee will not go out of its way to record independent evidence, and it further indicates what is to be expected from the committee. However, we need not anticipate anything; but on one point we are quite clear and that is the urgent need of pushing on with the unofficial inquiry and report. That report should be written and printed as early as possible so that it may be placed in the hands of the public, especially the British public, and the press simultaneously with the report of the Hunter Committee."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 17th January says that the evidence of the repressive and despotic ex-Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who openly scouted the traditions of British justice and courts, could not properly be recorded *in camera*. All persons, whether big or small, are equals in the eye of the law, and no special distinction could be made in favour of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The Hunter Committee has flouted public opinion on the subject. Will it throw justice overboard in its report and verdict also?

MUNICIPAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Din Muhammad, editor.

(c) The *Municipal Gazette* of the 19th January says that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has, like Mr. Thompson and Sir Umar Hayat Khan, been examined *in camera*, and that also after the completion of inquiries in the Punjab. On the other hand, the committee refused to record non-official evidence on the ground that it had already completed these inquiries. These happenings have led the people to regard the committee with suspicion and made them wonder how it can come to a correct finding in the absence of the evidence of those whom it was essential to examine.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(d) The *Siyasat* of the 17th January says that a few days ago the *Tribune* published a report to the effect that the approver in the Gujranwala leaders' case had written to the Hunter Committee that the statement given by him in court was untrue, and that he had been forced by the police to make it. The report is the topic of the day, and Government should inform the public whether or not it is correct and was recorded by the Hunter Committee. What steps does Government intend to take in regard to the accused who were punished on the strength of the approver's evidence?

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

The North-West Frontier Province.

10. *Insaf* of the 19th January publishes a communication from one AMIR CHAND, of Peshawar city. The writer says that in view of the new era which is about to be ushered in in India, the Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab. The Frontier Crimes Regulation Act, which has frequently been used to trample upon the legitimate rights of the people, should be utilised only against the uncivilised and predatory frontier tribes. Continuing, the writer says that political prisoners are being released everywhere, and asks whether the Frontier Province is not to profit by the concession. Is it not true, he inquires, that the residents of Peshawar protested against the Rowlatt Act in a constitutional way? They did not violate the law in any way and there was no unrest during or after their protest. It is, therefore, wholly opposed to Britain's spirit of freedom and ancient traditions to saddle them with an unbearable fine; to interfere with their natural and legitimate liberty by taking securities from them; and to leave their lives, property and honour at the mercy of murderous dacoits by confiscating their arms.

VICTORIA PAPER (Sialkot); Brij Lal, editor.

Honorary benches in cantonments.

11. The *Victoria Paper* of the 12th January says that Ambala cantonment is the only place of its kind in the Punjab where there is a bench of honorary magistrates. It will be an act of kindness on the part of Government, which has always the interests of its subjects at heart, to constitute such benches for the benefit of Indians residing in other cantonments also.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The railway strike.

12. (a) The *Desh* of the 18th January says that although the conduct of the railway staff at Saharanpur in going on strike is blameworthy, still their grievances are deserving of consideration. After regretting that they should have been dismissed and ordered to vacate their quarters, the newspaper remarks that while leading men in England are interceding on behalf of the railway strikers there, the regular method of dealing with strikers in India is by dispensing with their services. Instead of treating the Saharanpur strikers so harshly, the authorities should pay heed to their legitimate demands and consider them in a sympathetic spirit.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(b) Writing on the recent strike on the North-Western Railway, the *Liberal* of the 19th January says:—"We have no reason to believe that the employees of the North-Western Railway who went on strike were actuated by any motives other than economic and economic alone. We are glad they have resumed work, and we hope the authorities will take a generous and liberal-hearted view of the matter and re-instate all who had any hand in the strike, great or small. This is not the only thing that the railway authorities will be called upon to do. They should, as evidently they have already in contemplation, make a universal and reasonable increase in the wages of all who are hard hit by the unfavourable circumstances of the time. Prices in the Punjab, as in Bombay, have gone up enormously, especially during the last couple of years, and it is but honest to say that a large section of the railway employees, like their brethren in other departments of service, find it difficult to make a bare subsistence out of it. It is more so, because among educated Indians, however poor, the standard of living is not flexible or easily adaptable to changed circumstances. The idea of 'social status' is always on their brain, and they must maintain it at any cost. Such being the case, and the railway being on the contrary a prospering concern, we venture to ask . . . whether the case for an increase—a suitable increase has—not been completely made out. We have no doubt the needful will be done before many days are allowed to pass."

The Katarpur case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

13. The *Tribune* of the 24th January writes:—"Telegraphic appeals have been made to the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy to stop the execution of the four persons sentenced to death in the Katarpur case whose petitions for mercy were recently rejected by the Viceroy. . . . The riots arose out of Hindu-Muhammadan differences over the cow-killing question. Those differences no longer stand where they did. The Amritsar session of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution in favour of abolishing cow-sacrifice among Muslims; and now representative Hindu and Muhammadan bodies are unanimous in appealing to the Viceroy for mercy. The air is thick with talk of coöperation not only between the people and His Majesty's officers, but also between Hindus and Muhammadans. If ever there was a case which preëminently deserved the exercise of the royal prerogative of mercy, it is the case of these unfortunate men. If ever there was a time when it could be most fittingly exercised it is, we submit, the present one. We still hope that His Excellency will rise to the height of the occasion and by commuting the death sentences in the case of these eight men, earn the undying gratitude of millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects, both Hindu and Muslim."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Cow sacrifice.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

14. (*a*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 15th January understands that certain Muhammadans are publishing notices with the object of inducing their co-religionists to oppose the Muslim League's resolution on cow-sacrifice. Such people are despicable beings, no matter whether they are acting at the instigation of others or of their own accord. Their conduct is abominable and will be appreciated by no sensible Muhammadan.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 16th January is of opinion that the Hindus should hold meetings in different parts of the country to thank their Muhammadan brothers for passing a resolution at the Amritsar session of the Muslim League suggesting the stoppage of cow sacrifice on the occasion of the Id-uz-zuha. They should also give no cause for complaint to their Muslim fellow-countrymen in connection with their religious affairs.

Kine-killing.

DHARM (Lahore); Karam Chand Bhal, editor.

15. (*a*) The *Dharm* of the 19th January publishes a communication from one SHAMS-UD-DIN of Amritsar, who says that the stoppage of cow sacrifice will undoubtedly obliterate all traces of bitterness between the Hindus and Muhammadans. Unless, however, our leaders turn their attention to slaughter houses there is no likelihood of kine-killing stopping. The slaughter houses in all cities should be closed and the butchers employed on other works to enable them to maintain their families. Large funds will undoubtedly be needed to effect this. Money should be collected everywhere to buy cows from the butchers and to render the necessary help to the men. If the public attends to the matter, it will not only put an end to cow-killing but also to the dearness of milk and *ghi*.

VAKIL (Amritsar), Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 20th January publishes a communication from MAULVI ABDUL HAI, a contractor of Sabathu. The writer says that if the Muhammadans really wish to give a practical shape to the Muslim League's resolution on cow sacrifice, they should join hands with their Hindu brothers in moving a resolution in the councils that kine-killing be stopped by law and the export of cattle to foreign countries discontinued. The Hindus have afforded practical proof of their sympathy with the Muhammadans over the caliphate question, and it is incumbent on the latter to make this sympathy reciprocal.

Hindu-Muhammadan relations.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

16. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 17th January reports that a respectable correspondent writes that the Hindus should totally discard the principle of *chhut* just as, in response to the practical sympathy displayed by them in the

matter of the caliphate, the Muhammadans have abandoned the sacrifice of kine. The newspaper appreciates its correspondent's suggestion, but points out that the Muhammadans have not decided to give up cow sacrifice by way of a recompense. Everyone knows that the movement was not started on the suggestion of the Hindus: it arose spontaneously among the Muhammadans. And so they will never put forward any proposal for the abandonment of *chhut*. They will leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Hindus.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*b*) The *Aftab* of the 16th January publishes a review of the last session of the Muslim League written by "ZAR" of Benares. In the course of his remarks the correspondent says that the spirit of sincerity and broadmindedness in which the Muhammadans solved the question of cow sacrifice displays both liberality and hurry. On one side is the concession made by them; on the other we have the language [Hindi] of Swami Shradhanand's speech as chairman of the reception committee of the Amritsar Congress and the proceedings at the Benares session of the Bhasha Shikhstha Mandal, which declared that Hindi should be made the *lingua franca* of India. The Urdu language, which naturally holds this position, is thus being trampled upon. We have no hesitation in accepting the statement that the stoppage of cow sacrifice will cement the union between the Hindus and Muhammadans. We would, however, request the Muslim League to come to an early understanding with the Congress that if the Muhammadans discontinue sacrificing kine the Hindus should acknowledge Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India. The former agree to stop cow sacrifice, but the course suggested would remove the difficulties which stand in their way of doing so.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*c*) The *Aftab* of the 15th January publishes a communication from SHAFI AHMAD, editor of the Delhi *Muhaqqik* who predicts that the present Hindu-Muslim unity will disappear in 1921, and that self-government will prove very inauspicious for the Muhammadans, whose troubles will continue to multiply.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Maulvi Sanaullah, editor.

(*d*) In its combined issue dated the 2nd and 9th January, the *Ahl-i-Hadis* publishes a communication from one ABDUL RAUF of Akola, in Berar. The writer refers to the Muhammadans witnessing the incidents narrated in the Ramayana during the Dussehra, and asks whether the Shara admits of their doing so and whether they are permitted to participate in the Holi, Dewali and other Hindu festivals.

In reply the editor says that it is unlawful on the part of the Muhammadans to attend heathen festivals. It is laid down in the Traditions that those who swell the number of a community and take part in its affairs should be regarded as its members.

PARKASH (Lahore); Radha Kishen, editor.

(*e*) The *Parkash* of the 18th January says that every part of the reply is worthy of consideration. In the first place, it is not a pleasing thing that the Hindus should be classed as heathens. Again, the reply says that those Muhammadans who take part in Hindu festivals become unbelievers. We would respectfully ask Maulvi Sanaullah [the editor of the *Ahl-i-Hadis*] whether there can be any unity between the two communities if the reason advanced by him receives any wide application. If they continue to hate each other in this way, how can there be the unity which the Maulvi welcomed in his address as chairman of the reception committee of the Muslim League?

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*f*) The *Leader* of the 20th January says that it is a pity that while a wave of Hindu-Muslim unity is passing over the country Maulvi Sanaullah should tell the Muhammadans not to attend festivals organised by heathens. He laid great stress on Hindu-Muhammadan unity in the address referred to, but his answers to the Akola correspondent query is calculated to create feelings of hatred and enmity between the two communities. The Maulvi should avoid publishing such questions and answers in future.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

A memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

17. The *Desh* of the 17th January publishes a communication from its Rohtak correspondent, who states that he has learnt on inquiry that some time back a subscription was raised in Rohtak under the supervision of the local authorities for Sir Michael O'Dwyer's memorial, the collections having been

remitted to Lahore. This shows, he adds, that funds has secretly been collected in almost every district. He asks those who are making glorious the name of the residents of the Rohtak district in general and that of the people of the Punjab in particular what the achievements of Sir Michael's régime are for which they feel grateful to the ex-Lieutenant-Governor and wish to raise a memorial to him. Not only Indians but even Britons are full of complaints about his doings. The red earth of the Jallianwala Bagh and the houses of Gujranwala bear testimony to these achievements. It is deeply to be regretted that "these people" should raise a memorial to a man like him.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

High prices.

18. *Insaf* of the 17th January publishes a communicated article in which the writer says that at the present moment India is in the grip of a famine, and that the Reform Act is no remedy for the evil. At all events, the tree of reforms has been planted only now and cannot fructify for another year or so. It is the duty of the authorities to adopt prompt measures to cope with the situation, which alone can ensure the maintenance of the public peace. There can be no doubt that the passing of the Reform Act will silence the supporters of the National Congress and the Muslim League. The Act can, however, produce no pleasant effect on three hundred and fifteen millions of their fellow-countrymen. The generality of the people can be satisfied only by the lowering of prices. General Morris, writing in the *Daily News*, speaks of the possibility of the Bolsheviks establishing direct relations with the north-west frontier of India, Afghanistan and Persia, and says that the authorities in this country should not adopt measures likely to complicate matters. The existing situation in India is most intimately connected with famine and starvation; and if measures are concerted to end these, any Bolshevist intrigue here will ultimately prove meaningless.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 24th January 1920.

246 SB—167—29-1-20—SGPP Lahore.

Supplement to Punjab Press Abstract, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4.

Selections from Extra-Provincial Newspapers.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

BOMBAY CHRONICLE (Bombay), English.

1. The following appears in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 8th January :—" The latest news about Turkey is astounding. The *Daily Chronicle's* forecast is that the caliph will be maintained in Constantinople, but as a spiritual head ; that the Turkish Government will be packed off to Asia Minor ; and that the administration of Constantinople will be in the hands of the Allies. The *Daily Chronicle* is Mr. Lloyd George's organ..... We cannot believe in the authenticity of so outrageous a proposal from a conference in which Britain has the commanding voice. For we cannot think that Britain will be accessory to what must be virtually a declaration of war on the caliphate...... Islam will never be satisfied with the reduction of the Sultan of Turkey—who as the caliph must be an independent prince, able to protect and guard the holy places—to the status of merely a religious head. It would be flagrant misinterpretation of the whole caliphate agitation, in order to suit the conveniences of the Allies...... The Turkish question can never be solved properly unless the Allies definitely renounce any idea of a division of the spoil. In that case the Turkish problem admits of an easy solution. But if the original designs of the Allies are to stand, they will be sadly mistaken in thinking that the desperate remedy of meeting the needs of the situation by maintaining only the religious authority of the caliph intact, as they think, will be welcomed by Islam. Any attempt to pacify the Muslim world in this way is sure to fail."

INDEPENDENT (Allahabad), English.

2. The following leaderette is published in the *Independent* of the 21st January :—" The Viceroy's reply to the Khilafat deputation does not contain, beyond the usual expression of academic sympathy, one word or sentence which may be construed as hope-inspiring. His Excellency does not seem to know more than what Reuter's telegrams indicate *apropos* the general drift of the peace deliberations in Paris. As for the depressing and discreditable prognostications and suggestions of prominent organs of British opinion, His Excellency told the deputation that they 'do not in any sense represent the opinions of His Majesty's ministers.' The Secretary of State for India who is at present in Paris with the Prime Minister is 'pressing the views of Indian Muslims with his accustomed energy and force before the final conference at which a decision will be made on this grave issue.' His Excellency thought it expedient, it would seem, to remind the Khilafat deputation that the war was not a war between Turkey and Britain only, that Turkey's decision to throw in her lot with the Central Powers 'undoubtedly prolonged the war and increased the grievous miseries caused thereby,' and that the future of Turkey was being decided not by Great Britain alone, but by all the Allied powers. Which is all, of course, very true. But what of the blood-stained yeast of war—self-determination ? Has the higher ideal of the war, proclaimed from the house-tops, got mildewed ? Was it all a colossal sham or a diplomatic make-believe ? If the purpose of peace is to create an atmosphere of good-will amongst mankind of a permanent and not an ephemeral kind, then Great Britain and the Allied powers owe it alike to themselves and to mankind to settle the Turkish question on its own merits—not from the standpoint of those whose feelings were outraged by Turkey's 'throwing in her lot with the Central Powers,' but from an inter-continental and world-peace point of view."

THE AMRITSAR CONGRESS.

YOUNG INDIA (Bombay), English.

3. Commenting on the Congress resolution demanding the Viceroy's recall, *Young India* of the 7th January writes :—" The speeches delivered in support of the resolution were mostly rude and offensive. The speakers would have added to the dignity of the proceedings if they had restrained themselves. To speak of a King's representative as 'a third class subaltern of no parts'

is hardly a phrase that can be defended. To talk of the 'crimes and misdemeanours' of Lord Chelmsford is not to appreciate either our own position or that of Lord Chelmsford. The speakers lost their sense of proportion in assessing the Viceroy's blemishes. A man may be unfit and yet good. We hold that Lord Chelmsford's mistakes were those of the head. He failed to perceive the difference between the purely constitutional figurehead that a Governor is in the self-governing Colonies and the Viceroy of India who enjoys almost absolute powers. He failed to exercise his undoubted right of prompt intervention in cases of known wrongs. He did not respond to the growing consciousness of the nation. These are limitations which contribute to failure without making one a criminal. We can ask for Lord Chelmsford's recall even though we admit, as we must, that he is a highly cultured English gentleman. But our purpose is not so much to find out the good points of Lord Chelmsford, as it is to show that, however bad he may be, it was not gentlemanly for us to use the language that was used regarding His Excellency. And we desire to express our deep sorrow that from a national platform unbecoming and rude language should have been used by responsible speakers about the highest representative of the Crown in India."

SERVANT OF INDIA (Poona), English.

4. The following is from the *Servant of India* of the 8th January:—"How far is the Indian National Congress representative of the educated community in India? The psychology of the crowd greatly complicates a discussion of this question. There are doubtless several hundreds of men who took part in the Congress at Amritsar who, if tackled separately and at leisure each by himself, would pronounce the Government of India Act of 1919 a measure conferring enormous constitutional power on the duly elected leaders of the Indian people. Lashed into a fit of passion by fiery speeches, they caught the spirit of denunciation and intensified it. The press and the platform will help the spread of these pessimistic doctrines. Will they strike deep root? Will they spread all through society? We would fain trust that when the operation of the Act begins, the innate good sense of the ordinary citizen will assert itself and he will know how to make the most of a measure which critics may denounce as they please, but cannot rob of its liberal provisions. The experience of 1921 and 1922 may establish, what now can only be surmised, that the three last Congresses, though they included unprecedentedly large numbers, neither wisely led nor correctly reflected the opinion of the people of India. The actual use of political power is an education both efficacious and profound."

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta), English.

5. The following leaderette is published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 15th January:—"How one could wish that Sir Michael O'Dwyer had been present at Lahore to see with his own eyes the right royal ovation accorded to Messrs. Ram Bhaj Dutt, Duni Chand and Harkishen Lal on their return to that city from Amritsar! The whole town turned out to welcome them, and it was a spontaneous movement, which breathed heartfelt joy at the sight of their leaders, who had been ruthlessly snatched away from the people during the dark days of April. The spectacle would have enabled the late 'strong ruler' of the Punjab to form some idea of the depth of the wound he caused to be inflicted upon popular feeling by the brutal manner in which the Punjab leaders were treated. How different is the above movement from another which is collecting funds for an O'Dwyer memorial at Rohtak under official auspices. One cannot conceive of a more bitter irony at the expense of Sir Michael O'Dwyer than this movement. No one is more unpopular and hated in the Punjab just now than Sir Michael, and he is to have a memorial at the cost of those very people whom he has done the greatest possible injury."

MISCELLANEOUS.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (Calcutta), English.

6. The following is taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 18th January:—"The revised rates of pay for officers of the Indian Civil Service just sanctioned by the Secretary of State seem to be something in the nature of a compensation to the members of the Civil Service for the passing of the reforms. It is expected that a larger influx of the 'moon-faced darlings' will serve to heal the wounds so cruelly inflicted by the hands of a

Jew. The new rates will come into operation from the 1st December 1919; so the immediate influx will be quite considerable to satisfy even the most disconsolate among the heaven-born service. The immediate result of the reforms is that the burden of the most expensive service in the world on the poorest country is still further increased! As late as the 24th June 1858 Mr. John Bright in one of his speeches on the Indian Civil Service spoke as follows:—'I believe there never was any other service under the sun paid at so high a rate as the exclusive Civil Service of the East India Company. Clergymen and missionaries can be got out to India for a moderate sum; private soldiers and officers of the army go out for a moderate remuneration; merchants are content to live in the cities of India for a percentage of profit not greatly exceeding the ordinary profits of commerce But the Civil Service, because it is bound up with those who were raised by it and who dispense the patronage of India, receive a rate of payment which would be incredible if we did not know it to be true, and which, knowing it to be true, we must admit to be monstrous. The East India Government scatters salaries about at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Agra, Lahore, and half a dozen other cities, which are up to the mark of those of the Prime Minister and Secretaries of State in this country.' Since then the scale of pay of the covenanted Civil Servants in India, instead of being reduced, has been increased. And as the Hindu performs the puja of Ganesh (the giver of success) before undertaking a new thing, Mr. Edwin Montagu has, before launching the reforms in India, made his offerings at the foot of the Indian Civil Service god in the shape of higher pay, overseas allowance, etc., to be drawn perpetually from the slender resources of the people of India. He has clean forgotten that India is a land of famine and pestilences. Here tens of millions of people know not what a full meal is from year's end to year's end. Here myriads of human beings drink what is not water but veritable poisonous liquid. Malaria, plague and cholera are annually decimating the country ruthlessly in the north and the south, in the east and the west. The prices of necessary articles have been forced up to a famine rate in every part of the peninsula. And the inhabitants of such a country have to maintain a huge number of highly-paid Europeans in the general and special branches of the Civil Service, not to mention the cost of the military service, which is even more crushing."

INDEPENDENT (Allahabad), English.

7. The following extracts are taken from an article on the North-Western Railway strike, published in the *Independent* of the 18th January:—"The strikers have not acted in a hurry or with any idea of embarrassing the authorities. Their grievances are long standing. They have made respectful representations for a sufficient length of time and shown a patience which is really admirable when one remembers the exasperating conditions in which they live. For over a year they have memorialised for an increase in wages. A war and famine allowance was granted to them, but was certainly not enough to keep body and soul together in the prevalent economic distress. Their memorial, according to one of our correspondents, was to all appearance consigned to the waste paper basket. Having waited for a full year in vain, the entire staff of the North-Western Railway renewed their prayer, which, however, did not meet with a sympathetic response either from the Agent or the Traffic Manager. It is even alleged that 'some representatives of the employees were sent for and reprimanded.' Not daunted, though disappointed and disheartened, the poor hard-worked souls in the North-Western Railway persisted in petitioning. A deputation headed by a guard, Mr. Miller by name, presented the case for the employees. The authorities of the railway behaved like true capitalists and did not agree to redress the existing grievances. This obduracy on their part, coupled with the aggravated conditions under which the staff were working, drove them to send an ultimatum to the authorities to grant them a 'living wage' by a certain date. The result of this was the dismissal of their leader Mr. Miller under flimsy pretexts. This extreme step on the part of the authorities showed that they had not even a particle of sympathy for those who during the trying period of the war and under most extraordinary circumstances had shown exemplary loyalty and performed their duties with typical promptitude. Even as the trampled worm turns, the poor staff on the North-Western Railway decided to stop work and carried out their decision on the 7th instant. . . . That the North-Western Railway staff have conducted themselves admirably must be patent even to the Agent and the Traffic Manager, however

unwilling they may be to admit this fact. In view alike of the severity of the circumstances under which the railway men live and the reasonable character of their demands, we would urge on the powers that be to adopt a policy of justice and sympathy. The impression is abroad that the capitalists in India are taking unworthy advantage of the absence amongst the workers of organised unions to agitate for their rights or put up prolonged fights whenever and wherever called for. The consequence of this in the long run must be clear to any one who has a long head to look into the future. Do the authorities want an organised agitation throughout the country which would paralyze the present condition of affairs? The time has come when the public and the Government should see to it that the life and lot of the poor working classes are improved. In the North-Western Railway we expect the authorities concerned to arrive at a reasonable settlement without delay and not adopt an attitude of hostility to the employees. Reason and sympathy should take the place of passion and prestige."

A. V. ASKWITH,

LAHORE:
The 24th January 1920.

Personal Assistant to the D. I.-G. of Police,
C. I. D., Punjab.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolshevik menace.

ITTIHAD (Amritsar); Muhammad Sardar Khan, editor.

1. (a) In the course of a leading article the *Ittihad* of the 20th January says that only a few months ago Bethmann Holweg, the ex-chancellor of Germany, and Lord Curzon predicted the outbreak of another war. It was the spark of Bolshevism to which both these gentlemen referred. After referring to the recent successes of the Bolsheviks, the *Ittihad* says that although the situation is grave, the statesmen in England and France are committing mistakes one after another. They are still overcome by avarice and greed and every one of them is anxious to get a lion's share. They are determined upon the dismemberment of Turkey. They have altogether lost sight of the fact that by their mistakes they are adding to the power of the Bolsheviks. The Turks will fight to the last to save their territory. Enver Pasha and his companions will join hands with the Bolsheviks and will not allow the flames of mischief to be extinguished. Mustafa Kamal Pasha with his army will fight to the last moment and no wonder if the vanquished enemy should rise again to try his luck once more. Moreover, it is just possible that the nations which sided with the Allies to obtain their freedom, and whom the Allies are now reducing to subjection, might, on seeing their hopes frustrated, incline towards their centre and thus create a fresh danger for the Allies. In short, the conflagration which started in 1911 shows no signs of abatement.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(b) The *Vakil* of the 21st January publishes a leader headed "The Huge Tide of Bolshevism: A Terrible Menace to the East: India in Danger." It says that the latest telegrams state that the huge tide of Bolshevism is rapidly extending towards the east and the middle east, and in view of its expansion it is folly to consider India out of the reach of its danger. The Bolsheviks met with little success in the west and hence they want to take advantage of the eastern mind. Already they have employed Chinese columns and Buker cavalry, and having failed to establish a Soviet democracy in Munich and Budapesth, they are diverting their entire attention to the east. They are bent upon causing an irreparable loss to their greatest enemy (England) and this they hope to do with the help of thousands of Indians, Chinese and other Asiatic people. Not long ago Trotsky openly stated that it was through India alone that any loss could be caused to England. All these things clearly show that the Bolshevik intriguers hope to bring the east under their sole influence and then to advance towards India. In doing so their only object is to deal a blow at England. What steps the British Government is taking to stem this tide is not known to us. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that with the Muhammadan population of central Asia the Bolsheviks have not met with much success, and that all their efforts in this direction have gone in vain. It means in other words that for the present the Muhammadan population has formed a barrier in the way of a Bolshevik advance towards India. How unjust then would it be if Britain were to contribute towards flouting the aspirations and sentiments of the Muhammadans of the world!

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(c) In the course of a leading article headed "The Bolshevik Menace in Central Asia," the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd January says that there is every hope that the Bolsheviks will fail in their attempts in India as the Germans did. We would most respectfully but emphatically advise the Government on this occasion that it should try as far as possible to win the hearts of its subjects. The Turkish question has caused much anxiety to the Muhammadans, and although His Excellency the Viceroy has expressed much sympathy in his reply to the Khilafat Deputation address, yet the occasion demands that the British ministers should treat this matter as their own and should prevail upon the other allies to arrive at such a conclusion in regard to the Turkish problem as may be in consonance with the religious beliefs and sentiments of the Muhammadans. We assure Government to the best of our knowledge that the Bolshevik machinations will have no effect on the Indians. But still the Government should remove all causes of dissatisfaction and allow the people no cause for complaint.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(d) The *Leader* of the 22nd January says that it is a veritable truth that thanks to the British Government India has, to a very large extent, been immune from the ruinous effects of the recent war. But now on the termination of the European war, the Bolshevik movement has created a commotion throughout the world. Reuter's reports are very sensational, and if there is some truth in them it will have to be admitted that a large part of central Asia is now under the influence of the Bolsheviks. The speed with which the Bolsheviks are advancing or intend to advance leaves not the least room for doubt that they will shortly reach the frontiers of India and disturb our peace. It is therefore highly necessary for Indians to be ready even now to [illegible] the danger. It also appears from the reports already received that the [illegible] and his officers are on friendly terms with the Bolsheviks. [illegible] that the Indian Government and its subjects should [illegible] duties, and that nothing should be left undone to create [illegible] the minds of the ruler and the ruled, and that both should [illegible] with each other and become prepared to break the Bolsheviks' [illegible].

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(e) The *Leader* of the 26th January says that Reuter's latest telegram has made it perfectly clear that the Bolshevik movement is a real danger. It is therefore highly necessary that both Government and the people should have a [illegible] in the matter and no misunderstanding, bitterness or estrangement should exist between them. We are deeply grieved to say that [illegible] exist between the rulers and the ruled and so long as they are not removed the relations between them cannot be cordial. The question of political rights is the most important question for Indians. The latter desire that they may be granted the same political rights as are enjoyed by their fellow subjects in the British Empire. If, however, these rights cannot be conceded at once, a proclamation should be promptly issued in that connection, so that Indians may feel satisfied that they are enjoying equal rights with the Britishers. Indians also hope that undue severity will not be exercised to suppress their political aspirations. All Indian political prisoners and internees should be released. We should, however, be excused for saying that Government's attitude towards the royal proclamation is not encouraging. Indians should also remain loyal to Government and should share its difficulties, calamities and joys. There can be no denying the fact that they have derived many advantages from the British rule and have learnt a good deal from the Britishers in matters social and political. It is therefore their duty to render every assistance to the British Government on all occasions of emergency. The frontier of India was not immune from the attacks of invaders before the advent of the British Government. It is the duty of Indians to sink their differences and become prepared to help and serve Government.

The frontier fighting.

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Pindi Mail* of the 30th January writes :—"There is room for suspicion that the Mahsuds are being encouraged by the Afghan frontier officers and other irresponsible elements in that state over whom the Amir's control is apparently slender. It is possible that the same agency is also helping them to obtain from whatever source supplies of war material. As long as we have in Afghanistan a neighbour whose attitude is one of sullen and silent, if not open, hostility, for so long will the frontier remain a thorn in our flesh and be a source of unceasing anxiety. Even at the present juncture the belief entertained by some tribesmen rightly or wrongly that they can still look forward to the Amir of Afghanistan for help must be regarded as one of the factors contributory to the stiffening of their attitude with our Afghan neighbour adopting an attitude of unequivocal and distinct friendliness, more than half the difficulties we have in dealing with the frontier tribesmen must furnish always a matter of vital concern. Our Afghan policy should be so directed as to rally all the forces of order and present a formidable line of defence against the impending Bolshevik menace. For central Asia has now become a hot-bed of Bolshevism and there is no knowing to what extent the spread of its poisonous doctrines may affect the frontier situation and constitute a grave danger to this country once the Afghan gateway is opened. It is to be hoped that such an eventuality will never come to pass."

(*b*) In its issue dated the 31st January the newspaper continues :—"The policy of setting a thief to catch a thief which underlies the frontier militia organisation, wherein considerable numbers of the tribesmen are enrolled, has, judged from the practical standpoint, proved itself to be of dubious value. It cannot, of course, be denied the militia served as a kind of receptacle for the unruly tribesmen, a device which at once taught the men the value of a settled and orderly life and at the same time kept them away from mischief. From one point of view, also, the militia by drawing the men to us drew them away from our enemies. Having said this much, we think we should turn to the other side of the picture; for, as pointed out, it has its darker side. This is due to the fact the tribesman is still tribal at heart. Religious fanaticism has been ingrained in him for centuries and only needs ignition to be fired up. To him his own land, his own kith and kin are dearer than anything else which he can hope to obtain. By serving in the militia he no doubt sees something of orderly and civilised life, but this is no more than a thin veneer which can easily and readily be shaken off should occasion demand it. And this explains why when the crucial moment arrives some of the militia men more often than not go and join the enemy, treacherously deserting our ranks. Evidently a considerable number of these have now joined the hostile tribesmen and helped them very effectively indeed. Such a sort of thing must never be allowed to continue, and if the present organisation of the militia requires to be overhauled that must be done without delay. Either tribesmen who enlist in the militia should be bound to us by such strong ties and in such a manner as will ensure their unfaltering devotion to us, or the ranks of the militia should be closed to them absolutely. To have a foe is bad enough, but to have a friend who is your potential enemy is worse. It is to be hoped that the question of the future recruitment to the militia will receive the attention it demands."

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Turkey and the Shias.

3. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd January publishes a communication from one Mahmud, son of Mehdi-ul-Rizwi, of Khurasan, now residing in Jarcha, District Bulandshahr (United Provinces). The writer requests the Shia Ulema to coöperate as far as possible with their Ahl-i-Sunnat brethren keeping in view the Islamic fraternity. No doubt the organisers of the Khilafat Conference mentioned the names of Baghdad, Mecca and Medina in connection with the holy places, but entirely left out the historic and sacred places of Karbala, Kazmain and Samra, where the dear descendants of the Prophet were massacred and no sympathy was shown to the Shias at the time of the bombardment of Meshed. But the Shias should forget all these things now and should stand by Islam in the hour of its need. It is no wonder that in the matter of Persia the Shias should be able to enlist the sympathy of the Sunni Muhammadans. The preservation of the Turkish Empire is essential to the maintenance of Islamic prestige in the world. Even if the Turkish Government does not have any regard for the Karbala, yet it is after all an Islamic power and it is impossible to expect any other power to feel as much for the Karbala as it does. The resources of Turkey can be employed to help Persia in its critical moment. No matter how great Turkey's prejudices towards Persia may be, she cannot keep back in helping the latter against alien races. A new era has been ushered in in India and we should safeguard our rights along with our Sunni brethren. It is therefore highly imperative that both the sects should coöperate. Continuing the writer says if the Shias refuse to recognise the Sultan of Turkey as their religious head, they are at liberty to do so. But living in India as they do, it is necessary for them to coöperate with the Sunnis, as the twenty-three crores of Hindus are doing. Islam allows a good many rights to a neighbour. In order to maintain the name of Islam, it behoves the Shias to agitate for the existence of Turkey.

Pindi Mail (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

The Khilafat Deputation.

4. (*a*) The *Pindi Mail* of the 27th January writes:—"The indelible impression left on the mind of one who reads through His Excellency the Viceroy's very sympathetic reply to the Khilafat Deputation is, unfortunately, that we are no nearer the solution of the thorny question than ever before. . . . While all India must be grateful to the Viceroy for what he has been doing, for his courteous treatment of the deputation, and for the refreshing frankness which characterizes his reply, we should not let our vision be blurred so as not to see the situation as it actually is. For from the practical point of view the fate of Turkey still hangs in the balance, and as matters stand at present there is nothing to lend support to the belief that after all the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish empire will not take place. On this point the Viceroy has absolutely nothing to say except that neither he nor his colleagues in the Government are possessed of any secret information regarding the nature of the decision at which the peace conference will arrive. The trend of the comments which have from time to time appeared in the newspapers at home make the prospect, if anything, distinctly gloomier. Although His Excellency would not have us attach any importance 'to the cabled opinions of Home newspapers,' yet we cannot easily get over the fact that some of the leading organs of English public opinion, which we have no reason to think otherwise than as well informed, have commented on the Caliphate question in a manner betraying a strange lack of appreciation of the Muslim standpoint. The *Times* for instance holds the view that the integrity of the Caliphate as a religious institution does not depend upon its head exercising any political power. Even in Europe, the Pope, who for centuries past had been both the ruler of a state and the head of the Roman Catholic church gradually lost all political power. And who can now say that this has (not) impaired his status as the chief priest of the Catholic church? While this is so, we think that a sharp line of distinction must be drawn between the two faiths—Islam and Christianity—in so far as their outlook in regard to the close association of the temporal with spiritual power is concerned. This dividing line is not the creation of today but the result of the [illegible] which the [illegible] of faith, traditions and [illegible], institutions and [illegible] of both Islam and Christianity have necessarily and inevitably brought [illegible]."

Pindi Mail (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(*b*) The *Pindi Mail* of the [illegible] January writes:—"A study of the rise and spread of Islam [illegible] brings to light the very close [illegible] which for long centuries bound the spiritual with the temporal power. Whenever the

Sultan planted his victorious banners, whatever territories the Muslim power brought under its sway, the crescent following in the wake also established itself, and radiated its influence. The Islamic religion would have been nowhere but for the strong political complexion—a complexion of a militant type—infused into it early by the tribes who embraced it. And the subsequent spread of the faith, far and wide, over the four continents of the globe, if anything, emphasized the part which the political element played in the propagation of religion. It will, therefore, be easily understood how to the Muslim mind the forcible dissociation of territorial sovereignty from the Caliphate is simply unthinkable. That Muslims from all parts of India, and with them some of the most prominent leaders of the Hindu community as well, have voiced forth their views most emphatically against the dismemberment of the Turkish empire constitutes a grave warning to those with whom the settlement of the Turkish peace rests at present. In the words of the deputation, temporal power is of the very essence of the institution of the Caliphate, and the Mussalmans can never agree to any change in its character to the dismemberment of the empire. . . . While the volume of Muslim public opinion in India has thus set itself against any measure that will in effect shear the Caliphate of any political power, there is another aspect of the question of which His Excellency perhaps under the present circumstances thought safe to steer clear altogether. This is about the pledge given by the Premier not very long ago that the integrity of Turkish Turkey would be maintained in fact. Since then we are not aware of any altered circumstances such as would justify the non-fulfilment of the pledge. Nor can we admit that difficulties which were not anticipated at the time the promise was made have since arisen. As the deputation says, no prospective territorial or political gains whether real or imagined can compensate Great Britain or her allies for the loss of normal credit if their pledged word is left unredeemed. We too think so. The Allies above all entered into the war for the preservation of the high moral ideals which ran counter to the German way of thought and action. Can the Allies then consistently maintain their reputation for lofty morality if in practice they fail to adhere to the assurance they themselves have given?"

Indians in South Africa.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

5. The *Leader* of the 23rd January says that everybody knows how Indians in South Africa are being harassed by the enactment of new laws. A new law has been passed bringing further calamity on the Indians there. When Indians are being so maltreated in the British colonies, they can be subjected to any treatment by other powers The *Leader* emphatically requests the Government of India to have the rights of British citizenship granted to Indians in South Africa and to force the Union Government to treat Indians in a civilised manner.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Lord Chelmsford.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

6. *Insáf* of the 21st January says that in the course of his speech at Bombay Lord Sinha observed that Indians should feel grateful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford who had done a great deal in making the reform scheme a success. With due respect to Lord Sinha we wish to say that we shall be failing in our duty if we do not express the public view. How can those who know Lord Chelmsford's attitude express their gratitude to him? Should Indians feel grateful to His Excellency for the despatch of the 5th March 1919, in which the spirit of retrogression was fully displayed? Should they feel indebted to His Excellency for the Punjab incidents? Or should they feel grateful to His Excellency for the bitter reply given by him to the press deputation at Delhi? Should they be thankful to His Excellency for approving every measure adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer? At any rate Indians are not ungrateful people. They will, therefore, assuredly feel grateful to His Excellency in case his lordship made any efforts in connection with the declaration of the 20th August 1917. But it is difficult for them to express gratitude to His Excellency for continuing martial law for months and months or for making proposals in the despatch dated the 5th March 1919 to render the Reform Bill meaningless—proposals which were fortunately rejected by the joint committee.

LEADER
(Lahore);
Pham Lal,
editor.

Lord Sinha's speech at Bombay.

7. Commenting upon Lord Sinha's speech at Bombay, the *Leader* of the 23rd January says that his lordship's speech is disappointing. Lord Sinha has, in fact, uttered not a single word about the Punjab affairs, which have affected even these British newspapers whose business had been to raise their voice against India. His lordship, though an Indian, utters not a single word of sympathy for Indians on the present occasion of their trouble. Granting that he is a responsible officer, is it proper that he should make no reference in his speech to the dreadful incident which took place in his absence in a particular province in India and in which hundreds of Indians were killed, wounded and put in jails? Besides, Lord Sinha uttered such words of praise for Lord Chelmsford as were not approved of by Indians. How can Lord Sinha's eulogistic remarks about Lord Chelmsford commend themselves to Indians when a political association like the National Congress, which has the right to call itself a representative body of all Indians, has already expressed dissatisfaction with Lord Chelmsford's régime and has passed a resolution demanding his recall? The newspaper then refers to the meeting held in Calcutta to express indignation at Lord Sinha's speech at Bombay and says that so far as the resolutions adopted at the meeting are concerned, they must be regarded as justifiable. Just as Lord Sinha has a right to express his views about Indian political affairs, so Indians also have a right to say whether they approve of the former's views and conduct or not. Indians have the freedom and right to oppose and contradict Lord Sinha's views in every possible way. But we cannot approve of the raising of cries of shame on Lord Sinha and the putting out of procession lamps by the public in Calcutta. Such acts are detrimental to the national cause.

LIBERAL
(Lahore);
Jai Gopal
Tandan,
editor.

Repression.

8. The *Liberal* of the 26th January writes:—"When the emancipation of a race is accomplished by a divine decree, and when the destinies of that race, for the time being, are in the keeping of another nation, two forces proceeding from two different sources and working in apparent conflict accelerate the accomplishment of such emancipation. The first is the efforts of the people themselves in seeking the birthright of every nation—liberty; and the second is the resistance by the governing race of the aspirations of the people. History teems with instances in which nations have won freedom by these contending forces working to the same end, and freedom has to be won not only from foreign domination but even domestic autocracy. . . . The last ten years and more in India have been years of repressive legislation, loss of liberty of the subject and an organised campaign against the public press. What has been the result? The Congress has grown larger and ever larger and its voice has become more emphatic and resonant and insistent. Amritsar was the scene of the grossest outrages ever committed since the establishment of British rule in India; Amritsar was also the scene of a session of the Congress at which the most fearless speeches were made. Instead of producing terror as their authors fondly hoped, the Punjab outrages have only strengthened the determination of the nation to make such things impossible in future. All the repression and evil in India during the last few years have increased the solidarity of the people of India. Nay, more. Quite unwillingly and of course unintentionally the bureaucracy in India have given the country leaders whose position has been materially strengthened by their being singled out for ill-treatment. . . . The cause of the nation has thus been directly helped by the persecution of Indian patriots. It is a striking irony of destiny that while the Punjab leaders have recovered their liberty and are as fearless as ever, Sir Michael O'Dwyer has to be closely guarded by armed troops for his safety and dare not show his face anywhere. Let him leave India and go in peace, for out of the evil he wrought has come great good."

ARORBANS
SUDHARAK
(Lahore);
Balig Ram,
editor.

The Alienation of Land Act.

9. The *Arorbans Sudharak* of the 24th January learns that in the Lyallpur district certain Hindus had taken squares of land from men belonging to agricultural tribes on lease for cultivation. They were thus supporting their families and children. It occurred all of a sudden to somebody that such contracts were in contravention of the provisions of the Alienation of Land Act, with the result that petitions began to be submitted in large numbers to the revenue officer, and most of the claimants were [illegible] being awarded to the Hindus who were thus deprived of their

means of livelihood. If the Alienation of Land Act remains in force, the condition of Hindus of non-agricultural tribes will become very miserable. Not only will they cease to be landowners, but even shopkeepers. The joint stock companies started by Government forbodes this. Instead of advancing loan the coöperative banks are supplying all necessary articles to the zamindars, thereby depriving shopkeepers of their livelihood. This state of things would surely result in the exclusion of the shopkeeper class from the villages. The question arises what steps Government will take to supply food to this class of people.

The reformed councils.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The *Tribune* of the 30th January writes:—"We do not wish the elections to go on strict party lines, if the parties are the Congress and the Moderates' Conference. To some extent election on party lines has undoubtedly been rendered inevitable by the moderates seceding from the Congress; but to some extent only. The country, a large part of which is neither extremist nor moderate, as those terms are usually understood, but simply nationalist, will, we believe, judge each candidate on his merits, and while it would be fully justified, where all other things are equal, in preferring the Congress candidate to the candidate put forward by the Moderates' Conference, it will not, we confidently hope, make the fatal mistake of rejecting every moderate because he is a moderate or electing every Congress candidate because he comes with the imprimatur of the national assembly. After all, parties in the real sense of the term are yet to evolve, and it is essential to their evolution on sound lines as much as to the welfare of the country that some of moderate leaders with their distinguished record of public services and with their undoubted wisdom and experience should be in the new councils—if only to serve as the little leaven that leaveneth the mass."

Imperial preference.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. Commenting on Sir Fazulbhoy's presidential speech in the joint session of the Industrial Conference and the Indian Commercial Congress, the *Tribune* of the 28th January writes:—"Imperial preference is to most of us bound up with fiscal freedom both in theory and in practice. That is why we are painfully surprised that while fiscal freedom is yet to come, imperial preference should already be regarded as a burning issue. Explaining the protest of the commercial community against certain measures of imperial preference adopted during the last few months, the president said that 'it rested in the first place on the method and manner in which imperial preference was introduced, and secondly on our desire that before such a wide question is decided, Indian public opinion should be fully consulted.' In this connection the president recalled with apparent approval the recent words of the Viceroy that 'it was not the Government of India's intention to adopt preference as a general policy without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion.' In our opinion preference should not be adopted, whether as a general policy or a particular measure, not only without full support from enlightened opinion which in India may mean anything, but so long as the people have not acquired the right of refusal through an elected legislature. This right of refusal is of the essence of fiscal freedom, and so long as it is not there, any measure of imperial preference adopted by the Government of India, as at present constituted, even though it might have the support of so-called 'enlightened opinion,' would be liable to be seriously misunderstood by the common people, and would lay the action of Government open to unpleasant criticism."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Hunter Committee.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor

12. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 26th January writes:—"Bombay is wholly outside the disturbed areas and there was never the faintest suggestion that the Hunter Committee would examine witnesses in Bombay. That being so, what justification is there for the admission of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence while excluding the evidence of the liberated Punjab leaders and of the witnesses who could have been produced by them? Sir Michael O'Dwyer is a Lahore witness, and since the inquiry has been closed at Lahore and no independent non-official evidence from that city is being admitted, may we inquire on what principle a discrimination is being made between ex-official and non-official evidence?"

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(b) Writing in the *Vakil* of the 31st January one HABIB ULLAH of Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, protests against the decision of the Hunter Committee to examine *in camera* Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose unjust orders have slaughtered hundreds, have made thousands roll in dust and blood and have deprived many women of their husbands. Did Government make any provisions for these widows? It is a matter for shame. Is this a specimen of the Christianity which the Premier calls "the one hope for the permanent foundation of world peace"?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Punjab High Court.

13. The *Tribune* of the 31st January writes:—"Practically every newspaper in the province has supported the claims of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal. The Bar Associations in the province, unquestionably the most enlightened body of non-official opinion in this matter, have, one after another, and led by the High Court Bar itself, associated themselves with the same view. The most striking confirmation has, however, come from an unexpected quarter. The Lahore correspondent of the *Pioneer* has written a letter to his paper. . . Clearly if this means anything it means that not to speak of Indian opinion, even European opinion is strongly in favour of the view that in the present case the appointment should be made locally, the only division in that opinion being as between those who support the claims of Mr. Justice Chevis and those who support the claims of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal. For our part, while we should not have 'upheld the claims of the latter' had the former been eligible, we strongly dissent from the assumption that a Civilian judge is eligible. Whatever view may be taken of the actual wording of the Act, there is not the smallest doubt that the appointment, contrary to all precedent, of a member of the Civil Service as the head of a High Court, and that in a province like the Punjab where a strong judiciary, entirely independent of the executive, is an absolute necessity, has not the ghost of a chance of commending itself either to public opinion or to the highest authorities."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Telegraph employees.

14. Commenting on the proposed committee to consider the question of pay and the conditions of service of the telegraph staff, the *Tribune* of the 29th January writes:—"We can only hope that the personnel of the committee will be such as to inspire confidence both among the staff and the general public, and that it will be asked to submit its report without a moment's unnecessary delay. The considerations that have a bearing on the question are mostly of a general nature, and we do not think anything like a long or laborious investigation is really necessary. Our experience of these committees and commissions is that it is only those of them that are afraid of doing justice or do not wish to do it completely that make long delays either in investigation or in the submission of their reports—just to find arguments for foregone conclusions. We earnestly hope the present committee will be of a different character, and will solve the problem instead of attempting to shelve it, which, of course, it can never succeed in doing, for the men have now taken the solution of the problem into their own hands."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Sikhs in the railway service.

15. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 30th January writes:—"There are some complaints which have now become almost chronic with the Sikhs. Among these one such is about the studied indifference of the railway to the just and prior claims of the Sikhs for employment in its various departments of service. Through these columns we have repeatedly invited the attention of the railway authorities to the cold shoulder given so far to the Sikh young men who happened to aspire to serve in these departments. But we observe that instead of there being any improvement in the situation things have gone from bad to worse . . . The claims of the Sikh young men are being overlooked in the railway department. We admit we are unable to probe into the secret of the [illegible] treatment which the railway authorities are according to the [illegible]. But we suspect that it is [illegible] some [illegible] and [illegible] of certain heads of departments that are responsible for [illegible]. The time [illegible] we are also prepared to forego our special claims and insist on equal [illegible]

justice in all branches of service. 'A fair field and no favour.' Is it fair and just, we ask, so coldly and lightly to throw away the just claims of the Sikhs as some of the subordinate branches of the railway are doing in the Punjab? ... We appeal also to His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan. . . . to issue instructions to all heads of departments that the representation of the Sikhs as such in the civil administration may be adequately increased so as to afford them their full and proper share in all state services."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Apostacy from Islam.

Al Aziz; (Batala) Ghulam Mohy-ud-din, editor.

16. The January number of *Al Aziz* refers to a letter* published by Chaudhari Muhammad Amin, a pleader of Sialkot, in which he protests against the Chief Court ruling that apostacy from Islam by one of a married pair cancels the marriage *ipso facto*. The principles laid down by Islam, observes the editor, are unchangeable. They have come down intact from the time of the Prophet and will remain so till the Day of Judgment. In our opinion, the Chief Court ruling in this matter is quite just and appropriate. It, therefore, follows that it is useless to ask for the cancellation of a ruling which is in complete harmony with the tenets of Islam. If, however, our esteemed Chaudhari succeeds in getting the ruling cancelled in order to save Muslim women from renouncing their faith or from falling a prey to the Christian missionaries, it will certainly give rise to a number of other evil consequences for which it would be difficult to find a remedy. If the ruling is cancelled, there can be no reconciliation between wife and husband. Feelings of ill-will and hatred will increase. The oppressed wife will find no way of effecting an escape from the cruel hands of her husband, and would at last be compelled to poison her husband or to commit suicide or indulge in immoral practices and thus ruin the good name of her husband's family. It is also possible that the husband in a fit of rage might cut her nose or ear and thus render himself liable to be put in jail. In view of all these evils, Islam has legalised divorce.

A word of advice to the Muhammadans.

Aftab (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

17. Writing in the *Aftab* of the 24th January one Hassan of Lahore refers to the formation of a branch of the Khilafat Conference at Lahore and its subsequent demise, and advises his co-religionists to work under the guidance of Hindu leaders if they can find no suitable Muhammadan leaders. Certain Muhammadan leaders of Lahore are trying to gain their personal ends at the expense of the Muslim community. Such leaders are not required by the Muhammadans, who should safeguard themselves againt their tricks.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Dr. Kitchlew.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

18. The *Tribune* of the 30th January writes:—' We cordially associate ourselves with the resolution passed at a public meeting of the citizens of Amritsar held on Sunday last, requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to keep in view His Majesty's proclamation and His Honour's own appeal, and to cancel immediately the notification of the removal of Dr. Kitchlew from the Amritsar municipality. Dr. Kitchlew's alleged offence was wholly political, and we are among those who think that no man should be debarred from either practising his vocation or serving his country on a self-governing body, be that body a municipality or district board or a provincial or central Legislative Council, merely because he has been convicted of a political offence. . . . In the present case there is the additional fact that Dr. Kitchlew's offence, if any, has been wholly obliterated by the amnesty which, as we have already shown from the context, can only mean a free pardon. That is clearly the view of the Government itself and of the High Court, and all that the resolution asks in effect is that the same principle that has been followed in certain other cases should be followed in the case of Dr. Kitchlew. Dr. Kitchlew, however, is not the only member of a municipal committee whom the local Government by a notification removed from the body of which he was an elected member. A good many others are in exactly the same position. We trust that in all these cases the notification will now be cancelled."

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*Vide Punjab Press Abstract, Volume XXXII, No. 45, paragraph 15.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Labour problems.

19. The *Tribune* of the 30th January writes:—"What would nationality or national self-government mean if it did not mean the ascent of labour to the position which belongs to it of right, the position of ultimate supremacy in national affairs? But it is just here that the danger arises. How is labour going to become supreme? Are we going to wait until it takes the solution of the riddle of its destiny in its own hands, and begins to assert itself as labour is asserting itself elsewhere? Or should we guide it ourselves along the lines best calculated to develop in it an adequate sense of duty and of responsibility along with its growingly keen sense of right and of self-interest? Let us remember that the time for guidance will soon be past. It is, indeed, past already, unless those who seek to guide know how to identify themselves closely with the interests of labour. Anything like a supercilious patronising attitude will be as little tolerated by labour as, say, the average Congress man is inclined to tolerate it in men of wisdom and experience. If, for this reason, the men of wisdom and experience among us cut themselves off from the rank and file of the army of labour, they will have only themselves to thank if labour develops the same tendencies in India that it has developed in other countries, with the same inevitable consequences. Every country has, at some stage or other, the chance of making its choice between Bolshevism and genuine democracy. India's chance is now. Will India realise her duty?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

20. The *Tribune* of the 28th January writes:—"Further information has been received from certain other districts, notably Ferozepore, that certain officials are actively engaged in the collection of funds for the O'Dwyer memorial. Indeed it is said that a local official sent for the members of the Bar and told them that he had been asked by higher authority to collect money for the O'Dwyer memorial. This is clearly a case of abuse of official power; and the grave impropriety of the proceeding is heightened by the fact that the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is virtually on its trial before the Hunter Committee. It is a case eminently fitted to form the subject of a close personal inquiry on the part of Sir Edward Maclagan, and we once more commend it to His Honour's attention. We need hardly add that if the policy of let bygones be bygones is to be carried to its logical end, all attempts of the nature referred to above should be promptly and effectively put down."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Crime in England and India.

21. In noticing a Reuter telegram regarding crimes of violence in England, the *Tribune* of the [illegible] January writes:—"Crime is the same thing whether it occurs in England or in India and Ireland; and a humane Indian or Irishman will as sincerely regret the occurrence of these crimes of violence in England as humane Englishmen have always regretted the occurrence of crimes of violence in certain parts of India or Ireland. We draw attention to the 'rising wave of crimes' for one simple reason. It ought to convince all reasonable Englishmen that the existence of crimes of violence is entirely independent of and has nothing to do with political agitation, and that to seek to establish a 'causal' nexus between dacoities and political agitation is not only unjust but absurd. The root causes of these crimes may differ at different times and in different cases, but in no case and at no time can they spring out of a sane constitutional movement, no matter with what strength and vigour that movement may be conducted. Very often, indeed, the causes are economic, as we believe is largely the [illegible] in England, and as so many of us believe was the case in [illegible] ago when these crimes were far more frequent than they are [illegible]."

District Magistrates and Political Agents [illegible] to the Additional Secretary to Government, [illegible] [illegible] objection [illegible] is believed [illegible]

LAHORE: } [illegible] Superintendent [illegible]

The 31st January 1920. } [illegible]

[illegible]

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolshevik menace.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor,

1. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 27th January writes:—"The enormities and atrocities committed by this marauding cult of a new dispensation is horrifying in the extreme and as such makes one's hair stand out in fear of the gravity of the enormities. And if we are to judge them from the accounts published in the newspapers, the verdict unhesitatingly goes in favour of outright condemnation of this new cult. They are a serious menace to peace and order and civilisation and must therefore not only be resisted at any cost, but should be destroyed root and branch. . . . During the great European war the Sikhs have more than proved their mettle and if another emergency arises we make bold to say that although their claims have not come in for that full measure of recognition at the hands of those from whom this recognition fell due, which was their birthright, yet the Sikhs will stand unmoved by the side of the Government and will lend all the support that is in their power."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) Dwelling on the Bolshevik movement, the *Vakil* of the 28th January expresses surprise that the British Premier not only wishes to take no offensive against the Bolsheviks but even wishes to make an alliance with them in order to take advantage of the Russian produce. We wonder that the Premier, who cannot abstain from punishing the Turks for their supposed oppressions, intends to identify himself with a movement which has been stated to be the most tyrannical and bloodthirsty of all the past movements. Should it be taken for granted that Mr. Lloyd George is prepared to sacrifice his principles of justice for the sake of a few gunny-bags of wheat and a few tins of butter?

The European war.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

2. The *Leader* of the 31st January says that certain statements of some of the British Ministers have led a section of the Indian Muhammadans to entertain a doubt whether the European war was not a religious one. But this is not the case. The

war did not begin on any religious grounds. In the first place, the nations at war were all Christians. In the second place, when these countries unsheathed their swords against one another, there existed no religious difference between them. As to Turkey, it is a Muhammadan power and its participation in the European conflagration must, no doubt, be called a strange thing. This much, however, is patent enough that Turkey plunged into the war on no religious, but political grounds. Had Turkey done so thinking it to be a religious war, why should she have sided with the Germans and Austrians who are Christians? We wish to point it out in unmistakable terms that when the Turks leapt down into the arena there was no religious question before them. There were differences on political matters only between them and Great Britain and unfortunately those differences grew to such an extent that Turkey sided with the Germans and turned against Great Britain and her Allies. This naturally caused much anxiety to the Muhammadans of India. But the responsible ministers of the British Empire, however, removed all their anxiety by making an announcement that the war was not a religious one, and that the holy places of Islam would not be interfered with. The announcement was extremely necessary and it had a wholesome effect. In the past many protracted and sanguine wars took place between the Muhammadans and the Christians over Jerusalem. The Christians never succeeded in their object, and always suffered defeat at the hands of the Muhammadans. These wars could be called religious wars, but the present one can in no sense come under this category. In the course of the present war, however, the Christians themselves destroyed and demolished dozens of their own churches. This being so, how can it be called a religious war between the Muhammadans and the Christians?

Aftab (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

The Khilafat question.

3. Commenting upon His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Khilafat Deputation, the *Aftab* of the 25th January says that the Viceroy has, as a representative of the British Government, had recourse to plain speaking, and the Muhammadans need not feel displeased at his remarks. At the commencement of the war, the British rulers repeatedly held out an assurance to the world that whatever the result of the war might be, the holy places of Islam would not be interfered with. This was the promise on which the Muhammadans treated the war as a political one and which led them to fight against their co-religionists. The question now arises whether the British statesmen have kept their promise. It can be very easily said in reply that all the holy places of Islam are still in possession of the Muhammadans and they cannot accept the Shah of the Hedjaz or the ruler of Mesopotamia as lawful rulers, for they will work under the British suzerainty. When any non-Muslim power directly or indirectly holds sway over the holy places, it means that that power is in virtual possession of them; and such a thing can on no account satisfy the Muhammadans. They desire that all their holy places should remain under the control of some independent Muhammadan ruler. As the Sultan of Turkey is the Khalifat-ul-Mussalmin, they look to see their holy places remain under his control and protection and they can never accept any decision to the contrary. His Excellency the Viceroy has warned the Muhammadans that no matter what the fate of Turkey may be they should remain loyal to the British Government. The Muhammadans remained steadfast in their loyalty to the British Crown in the days when the British Government waged war with Turkey. They remained so even when Afghanistan recently delivered an attack on the frontier of India. The loyalty which is expected from them after a just or an unjust decision regarding Turkey is in fact connected with their religion and faith.

Aftab (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

The peace conference.

4. The *Aftab* of the [illegible] January publishes a leading article headed "[illegible] Close of the Peace Conference." It says that the peace conference at Paris has miserably failed in the task, and that [illegible] will now prepare its new frame in London. Whether it be Paris or London, New York or Berlin, such conferences can prove a [illegible] the bottom. We were assured [illegible] to the pride of the Kaiser and [illegible] the world would [illegible]

and equality. There can be no peace unless all the nations of the world get their full rights. The best and easiest way to achieve this object is to base the future organisation of the world on the principle of nationality, and to allow to every nation its just and legitimate rights. Let there be hundreds of conferences and thousands of such assemblies, there can be no everlasting and permanent peace in the world.

Indians in South Africa.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th January refers to the immorality of Scottish wives as disclosed by Lord Sandys in the court of sessions at Edinburgh and says that while morality is thus being dragged through the mire in Scotland, efforts are being made to expel Indians from East Africa on a charge of immorality. As a matter of fact, several impartial Europeans bear testimony to the fact that no country in the world cares so much for chastity as India does. The question, however, is whether any person can move on the basis of these disclosures made by Lord Sandys that the Scots should be expelled from any country on the ground of their immorality. Never. It is the unfortunate Indians alone against whom the doors of other countries are being closed on such false accusations.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the Viceroy's remarks in Council about the future of Indians in South Africa, the *Tribune* of the 1st February writes:—"In this connection His Excellency might with advantage have taken the public into his confidence as to whom, among the non-official and representative Indians, the Government of India are going to associate with Sir Benjamin in his difficult mission. On the last occasion that Sir Benjamin went on a similar mission he had the advantage of the advice and coöperation of no less a person than Mr. Gandhi. There is no Indian in South Africa at present of the outstanding personality of Mr. Gandhi, and what the public has been looking forward to for some time is the deputation of an Indian public man of the first rank. As regards British East Africa the Viceroy made the welcome statement that the position of the Government of India was, and always would be that there was and would be no justification in a crown colony or protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's British subjects. This is exactly as it should be; but His Excellency must have realised by this time that much—almost everything—in this matter depends upon how far the Government of India is prepared to go in making the cause of Indians their own. Referring to the cognate subject of Indian emigration to Fiji and British Guiana, His Excellency stated that two deputations were now in India, one from each place, to reopen emigration on a new basis, and that a committee of the Indian Legislative Council would meet those deputations to discuss conditions and report their conclusions to Government. We do not know how far the committee is going to be truly representative of Indian opinion. In any case it should be recognised that the matter is essentially one for the general public, and that no final conclusions of any kind must be reached behind the back of the latter."

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 6th February writes:—"The general tendency of events in East Africa is towards a deliberate attempt to exclude Indians from that country, and if the Government of India are alive to this tendency they can scarcely be unaware of what Mr. Gandhi tries in his letter to bring home to them. Nor could His Excellency the Viceroy himself have meant anything essentially different when he said in his recent speech that the position of the Government of India was that there was no justification in a crown colony or protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. Surely if there is no justification for assigning to British Indians resident in South Africa a status inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects, there is equally no justification for removing Indians either by legislation or by executive ordinance from the country, after fixing on them the stigma of being 'undesirables.' The attempt to fix this stigma on them in order to exclude them from the country is like giving a certain animal a bad name in order to hang it. It is only adding intolerable insult to grievous injury. We are quite certain the Government of India, who have in this matter adopted a correct attitude throughout, will to the end continue to identify themselves closely with Indian interests and fight the case of India as a national Government would have fought it. That is the only position which becomes them."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Viceroy's Council speech.

6. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 1st February writes:—"There is only one class of men to whose services His Excellency made no reference, and that is the non-official public generally and the 'agitators' in particular, but for whose strenuous exertions the task would not have been undertaken at all, far less carried through. Not that these men, who were only striving to win for themselves and their country the birthright of political freedom, so essential to their self-fulfilment as a nation, cared for official recognition of their work. Still the omission was unfortunate, especially as His Excellency sought to be so comprehensive, and did not omit to say a word, though only indirectly, about the services of the members of the Government themselves. With the brief reference made by His Excellency to the royal proclamation India will cordially and wholeheartedly associate herself. The deep concern showed by His Majesty for India's welfare in these days of stress and change has, indeed, made a profound impression on the country, and the royal message, full of inspiration and hope, has been acclaimed throughout India. Unhappily its terms have not so far been as liberally and as generously interpreted by the executive Government as they were doubtless intended by His Majesty himself to be, and it were much to be wished that His Excellency had taken the opportunity, afforded by the occasion, of making a public declaration of policy on this most important subject."

The newspaper then refers to His Excellency's remarks on the franchise and rules of legislation and goes on:—"It is not quite clear, however, how in the absence of details the public can be expected, as it apparently is, to express its opinion on the intentions of the Government. The public can only do its duty in these matters when it is provided and in good time with all the materials for forming its judgment, and when the judgment so formed is given the weight it deserves. . . . We can only hope that the consultation of Indian opinion will be real in these cases and that the Government will not consider its duty done and His Excellency's pledge redeemed by carrying a fragment of Indian opinion, sailing under a particular flag, with it. . . . Whatever one may think of the wisdom or otherwise of the policy of making appointments to a Council which, as has been said, governs the Government of India in important matters after consulting the head of that Government, we have nothing but admiration for the sense of justice no less than the wisdom displayed by His Excellency in putting forward the name of Sir Sankaran Nair in the first instance, and cordially concurring in his appointment later on. The appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair means not only a clear accession of strength and of representative character to a Council which is not particularly strong in either element, but has the advantage, from the official point of view, of making it impossible for him to take a part in the public discussion of certain inconvenient issues. This advantage, however, may be purely incidental, and even if His Excellency had it in his mind, he could scarcely be unaware of the corresponding disadvantage that with Sir Sankaran Nair at his elbow Mr. Montagu would be in a far better position to deal with the Government of India in matters in which the latter differs from Indian opinion than he would otherwise be. The action of His Excellency in this matter is some compensation for the attitude on the part of his Government that led Sir Sankaran to throw up his job."

[illegible] (Lahore); [illegible], editor.

(*b*) [illegible] of the 4th February [illegible] that His Excellency the Viceroy has now [illegible] the [illegible] that Sir Sankaran Nair was appointed to the India Council with his consultation. [illegible] His Excellency may have [illegible] his [illegible] possible for [illegible] man who [illegible] Government of India [illegible] the India Council [illegible] of the [illegible]

Insaf thinks that if permission is granted for the export of wheat, the condition of the poor will be extremely miserable. It is the duty of the Indian members of the Viceregal Council to inform the Government that India will not be able to withstand further dearness.

The next Viceroy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. The *Tribune* of 5th February writes:—"The idea of appointing a soldier as Viceroy of India seems to have a strange fascination for some minds. Readers of Lord Morley's *Recollections* will remember how when Lord Minto's viceroyalty was approaching its close, attempts were made to get Lord Kitchener appointed his successor, and how with this object in view pressure was brought to bear upon the Secretary of State from the highest in the land. The reasons why Lord Morley did not agree are well known, and these reasons apply with redoubled force in the present case. The rule of a man who is first and above everything else a soldier had never less chance of commending itself to Indian opinion than it has on the morrow of Jallianwala Bagh, and the fact that the appointment, if the proposal materialised, would synchronize with the beginning of a new era, of which the chief distinguishing feature will be a measure of responsibility for the people, would make it all the more indefensible. We can only hope that the proposal, if it has seriously been made, will be nipped in the bud, and that the Indian public will never have occasion to hear about it again."

The reform scheme.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The following is extracted from a letter contributed by RUCHI RAM SAHNI to the *Tribune* of the 6th February:—"Let then the Congress Committee lose no time in selecting two or three men and ask the Government to allow them to be associated with Mr. Hallifax in framing the rules and regulations so far as this province is concerned. In the Southborough Report, it has been recommended that, in the case of the Punjab (and two other provinces), a residential qualification may be fixed for candidates for election to the new legislative assemblies. If now, in the rules to be framed, such a condition is rigidly fixed, many of our best men will find it impossible to get into the Councils. With a narrow residential qualification, it is quite possible to make our legislative assembly into something of a glorified district board, specially so as regards rural representation. For the proper political education of the rural tracts, it is necessary that the residential qualification should be relaxed, if not entirely done away with, so that the best men may at least have an opportunity of going to the rural constituencies and explaining to the electors their duties, rights and responsibilities under the reforms constitution, and impressing upon them the importance of exercising their judgment in voting for one or the other of the several candidates."

Sikhs and their rights.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

9. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 25th January writes that now when the subject communities are to be given an opportunity to solve their political problems any decision regarding the rights of communities cannot but effect their future. A community now in the background will always remain backward. The fate of the Sikh community is on the tapis. They must take precautions against any encroachment upon their rights in the reformed councils. We should plainly say to the Government that the representation allowed to the Sikhs in the new councils amounts to nothing and request that the rights granted to the Muhammadans in other provinces may be conceded to the Sikhs also. If Government refuses to accede to our demands the Sikhs should boycott the new councils, as well as all the district boards and municipal committees in the province. For the present, a special session of the Sikh League should be convened to discuss the matter and any decision arrived at should be communicated by means of a fully representative deputation to the Government. This is the time for united action. The Sikhs should sink their differences and make a united effort. No further time should be lost. They should be up and doing.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The royal proclamation and the Press Act.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. (a) Referring to the cancellation by the Burma Government of all orders under the Defence of India Act and the Press Act, the *Tribune* of the 1st

February writes :—"The just interpretation that the Government of Sir Reginald Craddock has put on the royal proclamation is quite in consonance with the spirit of that great pronouncement, and is as example to the various provincial Governments in India which they may do worse than follow."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of 5th February writes :—"The Press Act is undoubtedly a special or emergency legislation within the meaning of the foregoing word of His Majesty, and the orders for securities are in effect as well as in intention orders restricting the 'liberty' of the individuals owning or conducting the newspapers and presses affected by them. The distinction made between the press in India and the press in Burma is all the more indefensible when it is borne in mind that the Act in connection with which the proclamation is issued does apply to India and does not apply to Burma. We can only assume that the Busma Government has been able to forestall the provincial Governments in India only because it is less busy otherwise than the latter, and that what Burma has done already India will do as early as possible."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore),
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Frontier raids.

11. The *Tribune* of 6th February writes :—"The colourless *communiqués* which are published from day to day about the situation on the frontier convey to the average reader little or no idea of the seriousness of the situation with which our fellow-subjects in that part of the country are hourly confronted. The truth is that people on the frontier live under conditions not far removed from those of war. They literally carry their lives in the hollow of their palm. 'Picture to yourself,' writes a correspondent to us, 'a Hindu household in a village. The family, after taking their evening meals, have retired to bed. Suddenly a gang of raiders breaks into the house and begins firing right and left to overawe the villagers. They catch hold of the family members, ransack the house, insult the women and march off with the victims, who are held to large amounts of ransom.' The conditions depicted here are not an exception but the rule in the frontier. How long will the Government let things go on in this way? No half-hearted policy will carry us very far. What is needed is 'direct action'— not persuasive overtures or voting large sums of money whenever the tribesmen attack our borders. Until this is done we shall have no peace. In the meantime it is essential that the officers concerned should be firm in their action. Among other things, a moving column of properly armed constabulary should ever be on the move tracing the raiders to their haunts and meting out to them such punishment as may be commensurate with their evil designs and deeds. Additional police might also be located in the areas which are targets for the enemy's raids."

LIBERAL
(Lahore);
Jai Gopal
Tandan,
editor.

Telegraph and postal employees.

12. Writing in connection with the appointment of a committee to go into the question of the pay, etc., of the Telegraph staff, the *Liberal* of the 2nd February says :—"We are glad this has been done in the case of the telegraph service, but why not authorise the same committee to consider also the question of pay and conditions of service of the postal staff as well? The members of the two services are governed, as far as we know, by the same rules and regulations. They are affected equally by the rise in prices, and are as much deserving of sympathy as the members of the telegraph service. It will therefore save both time and money if the question regarding the postal employees was also included in the reference to the committee whose appointment has just been announced. The posts, like the telegraphs, are among the most hardworked services in the country; and the proverbial honesty of both, exceptions excluded, entitles them to a most dispassionate and judicious consideration of their case."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Dismissed railway employees.

13. The *Tribune* of 6th February writes :—"With reference to the order of the Agent of the North-Western Railway, we cannot help expressing our regret at the disappointing nature of the instructions issued. The order as it stands is based on the principle of differentiation, inasmuch as only those men are to be re-employed who were discharged on a month's pay in lieu of notice. Even the re-employment of this limited class is conditional, firstly, upon suitable vacancies occurring and secondly on the discretion of the heads of

departments, there being no appeal from the decision of such authorities. It is thus clear that the Agent's order does not at all affect the dismissed men, and even in the case of the other class of employees, the relief is partial and appears to have been given grudgingly. The order says that re-employment is to be regarded as an entirely fresh appointment. Under the circumstances we feel that the Agent's order has not been conceived in that generous spirit of 'forgive and forget' which is the keynote of the royal proclamation. Obliteration of bitter feelings between the officials and the people is only possible if both the parties agree to treat the unhappy events of April and May last as a horrible dream which has vanished away in the glorious sunlight of His Majesty's gracious proclamation. . . . . We hope the Agent of the North-Western Railway will yet see his way to revise his order and issue instructions for the reinstatement of all the employees who were either dismissed or discharged."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Hindu-Muhammadan unity.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath Shad, editor.

14. (*a*) *Insaf* of the 26th January has an article headed "Hindu-Muslim Unity and Basant." The festival of Basant has been observed jointly by Hindus and Muhammadans for the past seven centuries, and it is a proof of the fact that the Hindu-Muslim unity is not a new movement of the present age. There have been several epochs in India when the best brains of India succeeded in their efforts to bring about a unity. It is generally believed in the Punjab that Basant is a festival observed by Hindus only. But in Delhi it is observed by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. Basant Panchmi is a very old Hindu festival, and it is difficult to trace its origin. But in it the spiritual leaders have laid the foundation of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. It appears that this festival probably owes its origin to the joint efforts of Guru Nanak and Baba Farid when they lived at one and the same place. We hope that the Hindus and the Muhammadans will begin to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors in making their relations sincere and both will join together to celebrate the festival, because the era is coming when all ideas of estrangement will vanish and unity, mutual love and sympathy will prevail.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Maulvi Sanaullah, editor.

(*b*) The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 30th January thinks that the present unity between Hindus and Muhammadans is based not on religious but political grounds. Political unity means that all men should make united efforts for the benefit of the country. Religious unity, on the other hand, means that all should jointly carry out religious injunctions.

V.—EDUCATION.

The Punjab University.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

15. In noticing the suggestion for the removal of the University to a site outside Lahore, the *Tribune* of the 4th February writes:—"We should like to point out that an important change like the one contemplated in the vice-chancellor's note ought by no means to be carried out before the matter has been thoroughly discussed in the public press and an expression of opinion from representative bodies has been obtained. The proposal is not one affecting only the university. The members of the public are, if anything, even more vitally interested in it, for obvious reasons."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Horniman.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

16. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 4th February asks whether Sir George Lloyd is still against Mr. Horniman's return to India. Now that the political condition of the country has changed and even the convicts are being released, there is no reason why Mr. Horniman's restriction should not be removed and he should not be given an opportunity to return to India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of 6th February writes:—"We learn that the passport authorities have refused Mr. Horniman's application for a passport after referring to the India Office. The message adds that Mr. Montagu informed Mr. Horniman by a letter that the matter was entirely in the discretion of Sir George Lloyd. It is not quite clear whether this means that Sir George Lloyd has actually stood in the way of the passport being granted to Mr. Horniman, or only that His Excellency has not yet moved in the matter and that unless and until his consent has been obtained Mr. Horniman cannot be allowed to return. Whichever may be the case, we have no hesitation in characterising the refusal of the passport as a piece of bungling which public opinion will strongly condemn, and for which we can think of no justification whatever. The order of deportation against Mr. Horniman was issued under the cover of a war measure, and whatever plausibility might be claimed for it at the time it was issued ceased entirely with the signing of the peace. But even if this were not so, Mr. Horniman would certainly and quite obviously be as much entitled to the benefit of the direction relating to amnesty in the royal proclamation as any one else. The Bombay Government has the less reason and the less justification for withholding this benefit from him, because it has been the first local Government in India to cancel all merely executive orders taken under the Defence of India Act or any other special or emergency measure during the period of the war. To say that Mr. Horniman's case stands ou a different footing because the order against him was only that he should leave the country and not that he should not re-enter it is to make too much of a distinction which is a distinction without a difference. After all the order of deportation did in effect amount to an order prohibiting him from re-entering India, and even if there was any doubt on the point the refusal of the passport has made the position perfectly clear. Nor are we able to make out what precisely Mr. Montagu means by saying that the matter was one within the discretion of Sir George Lloyd. He cannot surely evade his own responsibility in a matter of this kind. Even if Sir George Lloyd has positively refused to allow Mr. Horniman to come back, Mr. Montagu clearly owes it to himself as well as to the British public, to whom he is responsible for whatever is done by the Indian authorities, to satisfy himself that Sir George is right. Has he so satisfied himself? Again, if what is meant is that Sir George has not yet expressed his opinion either way, what was there to prevent Mr. Montagu from obtaining Sir George's opinion when the matter was referred to the India Office by the passport authorities? Lastly, if it is meant that Mr. Horniman should move Sir George Lloyd direct, all we can say is that Mr. Montagu's letter has all the appearance of being an insult added to injury. It is an extraordinary position, if true, that the executive Government in India can restrict a man's liberty in the exercise of their arbitrary powers, legalised by special legislation, on the ostensible ground that there is some special necessity for such restriction, and then when the special necessity ceases, can remain inactive until the person wronged by their order has gone through the additional humiliation of asking that the order against him should be cancelled! Look at the matter from whatever point of view we may, we are constrained to say that if the original action against Mr. Horniman, as Mr. Gandhi once said, was vindictive in its nature, the present inaction is all the more so. We do not wish to fix the responsibility for this blunder precisely, but it is clear that it must be divided between Sir George Lloyd and Mr. Montagu. The fact that the former has in many ways made himself highly popular at Bombay and that to the latter India is so greatly indebted for his labours in connection with the Reforms, while it adds to the poignancy of her sorrow for the mistake, will not make her condemnation of the official attitude any the less severe. . . . We can only hope that the mistake will be rectified at the earliest possible moment."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The nickel coins.

17. The *Liberal* of the 2nd February writes :—" May we ask if the Government is aware how the nickel eight-anna, four-anna or even two-anna pieces have been received by the people? They have, we make bold to say, added to the discontent in the rural areas particularly, though the Government may have introduced the change with the best of intentions. Speaking for ourselves, we do not like the change, though for a different reason. The new coins are heavier than their silver compatriots and not half so well designed. Be it as it may, will the Government consider the desirability of withdrawing the nickel coins as early as possible?"

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

18. The *Liberal* of the 2nd February writes :—" But how will India [illegible] who in returning home [illegible] of enforced exile? Utterly baseless insinuations and charges have been levelled against him. These [illegible] in Mandalay in

1907. The country then received him back with open arms. He is now coming back home with a splendid record of service; for he has rightly and eloquently interpreted Indian nationalism to the American democracy. We can easily visualise the scenes that will be witnessed in India on Lala Lajpat Rai's arrival in his beloved motherland. On being released from Mandalay he made a triumphal tour in northern India. This time he will undoubtedly tour through all India, and the pulse of the nation will throb and pound with joy and a wave of enthusiasm as high as the Himalayas will surge from end to end of the country. It will be a great home-coming and a great day for Indian nationalism."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolshevik menace.

1. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 9th February, declares that Asia is not exempt from the Bolshevik menace. If the Government intends to avert the danger, it would do well to locate a large number of troops on every point on the frontier. The Government can secure the necessary forces if recruitment to the Indian Defence Force is thrown open, Indians are exempted from the operation of the Arms Act, and compulsory training in musketry is enforced in schools and colleges and students are required to undergo a course of military training under military officers. It is true that our Government can do whatever it likes in a moment. But it should not be forgotton that to wait till the eleventh hour is dangerous.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Pandit Gopi Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 8th February writes:—"The simultaneous denunciation of Bolshevism both in Constantinople and in Cairo will, we hope, have the effect of disillusioning those in this country who, during the last few weeks, have been indulging in much vain imagining as to the possible consequences of an identification of Islam with Bolshevism . . .

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

We cannot support the suggestion of a contemporary that the Government should begin counter-propaganda work, wherever necessary. 'Wherever necessary' is a saving phrase, but our experience is that once this sort of propagandism is begun, it almost invariably overdoes its work, and in the present case the only effect of starting an open propaganda to counteract the effect of the alleged secret propaganda will be to advertise a creed which, we firmly believe, has so far made no progress in the country. The danger of such advertisement in a country where the so-called lower orders of society have real and in some cases serious grievances is perfectly obvious, and every one who realises this danger will agree with us that the efforts of the special staff which has been set up to deal with the matter should be strictly confined to counteracting actual mischief, and should in no case and in no circumstances be directed, by means of propaganda work, to giving a free advertisement to the most obnoxious movement of our time."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The ex-Kaiser.

2. The *Liberal* of the 9th February writes :—"The Dutch Government has refused to extradite the ex-Kaiser When Wilhelm II left Germany and went to Holland he practically claimed sanctuary, and sanctuary is inviolable. The decision of the Dutch Government will meet with general approval. There may be further correspondence and diplomatic representations, but there is not the slightest likelihood of threats or pressure being used by the Allies. Nothing would be gained now by bringing the ex-Kaiser to trial, for the humiliation he has suffered is more bitter than death, while his trial would have been strongly resented in Germany. The clamour for the trial of the ex-Kaiser should now cease."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The future of Mesopotamia.

3. The *Vakil* of the 4th February says that Englishmen themselves are protesting against the British occupation of Mesopotamia. A gentleman named John Albion, writing to the *Sunday Pictorial*, of the 21st December 1919, says that the permanent British occupation of Mesopotamia will lead to no other result other than the continuance of fighting and bloodshed in the middle east. Mr. Albion thinks that Englishmen should never go beyond the seas. His observations and suggestions are worthy of the most careful consideration and attention by British statesmen. Whatever he has written he has written from the standpoint that the occupation of Mesopotamia will render the burden of administration too heavy for the British Government. We simply wish to add this much that the Islamic world is quite opposed to the occupation of Mesopotamia by Great Britain and if the occupation is permanent, the burden of administration will not only be unbearable but will also prove very troublesome.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Turkey.

4. The *Vakil* of the 1st February says that in the course of his reply to the Khilafat Deputation, His Excellency the Viceroy remarked that Turkey must pay for taking up arms against the Allies. This argument has already been advanced several times in support of the dismemberment of Turkey. We should like to ask His Excellency very respectfully how Government is going to fulfil Lord Hardinge's promise regarding the safety of the holy places of Islam and how it is going to redeem the pledge made by the Premier on the 5th January 1918. His Excellency should also say how Mr. Wilson's fourteen principles will be applied to Turkey. While Germany, Austria and Bulgaria are being given ordinary punishments, Turkey has been selected for the severest punishment. In our opinion the opportunity has not yet slipped away and the British Government has ample time to listen to the voice of the one-third population of the world and fulfil the desire of Indians as a whole.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Pondicherry.

5. The *Tribune* of the 8th February writes :—"A Paris newspaper revives the old suggestion that the Chandarnagore question in Bengal should be settled by enlarging Pondicherry territory in exchange for other French possessions in India. . . . If the question were raised to-day, it would be impossible for either Government to proceed on old lines, that is, merely by treating the people concerned in each case as a sort of chattel to be disposed of according to the wishes of the owner. By every consideration of justice, of equity and

of fairness, they would be entitled to the right of self-determination in this case, and if this right were denied to them, there would, in the strictest sense of the term, arise a case for the interference of the League of Nations."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The next Viceroy.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

6. *Insaf* of the 7th February says that the news has suddenly been received that Lord Haig is being asked to accept the viceroyalty of India. With due regard to his military achievements we deem it our duty to point out that at present India stands in need not of a general, but of the best British statesman. The sight of the temporary rule of a soldier has already been witnessed by the people. In these days, when a new era is to be ushered in in India by the introduction of reforms in the country the British cabinet should send its best statesman. Mr. Montagu should be appointed Viceroy of India, so that he may give a practical shape to the reform scheme which has emanated from his brain. Or Lord Hardinge should be again sent out to India.

The working of reform.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 8th February writes:—"In the course of his address at the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay drew pointed attention to the immense task that lies before the country in the matter of putting the provisions of the Reforms Act actually in operation. . Speaking of our own province we should like to see a substantial number of our public men not only taking an active interest in these matters but actually declaring their views and opinions on the subject. A special officer has no doubt been deputed to assist in solving the many problems arising out of the new Act, but it is clearly the duty of the public—representative public men and public bodies in the province—to have their say in the matter and come forward with definite suggestions. The association of a few representative Indians with Mr. Hallifax will surely be of advantage both to the Government and the public, provided, of course, that men of the right sort are selected."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 11th February writes:—"We are of opinion that the onerous fee which graduates have to pay for registration should either be altogether abolished or at any rate reduced to a nominal amount. . . The university being the only constituency for the educated classes as such, we are strongly of opinion that our university should insist on having at least two members to represent that body on the provincial legislature."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 9th February writes:—"We are of opinion that the elected Indian members of the Legislative Council should insist on a declaration of policy by the Government in the light of the royal proclamation. It is all very well to speak of the new franchise and electorate, but what about the highly objectionable and repressive laws standing on the statute book? What is the value of the appeal for coöperation if securities are still demanded from newspapers and public men are shadowed by the Criminal Investigation Department? If the royal proclamation means anything, it means, above everything else, a complete change of policy on the part of the Government of India and all local Governments subordinate to it. His Excellency the Viceroy has invited coöperation on the part of the leaders of the people for ensuring the success of the reforms, but we should like an assurance that the coöperation will come first from the officials who have been directed by His Majesty the King-Emperor in this behalf."

The Sikh demands.

SRI GURU NANAK DARSHAN (Amritsar); Sumer Singh, editor.

8. *Sri Guru Nanak Darshan* of the 30th January urges the Sikhs to try to improve their condition and organise a regular deputation to wait on His Excellency the Viceroy to point out to him that the numbers of seats allotted to Sikhs on the councils in the new reforms scheme is unsatisfactory. The deputation should request His Excellency to grant at least one third of the seats on the Punjab Council and at least three seats on the Council of State to the Sikhs. Sikhs in other provinces should have their separate representation on the councils.

The Home Rule League.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. With reference to an announcement recently made that a gentleman had arrived at Lahore with the object of establishing a branch of the Home

Rule League in the Punjab, the *Tribune* of the 12th February writes:—"The present attempt to start a Home Rule League in the Punjab is being made, we understand, on behalf of the Poona body. But the most important point to be borne in mind in this connection is that hitherto the Punjab has worked harmoniously on strict non-party lines, and it will be nothing short of a calamity if now, on the eve of the reforms, when all our united energies should be put forth for making the new dispensation a success, we dissipate them by the starting of rival political organisations in the province."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mohan Singh, editor.

The Religious and Chritable Endowments Bill.

10. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th February writes:—"The maladministration of religious and charitable endowments and trusts on account of the defective Act of 1863 has long been a public scandal and Government has been repeatedly moved to undertake remedial legislation. The misuse of these endowments and trusts has reached a climax and the managers and trustees of most of them are converting them to personal and private properties. It is the duty of the Government to secure to society the full benefits for which these trusts and endowments were orignially created. This most needed legislation has already remained in abeyance long enough and the sooner the legislation is brought into force the better. We hear the managers and trustees, who now hold these estates in their iron grip, anticipate the probable effect of the Bill now on the legislative anvil and are disposing of or otherwise transferring the proprietory rights of properties which originally formed the nucleus of these trusts and endowments. Already the neglect of society as also of the Government has done considerable harm inasmuch as most of the trustees have come to regard themselves as sole and undisputed masters of them and do just as pleases them. We hope the Government will also make a provision in the Bill to the effect that all properties of the trusts or endowments disposed of after the date of introduction of this measure in the Legislative Council will be liable to be restored to the trusts at the risk and expense of either the seller or the buyer. Under these circumstances we believe there is no occasion for the postponement of this most needed legislation and the sooner it is passed into law the better. We hope the Sikhs will lend the weight of their openly expressed opinion in favour of the early passage of the Bill."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

Martial law in the Punjab.

11. The *Leader* of the 1st February, says that during the course of a recent interview Lord French remarked that the policy of repression had already failed in Ireland. This clearly means that he is in favour of Home Rule being granted to Ireland. Mr. Asquith, in his Cambridge speech, expressed a similar view. But let us take the case of the Punjab. Here the entire province was held responsible for the shameful doings of a few irresponsible persons at Amritsar and Kasur and such oppressions were practised in the name of martial law, as, in the words of Colonel Wedgwood, are unparalleled in English history. Why did this take place? Was it done because a harsh and a tyrannical ruler like Sir Michael O'Dwyer was in the Punjab or because the Punjab is situated at a distance of thousands of miles from Great Britain? During the last days of his rule, Sir Michael O'Dwyer outdid all the tyrants of the world. General Dyer's barbarity at the Jallianwala Bagh can never be forgotten. Unfortunately nobody has called upon them to explain their conduct. To add insult to injury, the former was appointed president of the Army Commission and several officials are trying to perpetuate his memory and in their attempt are making the pockets of the poor Punjabis empty. Lord Chelmsford who was mainly responsible for the promulgation of martial law is still the Viceroy. It would perhaps be impossible to find any parallel to the narrow-mindedness with which Lord Chelmsford has acted upon the royal proclamation. To crown all, the true facts were not brought to the notice of the Home Government. The case of Ireland is very different. Although bombs were thrown at the troops, the police and highly placed officials in Ireland, still martial law was not promulgated there, the only reason being that the public of Great Britain has sympathy for the feelings and sentiments of the Irish people and the Government does not try to conceal the true facts. Had there been a Viceroy like Lord Chelmsford, a Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Michael

O'Dwyer and a general like Dyer, martial law would have been introduced in Ireland long ago. On this occasion we would strongly request the Home Government either to grant Home Rule to Ireland, or to appoint Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Governor-General of Ireland. If martial law is enforced there and General Dyer is appointed to command, we are confident that all the disturbances there will be suppressed very soon and the lives of the peaceful citizens of Ireland also will become safe. Such a course would at the same time meet the demand of the Indians that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer should not be allowed to remain in India even for a minute.

The Arms Act in Kangra.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. The following is extracted from a communication published in the *Tribune* of the 12th February :—"Up till the year 1920, before the new Arms Act rules came into operation, the whole of Kangra district was exempt from taking licences for swords and daggers, and this right was never abused by the inhabitants of this district. The one reason for this exemption was that the swords are held sacred here and nearly every Rajput and Khashtriya family possesses it and it is worshipped on certain occasions; while on the occasions of marriages it is essential that the bridegroom should wear a dagger or sword on his person, for it is used in certain ceremonies; while *kukri*, a kind of dagger, is an indispensable thing for the Gurkhas, who inhabit this district. Under the new rules the notification was issued stating that the whole of British India would be exempt from taking licences for swords, etc., except the Punjab and certain frontier provinces. No special exception was notified for this district It seems quite anomalous that these new rules, which are meant to give greater privileges to the people and have given the right to the majority of British Indian subjects to keep swords, etc., should take away this right from those who already enjoyed it. This is creating unnecessary heartburning among the inhabitants of this district, specially among the valiant Dogras and Gurkhas. It is hoped that the Government will kindly rectify this mistake now."

The dismissed railway employees.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

13. The *Liberal* of the 9th February writes:—"Is it right to say that the King's proclamation debars these applicants from the enjoyment of the prerogative of mercy, because they happen to have eaten the 'Government salt'? They are as much the subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor as any political prisoner can be, and have an additional claim for consideration in the fact that they have spent—some of them at any rate—the best parts of their lives in the service of His Majesty and his Government. The disqualification pointed out in the Agent's order would seem to many, and it does seem to us, to be a qualification for better claim, for we all know that charity does and ought to begin at home. The acute distinction which the Agent has chosen to draw between political prisoners and Government servants is not only fallacious in theory, but unwise and unjust in practice."

Reserved railway accommodation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), Hindu; K. N. Roy, editor.

14. In noticing the judgment of the Allahabad High Court in a reserved railway compartment case, the *Tribune* of the 11th February writes:—"A deliberate breach of the rule would clearly be no offence if the rule itself were illegal, as the appellant claimed that it was. As regards their lordships' opinion that the rule involved no racial consideration but was one merely for the convenience of the travelling public generally, we respectfully, but quite plainly, dissent from this view. The convenience of the travelling public has nothing whatever to do with the matter. Too often one sees a whole compartment reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians occupied by a solitary passenger or a couple of passengers, and this in a train in which many passengers have to go standing all the way, all other carriages being as a rule full to overflowing. If this is not racial discrimination we have yet to learn the meaning of those plain English words. In one respect, however, we welcome the decision. Hitherto there has been a general feeling in the public mind that the rule was merely arbitrary, and that it required only a certain amount of courage for an Indian to break it with impunity. Now that their lordships have definitely stated that the rule is valid in law, we think it is the clear duty of public bodies to move in the matter and have the rule rescinded by the Government of India. Let there be no mistake about our position. We are as anxious that our European and Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects should enjoy their fair share of convenience

and comfort in the matter of railway travelling as any fair minded European. But we do regard it as highly objectionable that in India, of all places, Indians should be treated on an inferior basis because they are Indians. They are so treated if a European or Anglo-Indian is allowed greater comfort and convenience than an Indian paying the same fare."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Katarpur case.

15. (*a*) Writing in the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 28th January, Taj-ud-Din Ahmad, formerly editor of the *Hunter*, questions the right of the Hon'ble Fazl-ul-Haq, the Ali brothers and Dr. Kitchlew to request the Government to show clemency to the Katarpur convicts. Such a right, according to the Muhammadan law, vests in the survivors of the victims, who alone can pardon the offenders on receipt of compensation. Commenting on this letter the *Paisa Akhbar* says that the Muhammadans should recommend the grant of pardon to the convicts if, as suggested, the relations of the victims forgive them on accepting a reasonable amount of money by way of compensation—such amount being raised by subscription [by the Hindus].

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhar, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 30th January agrees that the right of forgiving the convicts is reserved to the relatives of the deceased and suggests that a fund should be opened for the relief of the relatives of the Katarpur martyrs. The amount thus realised should be given to them as compensation.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*c*) A correspondent of the *Aftab* of the 2nd February supports the above view and inquires if the Muslim leaders have consulted the survivors in the matter, with a view to finding out whether they are going to pardon the convicts or whether they would like to get compensation.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*d*) The *Desh* of the 31st January deplores the *Paisa Akhbar* communication and comments, which, it says, will give a rude shock to the spirit of Hindu-Muhammadan unity now prevailing in India.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

NUR (Qadian); Muhammad Yusaf, editor.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

16. The *Nur* of the 3rd February thinks that the Hindu-Muslim unity is ephemeral. Muhammadans have given up kine-sacrifice for the sake of Hindus. We admit that Muhammadans can abstain from the sacrifice of the cow without impairing their faith. If Hindu-Muslim unity can be effected by the stoppage of the kine-sacrifice, the bargain is a cheap one and we should always be ready to welcome it. But this is not so. The matter does not end here. The Hindu-Muslim unity has in its foundation a magazine of powder which when ignited will bring the whole edifice to the ground. What is that powder which is so dangerous? Can any Muhammadan read with a calm mind the remarks made by Swami Dayanand against the Prophet in the fourteenth chapter of the *Satyarth Parkash*? If Hindus wish their unity with the Muslims to be a lasting one, they should expunge the above chapter from the book. Otherwise the present Hindu Muslim unity should not be regarded as anything more than a phantasm.

KHALSA Advocate (Amritsar), Mahan Singh, editor.

The Golden Temple.

17. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th February writes:—"We understand that one of the primary duties of the manager of the Golden Temple, Amritsar, is the protection of and careful watch over the canal water way. . . . We can positively say that this duty is most deplorably neglected in respect of the portion of the passage which runs through the Jallianwala Bagh. . . . . Does not the water which comes through this portion bring with it the refuse into the tank of the Golden Temple? We invite the immediate attention of the deputy commissioner of Amritsar to this gross neglect and carelessness of those responsible and request him to insist on immediate removal of this cause of grievance. Under the present system the manager is not responsible for his acts to the Panth, which is the virtual master of this Temple. The administration of the Golden Temple is at present solely in the hands of the Government, which appoints the manager according to its own sweet will. The Panth at large has neither any hand in the management proper, nor any voice in shaping the policy which guides the control and management of this premier temple of the Sikhs. Under this system the manager is responsible to his masters only and not to the Panth. So it follows that the responsibility for the good management or bad management of the Golden Temple ultimately devolves on the Government alone. This is why our request is addressed to the deputy commissioner."

An Ahmadi mission to Mesopotamia.

AL HAKAM (Qadian); Yakub Ali, editor.

18. *Al Hakam* of the 28th January says that during the days of the war several thousand Christian missionaries went to work in Mesopotamia. These missionaries are carrying on their work with great speed. If Muhammadans do not pay any attention to the matter, Islam will be banished from that land in fifty or sixty years and Christianity will take its place. It is incumbent upon the Muhammadans to help their brethren and save them from Christianity. The Ahmadis of Baghdad have collected funds and hope that an Ahmadi mission will be sent to Mesopotamia where there is much scope for their work. The Ahmadis should gird up their loins to take advantage of the present opportunity.

V.—EDUCATION.

The medical school students.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

19. The *Tribune* of the 12th February writes :—" We desire to point out that the appeal submitted by the students to the Lieutenant-Governor is one only for mercy, and as such deserves sympathetic consideration at His Honour's hands, especially at a time when so many past offences, alleged or real, are being condoned and forgiven. Nobody can say that the students were guilty of a heinous offence, or, indeed, of any other offence than a breach of discipline, and for this offence they have surely suffered sufficiently long. We do hope such of them as desire to rejoin the school will now be allowed to do so."

The Khalsa College.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

20. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 3rd February writes :—" The changes which the great world war has brought about in the thought-current of the people and the hope and promise which has been held out by the promulgation of the Government of India Act and the royal proclamation, have served to give an additional stimulus to the awakening sense of responsibility among the Sikhs as well . . . Their immediate attention should be directed to bringing their various secular and denominational as also their religious institutions in line with the spirit of responsibility . . . A clear desire of the Sikhs to this effect found expression in the last session of the Sikh League, when it passed a resolution demanding that the control and management of the Golden Temple be entrusted to a body of the elected representatives of the whole Panth. But along with the management of the Golden Temple, we think, the management of our premier educational institution, the Khalsa College, is equally important. The present constitution of the Khalsa College council and its managing committee is, to use mild language, absolutely retrogressive and out of date. . . The new constitution of the college should be recast on an elective basis and the present defective system of nomination should be absolutely done away with. The Khalsa College council should be fully representative of the Panth. This representation should be secured by election and not by nomination as heretofore. The constitution of the council should be clearly purged of provisions for an official element. . . The Sikhs should begin to move in the matter ; we are sure the Government cannot, under the new conditions and consistently with the spirit of reform, then continue the iron grip which it now has on the college."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

High prices.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

21. The *Vakil* of the 9th February, remarks that the Government has undoubtedly done something in grappling with the question of dearness, but it is popularly believed that it has not paid due attention to the matter of fixing the rates of foodstuffs. As a result, the profiteering speculators are heartlessly carrying on their nefarious trade with the result that the prices of articles are daily going up. The Government of India have wisely decided to continue the imposition of restrictions on the export of foodstuffs. But if it is intended to benefit the people by imposing such restrictions, it is essential that the grain dealers should be bound by legal restrictions. The existing dissatisfaction is mainly due to the high prices of foodstuffs, which furnish a fertile field for unrest. In view of the approaching inundation of Bolshevism, we would advise the Government not to neglect any measure for striking at the root of the trouble. We think that it is not impossible to induce the grain dealers all over the country to reduce the prices to the minimum. This work

can effectively be accomplished by the coöperation of officials and non-officials. The local Government should be ready to adopt measures in dealing with the matter. The Government of India have taken measures for suppressing Bolshevik influence in the country. We would submit that the war against high prices comes under the same category.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Indian Police appointments.

22. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 3rd February writes :—"From the press *communiqué* recently issued by the Government of India, approving the appointment of Indians to the Imperial Police service we are sadly disappointed to find that out of nine appointments so far made not a solitary one has gone to the Sikhs. Both in the Punjab and the United Provinces we believe there are serving at this moment Sikh police officers who can fill up these appointments with conspicuous ability.... Let us hope that having regard to the special claims of the Sikhs and the singular success with which they have already adorned the higher ranks of this department, an equitable share will be apportioned for them out of these remaining sixteen."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Income-tax assessment.

23. Writing in the *Siyasat* of the 8th February a correspondent complains that this year income-tax officers have on their presumptions and on mere hearsay information levied tax on the poor classes along with the rich. Nobody examines the account books or listens to a representation or an appeal. Any default in payment is threatened with punishment for an offence of violating the law. No heed is paid to a request for an examination of the account books. If any person files an appeal, he has to bear extra expenses in conducting the case, closing his business on the dates fixed for the hearing and taking the trouble of attending at distant places and wandering from door to door in idleness—things which are worse even than income-tax. As the income-tax department is about to become a separate department this year, the officers of this department desire to show their work by practising this oppression as also the necessity for the separation of their department. The Government should kindly attend to the condition of its subject people, so that the poor but respectable people, who are hardly maintaining themselves in this time of famine, should not be unjustly saddled with the tax along with richer classes.

DHARAM (Lahore); Karm Chand, editor.

General Climo.

24. The *Dharam* of the 2nd February writes under the heading "A General hankering for Salaams":—We have learnt from a reliable source that General Climo so hankers for salaams that he compels persons in the streets to salaam him, and in the event of their failing to do so treats them as Indians are wont to be treated. We do not deem it advisable to make any comment. We would respectfully say to the general that if he is so eager to receive salaams he should capture the Indians' hearts with love and sympathy. The time of despising Indians and compelling them to salaam is now past. We hope that for the stability of the British Empire nothing will be done likely to cause hatred in the minds of the people.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Jullundur memorial.

25. The *Tribune* of the 13th February writes :—"A memorial has been addressed to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor by the Jullundur District Congress Committee, protesting, among other things, against the action of the district magistrate of Jullundur in refusing to issue or renew licences for the possession of arms to persons, otherwise qualified for them, on the ground, whether supposed or real, of their having attended the Amritsar Congress, which the magistrate characterised as 'the extremist Congress,' and whose resolutions he described as 'seditious.' Two distinct issues are involved in this matter, both of the first importance, and to both of which pointed attention is drawn in the memorial, which to us possesses the merit, so rare when people believe themselves to be labouring under the sense of a grave wrong, of entirely avoiding the use of the adjective that so often is the enemy of the substantive. The first of these issues is whether an official in the position of a district magistrate is to be permitted to nullify the wishes of the Government in so important a matter as the administration of the Arms Act by following a policy in the matter of granting licences which is distinctly illiberal, distinctly retrograde and distinctly opposed to the letter and the spirit of the Government's own pronouncement. The second is whether an official in the position of a district magistrate is to be permitted to stigmatise, apparently without

any authority from the Government, and certainly without any tangible support in the shape of a public pronouncement on the part of the Government, the country's greatest, most representative, most authoritative national assembly, and to proceed on his own responsibility and at his own pleasure virtually to penalise attendance at one of its sessions. Both issues are clear and definite, and what the public has a right to expect from His Honour is a clear and definite pronouncement in regard to each of them . . . To talk of a new era of peace and concord and of the necessity of restoring mutual understanding between the people and the Government as a preparation for this era would be a veritable mockery if an official in the position of a district magistrate could take up so insulting and so offensive an attitude towards the country's greatest national assembly without bringing upon himself a justly severe reprimand from the higher authorities, together with a polite hint that he would do better to mind his legitimate business. . . . . The magistrate not only considers his discretion in the matter of granting licences purely arbitrary and arrogates to himself in his official capacity the right of sitting in judgment upon the Congress and its resolutions, but also takes it upon himself to say to the large body of Government pensioners in India and in England what they shall not do in the exercise of their right of citizenship."

Flying in India.

KASHMIRI MAGAZINE (Lahore); Muhammad Din Fauq, editor.

26. The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 7th February complains that aeroplanes are often seen hovering over the city of Lahore. In times of peace, the hovering and circling of aeroplanes over the city apparently serves no purpose. It is an objectionable thing as it violates the *parda* enjoined by oriental civilisation. The matter is certainly one to which Government must pay its attention.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 14th February 1920.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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any [illegible] from the Government, and entirely without any tangible support in the shape of a public pronouncement on the part of the Government; the contrary [illegible] greater; most [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and to proceed on his own responsibility and at his own pleasure [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] issues are clear and [illegible] [illegible] the public has [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] is [illegible] clear and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of maintaining mutual understanding between the people and the Government [illegible] [illegible] the position of a district magistrate would [illegible] [illegible] so [illegible] [illegible] the country [illegible] [illegible] together with [illegible] [illegible] business. The magistrate [illegible] in the matter of granting licenses [illegible] in his official capacity the right [illegible] the Congress and its [illegible] also takes [illegible] to the large [illegible] of Government [illegible] in [illegible] and [illegible] the exercise of their right of citizens.

Flying in Lahore.

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Mazdur (Lahore); Muhammad Din [illegible], editor.

The District Magistrates and [illegible] are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local [illegible] appearing in this Abstract [illegible] and explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated [illegible] and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

[illegible] RAM,

Asst. Superintendent, [illegible] Branch,

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolsheviks.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th February thinks that England and other European powers should now recognize the Bolshevik Government, so that the defects of the Bolshevik authorities may be removed by their association with the representatives of the civilised powers, and Russia may finally emerge from the whirlpool of calamities.

Turkey.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 12th February publishes an article headed "The Sheikh-ul-Islam's *Fatwa*: The True Spirit of Islam: Let the Civilised World Consider." The *fatwas* about Bolshevism pronounced by the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Turkey and the great Mufti of Egypt clearly show that the religious leaders of Islam, who are apt to consider everything in the light of the words of God and who are fully acquainted with their duties, never go against justice in giving expression to their views. It should be borne in mind that the relentless sword of Bolshevism has appeared with the object of obliterating autocracies. It has its eye on the Allies, especially on the British Government. The Sheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople knows full well that the Allies are determined to partition Turkey and that the weakness or the over-powering of the former really means a victory for the latter. Nevertheless, the Sheikh-ul-Islam denounces Bolshevism as opposed to the tenets of Islam and dangerous for the peace of Muhammadans. The fate of Turkey is now under the consideration of the Allies. The Sheikh-ul-Islam's *fatwa*, which has assuredly been published for the guidance of the Muhammadans of the world and which will be heartily accepted by them, shows that even in circumstances when their powerful enemy is engaged in dismembering Turkey, the Turks do not fail to display their generosity and broadmindedness. Will the Allies now respond to these *fatwas* by deciding the fate of Turkey in accordance with their pre-arranged ideas? Justice

demands that the Allies should not adopt this imprudent policy. The Sheikh-ul-Islam's *fatwa* also throws much light on the alleged atrocities in Armenia. Can it be conceived that the *Shariat*, which inspires the Turks to pronounce a *fatwa* against the enemies of their foes, will tolerate oppression on people committed to their charge? The *fatwa* has another aspect also. Through ignorance, the western nations regard Islam as a barbarous and savage religion. They should see whether such nations can ever act with such generosity, justice and broadmindedness, specially when these qualities are required to be exercised in dealing with political or international affairs and that too at a time when the nation exercising them finds its very existence in danger.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor,

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 16th February remarks that the most powerful objection urged against Turkey is her alleged brutal treatment of her Armenian subjects. Is the civilisation of Turkey really so barbarous as it is represented to be? If so why did England remain on friendly terms with her for two whole centuries? Why did she leave Armenia to her fate? Why did England help her during the Crimean War and why did she fight with her co-religionists in Russia? Why was not a condition regarding the liberty of Armenia made at the commencement of the war or at the time when peace was ratified? Why did not liberty-loving Europe take notice of their co-religionists before this? If Turkey was hostile to Christians, why did Napoleon the Great express his wish to establish friendship with her? What would have been the case with the liberty of Armenia if the Ottoman Government had not joined the war? It may be urged that as the Christian nations intended to maintain the integrity of Turkey, they made no interference in Armenian affairs. But will history accept this statement? Is it not a fact that France is in possession of Morocco and Algeria? Is it not a fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina are in the possession of Austria? Is it not a fact that Greece has wrested Salonika from the Turks? Is it not a fact that Italy has occupied Tripoli? Is it not a fact that Egypt is in the hands of England? When the possessions of Turkey have been filched in this way, why did the European powers remain inactive on finding Armenia in a deplorable condition? Why did they not try to liberate Armenia? There can be only two explanations. Either the stories about the Armenian atrocities are fictitious or exaggerated or the conscience of the European powers lay dormant. It is true that the relations between Turkey and Armenia were never cordial. But did Turkey ever involve Armenia in economical difficulties? Did she ever ruin her trades and industries? If, however, it may be admitted for the sake of argument that Turkey really practised atrocities in Armenia, does this constitute a sufficient reason for her dismemberment? If so, it follows that the European powers should partition Belgium for her atrocities in the Congo; Servia for her disgraceful acts in Montenegro; Russia for her oppressions in Siberia, and South Africa for her ill-treatment of Indians. If in spite of their oppressions and excesses these states are allowed liberty, why should Turkey alone be subjected to the operation of the saw of diplomacy, especially at a time when she voluntarily expressed her readiness to grant internal freedom to Armenia? Should not the Allies keep in view Wilson's fourteen principles and the laws of the League of Nations and safeguard the integrity of Turkey? It should be borne in mind that a strong Turkey alone can be a guarantee of peace in the East.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

After the peace treaty.

3. The *Tribune* of the 14th February writes:—"It cannot indeed be gainsaid that the world is yet far distant from the peace that was promised to her. The peace that she has entered upon is not the peace the hope of which sustained her through the holocaust and suffering of more than four years. The new heaven on earth, the advent of which was proclaimed so loudly and so confidently, has not yet come. The spirit of international rivalry, and of mutual suspicions and distrust among the nations of the world is not chained up nor has it disappeared; instead of a world animated by the ideals of democracy, of common work for the common good, we find a world to-day torn asunder by forces of darkness, reaction and tyranny. The great idea of a world made safe for democracy seems to be lost in the bloody chaos and the conflict of interests that still reigns supreme. Judging from what one sees one can scarcely feel sanguine of the great principles of peace being translated into practice in the immediate

future. . . . The greatest enemy to a settled peace are the forces of Bolshevism that seem to be growing stronger and stronger. If Prussian militarism was a great danger to the liberties of the world, Bolshevik despotism is in no way a danger of lesser magnitude. . . Then there is Turkey. Peace has yet to be established with the Ottoman empire, and the world is anxiously waiting to see whether the great principles for which the war was declared and the lofty ideals which were professed by those who took up their swords for the vindication of right and justice will be followed and translated into action in the case of Turkey, or whether imperialistic ambitions will be allowed to ride roughshod over those declarations. The settlement of the Turkish question will be in many ways a test of the peace. . . Side by side with all these international problems which cry loudly for solution, within the British Empire itself peace is yet to be established in Ireland and in Egypt. There is no gainsaying the fact that unless these two countries know peace, there cannot be any peace in the world in the strict sense of the term."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reform scheme and the Punjab Legislative Council.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

4. The *Leader* of the 14th February publishes a communication from GOVERDHAN DAS, who says that if the recommendations of the Southborough Committee are accepted, the rural population will have thirty-six seats on the Punjab Council. The *zamindars* also will have four seats, but these men will be of Sir Umar Hayat Khan's type. Readers should now think for themselves whether the reformed Council will be an improvement upon the existing one. The writer thinks that the reformed Council will be worse, in that it will contain a majority of members who are in the habit of saying ditto to the authorities. Great difficulties will thus crop up in the way of nationalist representatives. The Punjabis should, therefore, devise means to safeguard their rights. Commenting the *Leader* regrets that in the reformed Punjab Legislative Council the number of educated men is likely to be so low that they will never be able to get a resolution passed by a majority.

Sikh rights.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

5. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 8th February is disappointed to see that Lord Chelmsford made no mention of the Sikh complaints in the course of his Council speech while admitting the necessity of sympathetically removing the difficulties of all other classes in the matter of their representation. The Sikhs will never accept eight out of sixty seats. If seats are allowed to them as recommended by the Southborough Committee, there will be a great and universal agitation among them. Lord Chelmsford is apparently ignorant of the feelings of the Sikh public in this matter. In this time of agitation officers refuse to attach importance to any demand unless it is backed by agitation. It is a pity that the Sikh League is lying dormant. It is time for it to work. The Sikh Sabhas should take the matter in their own hands, should hold special meetings and pass resolutions asking for representation equal to the Hindus and Muhammadans on the Punjab Council and for more seats by way of concession on other Councils. We request ~~Sir~~ Edward Maclagan to make every possible effort to increase the number of the seats to be granted to the Sikhs. In conclusion, the newspaper urges the Sikhs to learn to safeguard their rights. The foremost work that lies before them is to protect their rights in the new Councils.

The Alienation of Land Act.

PARKASH (Lahore); Radha Kishen, editor.

6. A correspondent of the *Parkash* of the 15th February complains that agriculturists in villages treat non-agriculturist Hindus like menials. The latter's condition has become unspeakable owing to the working of the Alienation of Land Act. Even if the Act is not repealed, he would suggest certain amendments in it. Every joint family of non-agriculturist Hindus should be allowed to purchase at least fifty *ghumaons* of land in order to afford them facility to live in a village along with agriculturists. Non-agriculturist Hindus should further be allowed to purchase land at low rates in colonies. Vacant sites such as compounds in trade centres should be sold to them at low rates. It is to be hoped that the merciful and good-hearted Lieutenant-Governor will devote full attention to the mitigation of the troubles of the non-agriculturist Hindus.

Another correspondent suggests that some member of the Viceregal Council should interpellate the Government on the subject, and inquire why non-agriculturist Hindus are not allowed to purchase land. He also thinks that a deputation should wait on His Excellency the Viceroy to lay the grievances of non-agriculturists before His Excellency.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Press Act.

7. After noticing a memorandum on the Press Act prepared by Manilal C. Modi, the honorary secretary to the Press Association of India, the *Tribune* of the 14th February says:—"We whole-heartedly associate ourselves with the appeal and venture to think that with the new era ushered in in India by His Majesty's gracious proclamation the rigours of the law will be so modified, even if the Act is not altogether repealed, as to remove the present obstacle to that free, frank and full expression of public opinion which alone can make the introduction of responsible Government a success."

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Maulvi Sanaulla, editor.

Muhammadans and politics.

8. The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 13th February remarks that Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi differ from each other on principle in the field of Indian politics. Mr. Gandhi advises the people to go on bearing hardship. If they do so, the persons practising rigour will climb down and become mild. He is of opinion that violence should not be paid in the same coin. Mr. Tilak, however, says that not only should rigour be met with rigour but that it is necessary to meet falsehood with falsehood. It will be found that Mr. Gandhi's principle is based on the teachings of the Bible while Mr. Tilak's on those of the Qoran which teaches us to meet evil with rigour evil. But the Qoran does not permit us to meet falsehood with falsehood. Nay, it actually prohibits us from doing so. In Indian politics, therefore, it will be easy for Muhammadans to accept from the point of view of their religion the teachings of Mr. Tilak rather than those of Mr. Gandhi.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

The Dacca University Bill.

9. *Insaf* of the 15th February says that by introducing the principle of communal representation in the Dacca University Bill, the Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi has tried to give a severe blow to Hindu-Muslim unity. When the appointment of this hon'ble gentleman, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's favourite, was announced, men of public opinion declared that his appointment as Sir Sankaran Nair's successor was not a happy augury. At any rate the hon'ble gentleman has introduced a dangerous principle in the Dacca University Bill; and if the Bill is passed in its original form, it will prove very harmful to Hindu-Muslim unity.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

"AN ENGLISHMAN" on the disorders.

10. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 14th February writes:—"While there is no difference of opinion between 'AN ENGLISHMAN' and ourselves as regards the general principle on which his appeal to the readers of the *Tribune* published in these columns is based, we emphatically differ from him as regards the particular application of this principle on which he insists. Not that we at all dissent from his view that 'the bitterness and suspicion of the last year must be forgotten and there must be an end of recrimination.' But all such advice does seem to us at this moment to be a little premature. The Hunter Committee's report and the report of our own commission are yet to be published, and clearly it is only when the Imperial Government and the Government of India have done even-handed justice on the basis of those reports that the people can be rightly expected to forget the events of last April. Hitherto justice has been wholly one-sided—so far, of course, as there has been justice. What the country has naturally been looking forward to all this time is the meting out of justice to the other side. It will not do to cloud the issue, as 'AN ENGLISHMAN' does when he asks, 'Have we English nothing to forget?' and adds: 'What we have to forget are the brutal attacks on helpless ladies who spent their lives in the service of the people and the murder of unoffending Englishmen under circumstances of revolting cruelty.' No words of ours can sufficiently condemn these horrible atrocities; but surely it must be obvious to the writer that it is easier for Englishmen at this stage to forget these incidents than for Punjabis or Indians to forget the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy, not only because of the obvious difference in magnitude between the two, but because while the persons held responsible for the first have been punished, and in some cases with death, no punishment of any

kind has yet been inflicted upon the person or persons responsible for the second. Not only that. In one case the whole country has from end to end rung with denunciation of the misdeeds of the fanatics. In the other even '**AN ENGLISHMAN**,' while admitting that the punitive measures were terrible and excessive, is never tired of insisting that 'the general commanding was honestly convinced' that he was doing the right thing. As long as this theory of honest conviction, as an excuse for brutal, cold-blooded massacres, holds the field, officially or semi-officially, it is idle to talk of forgetting the past. The past in such a case never has been and never can be forgotten on such terms. If '**AN ENGLISHMAN**' is really anxious that the past should be forgotten, as we sincerely trust he is, let him give up the entirely unprofitable habit of hunting for new excuses for General Dyer, and let him ask the Government, as a preliminary to what may have to be done on the basis of the committee's report, quietly to remove him from the stage on which he has brought lasting shame. It has been the Government's clear duty to do this from the beginning, but it is a duty that yet remains to be discharged—even attempted."

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(b) The *Leader* of the 13th February remarks that the spirit in which the letter has been written is not a laudable one. Some of the sentences in it are specially stinging. The Indian reform scheme is a public affair. Those for whom it has been passed should be fully entitled to discuss the scheme in any way they like. No effort should be made, nor can such effort prove successful, to prevent Indians discussing the scheme from every point of view. The writer's remarks about the Jallianwala Bagh affair are couched in an excellent spirit. We cannot, however, refrain from saying that the wish expressed therein cannot easily be fulfilled. The Government will have to take extraordinary steps in dealing with this matter. General Dyer's act is not an ordinary incident which can be easily ignored. The people cannot forget the incident. There is, however, one way by which the people can be made to forget it, and that is if General Dyer is punished by Government, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who approved of his action, called to account. It now lies with the Government to apply balm to the wounded hearts of the people or to allow them to continue to lament as they are doing now. There is no other way of silencing the people about the Jallianwala Bagh affair.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(c) The *Leader* of the 14th February, in a communicated article, says that it remains to be seen whether the article contributed by the aforesaid "**ENGLISHMAN**" fulfils the purpose for which it has been written. A careful study of the article will show that it does not fulfil the real purpose, seeing that it is clearly found to be opposing the National Congress and supporting General Dyer. All Indians acknowledge the Congress as the best protector of their rights. None of them is prepared to hear any word against the Congress. Keeping in view General Dyer's evidence before the Hunter Committee, no individual is prepared to pardon him. To raise a voice in support of a person who is being badly condemned by the British nation as a whole is to deceive oneself.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(d) The *Jiwan Tat* of the 16th February associates itself wholeheartedly with the spirit of the letter and remarks that the national leaders should do their utmost to make the reform scheme a success. They should try to forget all the bitter events of the past. At the same time it is very necessary that the European officials and non-officials should be careful to avoid in their dealings with the Indians all such acts as are opposed to law and morality. Unless this is done, there can exist no cordial relations between the two—relations so ardently desired by the writer and ourselves.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Mintas, editor.

(e) The *Vakil* of the 14th February admits that constructive work is the need of the hour. The writer of the letter admits that the potential wreckers of the political structure are to be found both among Indians and Europeans. Thus far we are unanimous with the writer; but we dissociate ourselves from him when he describes the destructive work of an English general as constructive. If the general's object was to save thousands of lives why was an attempt made to conceal the incident from the Indian public? The incident should have been given publicity so that the general's object might have been fully realised. No fair-minded person can accept the plea of an Englishman who includes in the list of builders and not wreckers, the name of a person who killed hundreds and wounded thousands of innocent people. The reforms are the result of the longstanding demand on the part of Indians. What have they to do with the healing of wounds? The release of political offenders has, of course, something to do with the matter. The fact that political offenders are being released goes to show that His Majesty the King Emperor's Government does not see the Punjab incidents and the repressive measures in the light in which they are seen by the writer. The writer thinks that no restrictions have been placed on the freedom of speech and press. But can any one justly make this statement in the face of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act, especially when both these Acts have been brought into operation very rigidly during the past few months? Can there be any guarantee that after some time, when the royal proclamation is forgotten or when Sir Edward Maclagan has gone, these Acts will not be brought into operation with full force and the previous state of affairs will not come into existence? But in spite of all this, we are unanimous with the writer that the estrangement between the ruler and the ruled should be removed and mutual confidence restored.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

11. Noticing Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter to the *Times*, the *Tribune* of the 18th February writes:—"It is not quite clear from Reuter's summary what the stronger motive of this 'strong' man was in addressing his letter to the *Times*—to browbeat the *Times* for its audacity criticizing the man who had got his henchmen in India and in England to proclaim to the world that he was the saviour of British rule in the East, or, under the cover of a defence of General Dyer, to correct the somewhat dangerous impression made by General Dyer's statement that Sir Michael O Dwyer had approved of his action, and thus prepare the ground for his own defence at some future time. That the last object was present in Sir Michael's mind is clear from the very first words of his letter, as summarised by Reuter. . . . The point of difference arises only when he adds immediately after that 'General Dyer was justified in opening fire,' implying thereby that his approval was limited to this single point. Now, as everybody knows, the opening of the fire, a grave enough step as it was in itself, was the least of the General's doings on the fateful day; and in expressly limiting his approval to this single point, Sir Michael cannot have been actuated by the desire to 'give his unfailing support' to General Dyer. He could have been thinking only or principally of himself. But let us be just even to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. As soon as the instinct, of self-preservation, the most primary of all animal and for that matter of all human instincts, has been satisfied, he returns to the congenial task of lending his 'unfailing support to his officers through thick and thin.' 'General Dyer's action was a decisive factor in crushing the rebellion,' says Sir Michael, 'and he is convinced that if General Dyer had not dispersed the Amritsar gathering forcibly, the rebellion would have assumed such dimensions that its suppression would have involved infinitely greater loss of life and suffering than were caused at Amritsar on the 13th April.' Unhappily for the theory of unfailing support, even here our strong man is as much defending himself as General Dyer. The existence of a rebellion which could only be suppressed by martial law and unmitigated rule of the military is precisely the thing on which his own vindication rests, and if General Dyer could be proved to have been generally wrong in his calculation of the forces of disorder, he himself would, in the same act, be proved to have been wrong in the whole course of his policy. The same anxiety to protect himself is even more visibly shown in the concluding part of the letter, where Sir Michael protests against the baiting of British officials in India by a certain section of the press in India and England."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Katarpur case.

12. The *Tribune* of the 19th February writes:—"In reply to a question in the Bihar Legislative Council suggesting that the benefit of the royal clemency should be extended to the Bakr 'Id prisoners, it was stated on behalf of the Government that the Bakr 'Id prisoners were not political offenders and did not come under the scope of the amnesty in the royal proclamation. We are decidedly of opinion that this is not only a narrow

but an incorrect interpretation of the King's gracious words. The royal clemency, says His Majesty, is to be extended not merely to political offenders, but 'to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty.' If His Majesty only wanted political offenders properly so called to be released, this addendum would be absolutely unnecessary. The words 'are suffering imprisonment under any special or emergency legislation' can indeed, apply only to persons imprisoned under the Defence of India Act, and it is clear from the context that these men need not be political offenders at all. Both the Bakr 'Id prisoners in Bihar and the Katarpur prisoners do come under this category, and we have no doubt in our own mind that not only would the Government be justified in extending the royal clemency to these prisoners or most of them, but that it is their clear duty to do so."

The Sandhurst selections.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, editor.

13. The *Jat Gazette* of the 11th February complains that out of ten army commissions granted to military officers, not a single has gone to Hindu Jats. We hope that Government will extend the same spirit of liberality towards the rights of this friendless community which it is displaying in the case of other communities.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Premier's message.

SANATAN DHARM PARCHARAK (Amritsar); Rallia Sharm Sharma, editor.

14. Writing in the *Sanatan Dharm Parcharak* of the 8th February RAJ NARAIN SHARMA refers to Premier's New Year's message, and says that Mr. Lloyd George has no right to issue such a religious message in the form of a proclamation. In pursuance of the Queen's gracious proclamation of 1858, not even the highest official can interfere with the religious matters by reason of his authority, nor can he make an attempt to enforce Christianity on others. If peace and order depend on Christianity alone, one may ask whether all the Christian countries are enjoying perfect peace and order? In the writer's opinion, disunion, party feeling, sectarian animosities, bloodshed and other troubles of various sorts are far more rampant there than in any other non-Christian countries. If Mr. Lloyd George is really a supporter of peace, he should study the orthodox Hindu religion and he will then realise that true peace lies in that religion alone. At any rate, it would have been much better if the message in question had not been issued by the Premier. Properly speaking, this is the business of Christian missionaries rather than that of a responsible minister. No one should therefore think that this message is issued on behalf of Government.

Kine-killing.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

15. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th February publishes, from MUHAMMAD ZAFAR, a communication on Hindu-Muhammadan unity. The writer says that in the opinion of the local *Leader* there is something still wanting in the so-called Hindu-Muhammadan unity, and that is regarding the use of beef. The Muhammadans were asked to give up beef, to which they agreed after some hesitation. It is as clear as broad daylight that beef is used by Muhammadans not in order to offend the feelings of the Hindus but because most of them being poverty-stricken cannot afford to purchase meat which is sold at six or seven annas per seer. Beef, on the other hand, can be had at a very cheap rate and has much fat in it. Now as regards the sacrifice of cow on the occasion of Bakr 'Id, it should be borne in mind that while seven men can jointly offer a cow in sacrifice, only one can do so in the case of a goat. Thus a goat is more costly than a cow for the purposes of sacrifice. Is it not in these circumstances very hard on the Muhammadans if they are asked to give up beef? Cows are mostly slaughtered for troops. The Hindus should therefore request the Government to stop the slaughter. Why are they pressing the Muhammadans exclusively in the matter. Would the Hindus give no concession to the Muhammadans but go on throwing their weight on the weak party? Moreover, the *chhut* system is a serious obstacle in the way of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. This practice is not to be seen in any other country except India. In conclusion, the writer says that the use of beef is merely an economic matter, while the Hindu scriptures not only allow meat eating but even speak of kine sacrifice.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*b*) The following is extracted from a communication from "N. B.," of Lahore Cantonment, published in the *Liberal* of the 16th February:—"Of late we have been lamenting the death of a thousand Indians at Amritsar—the result of the brutal action of an English soldier; but before long we shall be mourning the loss of tens of thousands who are on the verge of starvation. It is this question of *ghee* and milk which ought to engage the serious attention of all thinking men of India to the total exclusion of all other topics of the day, howsoever pressing they may appear to be. A large portion of India's population is strictly vegetarian, whose main diet is *ghee* and milk; and these are the people hard hit by the exorbitant prices charged for these commodities. If things are allowed to take their own course, perhaps at no distant date museums and show-rooms will be the only places where people will be able to have *darshan* of *ghee* and *dudh*, once their constant friends and perpetual comrades in joys and sorrows. The Muslim League has no doubt passed a resolution enjoining upon its co-religionists to refrain from the slaughter of cows on the occasions of the 'Id; but what is the proportion of cattle destroyed on the 'Id—once a year—to the appalling slaughter going on from day to day for the rations of the troops in India? It is no longer a question of Hindu feelings and sentiments, it has now become a question of India's life and death, and must be solved as such. It must engage the immediate attention of the rulers and people both. The Hindu-Muhammadan unity was never a more accomplished fact before and the golden opportunity should be seized and efforts made to exact legislation on the subject for the preservation of cows. A new era is opened, and no serious opposition from Government is anticipated in enacting legislation on the following lines. That beef should be served out to the troops only once in a week. That the civil population should also be allowed beef only once a week. No cow-slaughter houses to be opened in places where the population mostly consists of Hindus. No slaughter houses to be opened where Hindus and Muhammadans make a joint application to that effect. No milk cows to be exported. Facilities to be granted for grazing purposes."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Dera Ismail Khan municipality.

16. "UNDERSTUDY" writes to the *Tribune* of the 14th February:—"One of the crying needs of Dera Ismail Khan to-day is the introduction of the elective system in the local municipality. It may not have been declared from the house-tops. But it cannot be controverted that the demand is there.... When smaller towns like Mianwali, Leiah and Bhakkar, which at one time formed the sub-divisions of Dera Ismail Khan, enjoy the right of election of municipal members, there seems to be no reason why Dera Ismail Khan should be kept bereft of it. It ought to have been granted the elective principle long ago, for it is fit for it both from the point of literacy as well as civic conciousness. Furthermore, at present the nominated members have not ministered as to the needs of the citizens as they ought to have done, as may be seen from the streets and roads, which are one long row of mounds of dirt and filth. Truly 'nomination,' as the *Times of India* stated some days ago when reviewing the report on municipal work in the North-West Frontier Province, 'has evidently failed to comb out the workers, while it has given some sort of status to men who subsequently do nothing to merit that distinction.' The remedy lies in either 'weeding out' the nominated members or in combining election and nomination. The latter is more feasible than the former. I hope the Government of Sir Hamilton Grant will see its way to mete cut justice to the citizens of Dera Ismail Khan by conferring on them the right of electing their own members on the municipality, as well as their own non-official president."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

High prices.

17. The *Desh* of the 11th February, in a communicated article, says that high prices and the Bolshevik menace are the two chief topics of the day in India. Apparently both these dangers are quite distinct from each other, yet proposals are being eagerly made to combat them. It is suggested by some that the Government should fix the rate of edibles. But no Government can do so. During the martial law days the rates of a few

edibles were fixed with the result that the import of those articles was stopped and eventually they became unprocurable. The question then arises how to ease the situation. In view of the present condition of India one has to admit that there is a possibility of the poor and ignorant people of the country coming under the Bolshevists' influence. The Bolshevik menace will indirectly prove auspicious for Indians if on its realisation the well-to-do classes become prepared to try their best to improve the lot of their less fortunate countrymen. If this comes to pass, the machinations of the Bolshevik agents, which can influence only the discontented people, will have absolutely no effect on India. It is to be hoped that Indians will realise the importance of their duty and set things right.

Paper currency.

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

18. The *Pindi Mail* of the 17th February writes:—"The reopening of the Bombay branch for coining sovereigns and half sovereigns will undoubtedly be welcomed as it will satisfy a strongly felt and oft expressed public need. And if this is followed by the gradual withdrawal from circulation of the extremely unpopular and inconvenient one rupee and two and a half rupee currency notes, the issue of which was justified only by the monetary stringency due to the late war, so much the better. . . . Following upon the introduction of a genuine gold standard with a gold currency, the issue of gold notes will, we think, go very far to accustom people in course of time to dispense with the actual use of gold coin in internal circulation."

The Nizam.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

19. Writing in the *Aftab* of the 9th February, Maulvi ZAFAR ALI KHAN says that the Nizam of Hyderabad helped the British Government during the days of the Mutiny. He again helped the British Government in the critical days of the European war. If His Exalted Highness had not issued a manifesto advising Muhammadans to lay their property and lives at the disposal of the British Government, England would have been confronted with serious incidents in the East. The Government of India has granted a subsidy to the Nepal State in recognition of its military services and has conferred the title of His Majesty on its ruler. It is surprising that the name of the ruler of Hyderabad, who safeguards the rights of millions of God's created beings, the area of whose territory is not less than that of France, who first laid the foundation of the Imperial troops and who offered millions of rupees to the British Government, should not be mentioned even by mistake by the British ministers. Is Hyderabad inferior even to Nepal? Muhammadans thought that the British statesmen would show their liberality by giving Hyderabad its due without awaiting suggestions from any quarter in that connection. India's desire now is that the Nizam may be granted the title of His Majesty, and that Berar may be restored to him. It is said that on his arrival in India the Prince of Wales will make a sensational announcement; and in view of this the Muhammadans should rest assured that His Exalted Highness will be granted the title of His Majesty and Berar will be restored to him.

Lajpat Rai.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

20. The *Tribune* of the 19th February writes:—"We cannot let the opportunity pass without giving expression to the feeling of profound joy which fills every patriotic heart in the Punjab and elsewhere at the return to his country of this true and gifted son of the motherland after six long years of exile. The conspicuous services rendered by Lala Lajpat to his country, and especially to the Punjab, before he left for England, would by themselves have been enough to explain this feeling. . . . Greatly as the inspiring presence of such a man as Lala Lajpat Rai is needed in his province and his country at all times, never was it more needed than now, on the eve of the greatest and more far-reaching political experiment ever made in British Indian history, when wise, courageous and energetic guidance such as the Lala is so singularly fitted to give his people is the greatest need of the hour. We have no doubt that with his return to the field of his labours, a field, alas, in which there have not been too many labourers in the best of times, public life in the Punjab will receive an immense accession of strength, and public movements will proceed as ever along the path of the highest patriotism and the soundest statesmanship."

The *Tribune* then refers to the dinner given to the Lala on the eve of his departure from America where Mr. Willard said that "we can only give an assurance that if at any time he should have need of our help he may count upon it without reservation," and goes on:—"For our part we do not think that the Lala will ever need the help of his foreign friends for himself; his own people and Government may be trusted to render him all the help that is necessary. The only help that he needs is for his country. Here, too, the Lala is as profound a believer in self-help as any one could be; but national self-help cannot wholly do, especially in an age like ours, without the moral sympathy and support of civilised mankind, and there are many who believe that the step towards self-government that India has just won was itself rendered the easier by the fact that American opinion, educated by Lala Lajpat Rai himself, was an influence for good which even the reactionary element in England could not wholly ignore."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Hardyal.

21. The *Tribune* of the 20th February writes:—"The views of Mr. Hardyal regarding the relative merit of British and German ideals and institutions had undergone a great change. The Reuter telegram shows that the disillusionment is now complete . . . . If this brilliant Indian returns to his country with these ideas, he will clearly be a source of strength to the British connection."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 23rd February says that those Englishmen or English newspapers are grossly mistaken who or which assert that the generality of Muhammadans do not share the views of Muslim agitators in regard to Turkey. They wish to mislead British statesmen and Ministers, nay, His Majesty the King-Emperor himself. All Muhammadans, whether moderates or extremists, think alike in the matter of Turkey. Even those of them who oppose the caliphate question are actuated by the spirit of Islamic brotherhood to support Turkey. True loyalty demands that the Muhammadans should impress on Government that their fate is bound up with that of Turkey. There is no Muslim home in which prayers are not offered for her. She warned the ruler of Mysore to help England when she and France were at war in India, advised the Indian Muhammadans to stand by her during the sepoy Mutiny, lent no support, at her instance, to the Islamic rule in Spain when it was being destroyed, and always sided with her in her disputes with Russia. She is, therefore, certainly deserving of sympathy from the English.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 26th February says that a recent cablegram reports that the Supreme Council has decided to allow the Sultan to remain in Constantinople. The *Times* writes, however, that Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia will not be left with the Turks. The latter piece of news is very discouraging for the Muhammadans, while they cannot be absolutely certain in regard to Constantinople also. The influences at work in that city and the prominent part which France is stated to be playing there cannot admit of the Muhammadans thinking that their demands in respect of Constantinople have been fully met. Continuing, the paper says that justice demands that the nations which are asking for autonomy under the protection of the Ottoman empire, should have their wishes granted. And if they want non-Muslim counsellors to advise them with the consent of Turkey, this also may be allowed. The question of a mandate over any nationality or province, especially the holy places, should, however, on no account be broached. Why, asked the *Vakil*, are the Muhammadans so anxious in regard to the Turkish question that they cannot allow even Great Britain to remain in the Arabian peninsula? They feel proud at the thought that they have come triumphant out of a very severe ordeal. They sacrificed their lives for England while they prayed for success to the Ottoman empire. And if they make such demands in respect of Turkey, they do not do so out of disloyalty to the British Government. They wish only to see Turkey and the caliphate safe. We feel sure that Great Britain will, by according a sympathetic treatment to Turkey, win the hearts of all the Muslims. This will bring her again far more important and valuable than the possession of certain parts of the Ottoman empire. There is also another reason for our demand. The tide of Bolshevism is sweeping on apace. Islam is undoubtedly opposed to Bolshevism, still it is quite likely that some short-sighted Muhammadan may, in their indignation at the Allies' attitude towards Turkey, join hands with the Bolsheviks and thus prove a source of trouble to the British Government. It is highly necessary, therefore, that all unrest should be allayed by the Muhammadan demands in regard to Turkey being accepted in their entirety.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(c) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 25th February publishes a communication from one SAIYID TAHAWWAR HUSAIN, who says that the caliphate question has united all the Indian communities and reminded the champions of civilization (the reference is to the Allies) of the pledges which they made, by beat of drum, in the early days of the war in order to induce people to help them with men and money. It was also stated by them that the war was being waged in defence of order, freedom and equality, so that Germany might not succeed in altering the political map of Europe. This being so, we consider the caliphate agitation not only justifiable but a happy thing. While the Kaiser threatened to alter the map of Europe alone, the advocates of civilization referred to are changing the maps of three continents—Europe, Asia and Africa—and still go into raptures over their championship of justice. We, therefore, uphold the cause of the caliphate and are in favour of a still more vigorous agitation in connection with it. Continuing, the writer asks what has led to the fall and partition of Turkey. The men and money contributed by India, he adds, supply the answer to this question. The Hindus are not to blame in the matter: they had no religious sympathy with Turkey and, therefore, helped the Allies against her. As to the Muhammadans, the Shias among them do not recognise the Sultan as the rightful caliph. The entire responsibility, then, lies on the Sunni *ulema*, who, before the outbreak of the war, recognised the ruler of Turkey as the caliph of the Muhammadans and the warden of their holy places, and used to mention his name in the Friday and 'Id prayers. Soon after the commencement of hostilities, however, the Sultan ceased to be the guardian of the holy places and all respect previously entertained for him was gone. If the Sunni *ulema* had obeyed the dictates of conscience, they should have told Great Britain in unmistakable terms that they would grudge her no help so long as she waged no war against any Muslim power; that, in the other event, their religion did not admit of their rendering her the least help; and that the Sultan's name could be excluded from the Friday prayers only if he in any way altered the injunctions of Islam. Had the Muhammadans laid all this before the British Government, it would never have forced them to help it against Turkey. On the contrary, the event would have raised them in its estimation. As it is, they helped the Allies with men and money, but now that this help has led to the "Sick man of Europe" being laid on his death bed, they have begun to seek for a remedy by raising the caliphate question. It is wholly useless to cry over spilt milk.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(d) The *Leader* of the 26th February says that it argues not weakness but wisdom on the part of the Allies that they do not favour the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople. We wish to be pardoned, however, for saying that the Turks can neither endorse, nor feel pleased at, the Allies' intentions in regard to Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia. It is to be feared that if the fate of these Turkish possessions is not decided in a more liberal spirit, the difficulties of the Allies will multiply and not decrease. It is advisable that Turkey should be deprived of no part of her territories, and should be afforded an opportunity of bettering her condition.

England and Turkey.

SIYASAT, (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 26th February says that just as England felt it her duty to protect Belgium against Germany, it was equally incumbent on her to afford protection to the Porte against its enemies. Turkey having been weak Italy invaded Tripoli, an old Turkish possession, on the strength of her navy. The invasion was exactly similar in character to the one which Germany made on Belgium some years later on the strength of her land forces. But while Great Britain joined in a terrible war with the sole object of protecting Belgium, she kept silent in the case of Turkey, nay, was the first power to acknowledge the Italian annexation of Tripoli, thereby lending her support to the principle "might is right." The spectacle had the effect of surprising the Muhammadans of the world. Their surprise, however, awakened them from that sleep of negligence under the influence of which they used to regard Great Britain as the protector of their rights. The awakening made them realise a bitter reality, which could not but astound them. The paper then goes on to say that in the early days of the Balkan war the European powers, including England, announced that however the struggle might end, there would be no change in the map of Europe. The reality, however, proved to be otherwise. The object in view was to deprive the Turks of the fruits of victory in the event of their winning the day. The Balkan States were told secretly that in case of their proving victorious they would be given some Turkish territory. And when the Balkans emerged successful, the European powers hastened to announce that the victors would not be robbed of the fruits of victory. As was but natural, the event astounded the Turks, as also the other Muhammadans of the world. Nor is this all; when the Balkan armies took possession of Salonika, Lord Grey remarked in the course of a speech that the gateway through which Christianity had entered Europe had been recovered (*lit.* set free). The Muhammadans knew that every Christian would be glad to hear that his sacred places had been wrested from the Crescent. The words of the Foreign Minister of the Government, however, which claimed to be a friend of Turkey and Islam, had the effect of wounding the feelings of the Muslim world The relations between England and Turkey, which had been strained by the Tripolitan and Balkan wars, were still more adversely effected by these words. And they openly assumed the shape of enmity during the great European war.

The Bolshevik menace.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

3. (*a*) *Insaf* of the 16th February remarks that, in order to keep India safe from Bolshevism, it is necessary that Government should make the greatest efforts to set right the economic condition of India. The prevailing high prices are causing widespread distress, and the middle class people are starving. The Turkish question also should be satisfactorily decided in order to end the Bolshevik menace. If the future of Turkey is not decided in conformity with the wishes of His Majesty's three hundred millions of Indian subjects, Bolshevism will assuredly gain a great accession of strength. It is not sufficient that England should keep a fleet in the Black Sea and attack a portion of the Bolsheviks, or that the Indian army should participate in the fighting. It is highly necessary that she should induce the peace conference to give its decision in favour of Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th February considers an alliance between Afghanistan and the Government of India to be most useful for both countries. If no change had recently taken place in the relations between them, there would have been no apprehension of the Afghans joining hands with the Bolsheviks. The latter have long been thinking of invading Central Asia, especially India. They wish to take possession of the wealth of this country. It is, therefore, highly necessary to safeguard the Indian frontiers. Although Bolshevism has not as yet set foot in India, still it is essential to be on guard against the impending danger. The Bolshevik teachings are opposed to the acknowledged principles of every religion professed in India, and only bring disorder in their train. In other words, disorder and Bolshevism are synonymous terms. It is, therefore, the duty of the educated and sensible people in India to protect their country against the Bolshevik menace and prevent their ignorant countrymen falling a prey to Bolshevik machinations.

Tribal raids.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

4. The *Leader* of the 26th February says that a few days back its editor had a talk with a respectable doctor of Lahore about the condition of the Hindus in the Frontier Province. The Doctor stated that the difficulties

of these Hindus had increased in consequence of the policy which Government pursues in regard to the tribesmen. While the Arms Act prevents their keeping arms, the tribal dacoits possess fire arms and can, therefore, easily plunder them. If Government is not prepared to allow them freely to keep arms, it should adopt more effective measures for their protection and should inflict deterrent punishments on the dacoits. The Doctor also complained that whenever the frontier Hindus lay their grievances before the local British officers, the latter tease them by saying "Go to Gandhi" or "Call Tilak to your aid." Such jokes are quite out of the place at the present critical time. We request Lord Chelmsford's Government to make suitable arrangements for affording protection to the Hindus of the Frontier Province. In the other event, they should be told in clear terms to migrate to other places.

II.– LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Religious and Charitable Endowment Bill.

5. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th February writes :—"Look at the Punjab Government. It has surprised the Punjabis by stating that the Bill was in advance of public opinion. The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent doubted if that was correct. And we also doubt if it is correct. Public opinion, so far as the educated community and the reform party is concerned, is explicit, decided and declared, and we cannot say how the Punjab Government has jumped to the conclusion that 'the Bill is in advance of public opinion.' The Punjab is eminently the home of the Sikhs. The last indigenous Government which she had was also a Sikh Government. Most of the charitable and religious trusts and endowments which exist in the Punjab do also belong to one or other section of the Sikh church. And the world knows how the Sikhs have been ventilating their grievances about the mismanagement and misuse of these trusts. They have expressed their opinion in unequivocal terms. Next to Sikhs' come the trusts which belong to orthodox Hindus. But being orthodox by their very nature the Hindus are too conservative to be expected to move. Still the enlightened among the orthodox Hindus have not failed to raise their voice against the scandalous state of affairs which exists now as regard the control and management of their trusts. Excepting the Mussalmans there is no other religious denomination of any importance who has either such trusts at stake or feels interested in trusts which belong to others. Sikhs have expressed their opinion, Hindus have done so and Mussalmans have also done so. In the face of these facts we fail to understand how the Punjab Government has come forward to say that the measure is in advance of public opinion. If by the expression 'public opinion' is meant the opinion of the educated community and that of the reform party we think it is sufficiently clear and declared on the point. How then are we to account for the expression of opinion of the Punjab Government that the Bill is in advance of public opinion? How can such a wideawake ruler as Sir Edward Maclagan, with such an intimate knowledge of the views of the people, be a party to such an unwise and unfortunate counsel to the Imperial Government unless of course it be influenced by some big and influential Mahants and Majawars of whom there are plenty in the Punjab. If it be so we cannot help saying that to be influenced by orthodox opinion, which in the very nature of things cannot be expected to be otherwise than bitterly opposed to any measure of reform which affects their (*sic*) undisputed power and authority, if it is not the height of folly, it certainly betrays lack of that true statemanship and political wisdom which is so essential a qualification of a progressive Government. And if this opinion be not the result of the beseeching and coaxing of the priestly class, whose lot becomes adversely affected by any such measure of reform, as we have hinted above, the other probable guess can be that it must have been the finding of the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan's predecessor." Proceeding, the paper refers to the Home Member's remark that if the Bill was considered to be in advance of public opinion in the Punjab, this Province "should be excluded from the area to be provided under the Act." Commenting, it says:—"We strongly protest against any idea of exclusion from the area to be provided under the Act. No province feels the need of such an act more than the Punjab. It is no fairplay and justice that the mistaken view of a Government should reflect on its people who have neither any effective voice nor any hand in giving it either a sharp or an expression. We trust the

Select Committee will attach no importance either to the opinion of the Punjab Government in this matter or the idea of the Hon'ble Home Member for the exclusion of the Punjab from the area to be provided under the Act."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Teh royal proclamation.

6. (a) Writing about the conditional release of some martial law prisoners, the *Tribune* of the 22nd February, says:—"In our opinion the Government is making a twofold mistake in these cases. It seems to be forgetting, in the first place, that the clemency which His Majesty has directed it to show is something more than justice in the technical sense of that term, that its real object is to heal national wounds, and that these wounds never have been and never can be healed either by remedies which are no remedies or by a halting and inadequate application of even the true remedy. It forgets, secondly, that the discrimination which it has been making between some prisoners and others is not even just.... Why, when your object is to pacify the people and to heal their wounds, do you deliberately go out of your way to occasion a new grievance and inflict a new wound? Why do you ask your prisoners to say that they will not take part in 'any movement directed against the State,' knowing, as you must do, that all political agitation as such is regarded by too many of your officers as a movement against the State?... But the thing is absurd on the face of it. And just because it is so, we have always thought that the Government made a great mistake when they exacted the undertaking, a mistake which they ought to rectify at the earliest opportunity both by releasing the remaining prisoners unconditionally, as well as by freeing the persons who have been conditionally released from their undertaking."

(b) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 27th February:—"We cannot help thinking that the acceptance of Mr. Patel's resolution in the Imperial Council urging that the fullest effect be given to the letter and spirit of the royal proclamation in regard to clemency to political offenders was shorn of some of its value by the speech in which Mr. Macpherson announced the readiness of Government to accept it.... In all cases of real crime where there is repentance, or where the situation is so changed as to make a repetition of the crime impossible or difficult, the prisoner is clearly entitled to the benefit of the amnesty. Nor, in the case of the Punjab disturbances, should the Government fail to consider the circumstances of excitement in which the offence was committed and the fact that the crimes were not all on one side, that in fact far more innocent blood was shed on the popular side than on the official or semi-official.... It may be that the failure of Government to rise to the height of their opportunity ... was due to their erroneous notion that 'the royal proclamation has no application to non-political offenders who had been convicted under the Defence of India Act.' If so, we shall presently see whether the Government will act with greater judgment and statesmanship in the undoubtedly political cases of the prisoners in the Amritsar riot case, whose appeal has just been rejected by the Privy Council on the more or less technical ground on which alone it was originally admitted. With the merits of this case, or of the other cases, we have no concern. We appeal to the Government to consider the circumstances of excitement under which the offences, which are the subject-matter of the prosecution in this case, were perpetrated, the nature of the trial, and the denial of ordinary facilities to the accused persons to prove their innocence. The Privy Council has not considered any of these vital points. It is not only up to, but is the clear duty of, the executive Government to consider all of them. It is equally their bounden duty to consider the attitude of the public mind in regard to these persons."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms.

7. (a) The *Tribune* of the 21st February writes:—"The Parliamentary Joint Committee has extended the university franchise to all graduates of seven years' standing. We believe persons having Master's degrees in Arts or Science will be entitled to vote, irrespective of standing, even as they enjoy the same privilege with regard to the Senate elections. For some reason, which it is not easy to understand, graduates in law and medicine have, so far, been classed with mere B.A.'s. If this discriminating treatment is accorded to the LL.B.'s and M.B. B.S.'s solely on the techical ground that the persons holding these degrees are Bachelors, we have no hesitation in saying that the distinction

between them and those holding the M.A. or M.Sc. degree is based on a fallacious reasoning. The Bachelors in law have, as is usually the case with M.A.'s, to spend two years after graduation before they are entitled to the LL.B. degree, and the Bachelors in medicine and surgery have to spend five years after passing the Intermediate examination. Again, although one has to attend college for at least two years after the B.A. to qualify for the LL.B degree, the University prescribes no fixed percentage of lectures as a condition precedent to one's appearing at the M.A. The result has been that in many cases, intelligent students have succeeded in obtaining their Master's degree one year after the B.A. The distinction, therefore, appears to us anomalous in the extreme, and it is to be hoped that in framing the rules under the Reform Act, the authorities will consider the matter and place the M. A.'s, the LL.B.'s, the B.T.'s and M.B. B.S.'s on the same level."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd February writes :—"The question of a residential qualification for the candidates in [the Bombay, the Punjab and the Central] Provinces has never been publicly discussed, and enlightened opinion in our own province, at any rate, has never supported the idea of a residential qualification. It may be that the clause relating to such qualification will be so interpreted as to minimise the injustice and the hardship incidental to its application. But the principle itself is vicious, and we see absolutely no reason why the three provinces should be singled out for this discriminating treatment."

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 25th February publishes the following :—"The advanced wing of the national party, which is not without its representatives in the [Imperial] Council, is very meagrely, if at all, represented on the Committee [appointed to consider and report on the rules and regulations under the Government of India Act]. This exclusion of the more prominent representatives of the wing seems to be no mere accident, but a matter of design. In our own province although both the Indian Association and the Provincial Congress Committee wrote to Government expressing their readiness to help it in the framing of the rules, they have been informed in reply that while they are at liberty to make representations to Government, either orally or otherwise, their help cannot be availed of in any other way. All this is exceedingly regrettable, because it is not calculated to impress the public with either the strength or the earnestness of Government's professed desire to enlist the sympathy and support of the people in the working of the reforms."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Sikh representation.

8. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th February writes :—"The necessity of the application . . . . in the case of the Sikhs [of the principles observed in regard to the Muhammadans] was all the more urgent in view of the fact that while the Muhammadans have got the right to representation in all other provinces as well, the Sikhs' representation is confined to the Punjab alone. Just think what will be the voice of eight or nine members in a Council of sixty members, and similarly what will be the position of two or three Sikhs in the State Assembly of a hundred members. The mockery of the position of the Sikhs in the new reforms is too evident to satisfy the Sikhs and is bound to produce that galling effect on the devotion and attachment of the Sikhs to the Government which is not only not desirable but highly undiplomatic as well. We hope the Government will once more give dispassionate consideration to this important aspect of the question and try to allay and remedy the aggrieved feelings of the Sikhs."

(*b*) In its issue dated the 24th February the paper writes :—"Is it not strange and inexplicable that even after solemn assurances and pledges given by the Government and admission of the many-sided importance of the Sikhs by the same Government, and after such strong and emphatic protests from the Sikhs themselves, the Imperial Government should have so light-heartedly and so ungratefully refused to accord the same treatment to the Sikhs which has been accorded to Muhammadans? Is it because the Sikhs have been too loyal to the Government and out of these loyal sentiments and regard for it have been less vocal in ventilating their grievances? Is it due to the fact that they have persistently refused to be drawn into the whirlpool of politics and thereby embarrass the Government? Or does the Government really regard it a disqualification for the Sikhs not to have joined the Congress and shared in that body's politics. If answers to the above questions be in the affirmative, we have no hesitation in saying that this means a direct invitation to the Sikhs to resort to weapons which have secured to the Hindus and Muhammadans the status and position which would not have been theirs otherwise. . . . Agitation is the key of success in politics. If the Sikhs have not so far succeeded in securing their rightful due, we ask is it not perhaps due to the fact that they have scrupulously avoided taking any share in agitation? We are also firmly of opinion that it is so and we are also of opinion that this is why so strong and forceful representations of their central representative body—the Chief Khalsa Diwan—have met such a cold shoulder from those in authority. Shall the Sikhs still continue in the suicidal policy followed so long?" [Next the paper contrasts the amount of representation allowed to the Muhammadans with that proposed for the Sikhs, and continues]:—"It is difficult to conform this differential treatment to the canons of justice and fairplay which have been the mainstay of British rule in India. And it is even more difficult to conciliate the Sikhs to the position of helplessness, subordination and positive humiliation which has been assigned to them under the Reforms Act. Unless the Government does speedily something to conciliate the Sikhs, discontentment among the Sikhs is bound to grow to the embarrassment of the Government . . . Now that no consideration has been given to our highly meritorious services and unparalleled sacrifices, both in men and money, to our influential position in the Punjab based on historical and political factors, to our military prestige, to our comparatively higher educational level and last but not the least to the fact that the amount which the Sikhs pay to the State in the form of land revenue and water charges is out of all proportion to their numerical strength, the question that forces itself uppermost in every Sikh heart is what should we do now? When the faith and confidence which the Sikhs had confidently reposed in the good offices of the Government has disappointingly disillusioned the Sikhs and when the fondest hopes of the Sikhs in the Government have been dashed to the ground unexpectedly and when even their humble prayers and representations to His Majesty's Government have failed to receive the consideration which was their very due, the question arises should the Sikhs change sides and take up the gauntlet which the Government have thrown down by their inconsiderate treatment of the Sikh demands and resort to measures which others have tried and tried most successfully and which alone weigh with the Government and the British public, or should they continue revelling in the old belief and hasten their doom? . . . . . Much of the future of the Sikhs depends on the line of action which they chose to take."

The English in India.

AFTAB, (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

9. The *Aftab* of the 26th February publishes the following quatrain:—

You are the inhabitants of Europe, which is your home;
We are the residents of India and it is ours.
The period of your lease has now expired;
What excuse have you in not returning our house to us?

Preference.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

10. Referring to the resolution moved by Sir George Barnes in the Imperial Legislative Council about the system of preference, the *Tribune* of the 24th February writes:—"Since when have the Government of India begun to look so far ahead in fiscal matters? And how, may we ask, is a Committee of the Council going to determine, on the basis of the present statistics, dealing mostly with India's position as an exporter of raw materials, whether it would be to India's interest to adopt a policy of preference when that position should be altered and India should become largely a manufacturing country? How is any Committee to anticipate how much and what part of India's export trade in manufactured goods is going to be with countries outside the Empire, and how much and what part with countries in the Empire, and what the differences in the respective policies of the two sets of countries towards India would be in circumstances that have not yet arisen. . . . . Whatever one may think of the principle of Imperial preference in the abstract, the time for considering its practical applicability to India is clearly not yet. It is idle to say that the Committee need not recommend the adoption of preference. Our contention is that it cannot and ought not to make any recommendation at all, that the inquiry itself is a waste of time, unless the Committee is going to recommend

the adoption of preference, in which case it would be worse than a waste of time, being positively mischievous. The proper time for considering the matter . . . . will be when India will have fiscal autonomy in the proper sense of the term, when she will have the positive right to say 'No' if she chooses, and that will also be about the time when India will be in a fair position to judge for herself whether she is going to be benefited by the adoption of a policy of preference either immediately or in the long run."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Right and duty.

11. The *Tribune* of the 21st February writes:—"In the course of a recent speech at the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd said:—'One of the curses of democracy in every country has been that it makes people shout loudly and glibly that this is my right and that is my right, and never utter a word about their duty. The first claim and the first right that a man has is to serve his country and people.' His Excellency is right, but he has not been in India long enough to know that it is this 'first right' of every man that we in India have now for years been asking for and that has not so far been adequately conceded to us. The right of a man to serve his country can have a meaning and a reality only when the press is free, the right of public meeting is sacred, the right of movement is unrestricted, and the right of association is regarded as inviolable. And these are exactly the rights that are prejudicially affected by the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, the Defence of India Act and the Rowlatt Act. You cannot be said to have the right to serve your country when your best men, men like the late Mr. Gokhale, for instance, cannot leave one place and go to another without being subjected to espionage, and sometimes to positive annoyance . . . . A mere opportunity is not a right, and . . . it is only when the laws to which we have referred are repealed that it will be time enough to talk of the 'first right' or 'the first claim' of a man in India to serve his country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Students and politics.

12. Referring to the University sub-committee's report about the participation by students in politics, the *Tribune* of the 26th February writes:—"At the outset, we should like to make it clear to all concerned that no legislation is either necessary or desirable in a matter of this kind. Rigid rules whether made by the University or the college authorities, such as were proposed by Lala Durga Das, are bound to defeat the very object which they are designed to serve. In a matter of this kind, therefore, legislation being not only unnecessary and undesirable but positively ineffectual, nay, injurious the only solution that appears reasonable to us and which, we hope, will commend itself to the authorities also, is to provide facilities to the students within their own colleges to freely discuss the burning topics of the day under the guidance and supervision, may be, of their Professors. . . . Surely, the membership of, say, a League of Order with the inevitable *Haq* as the sole purveyor of news, is hardly calculated to educate our young men in politics. To imagine that attempts like these at inculcating loyalty in our young hopefuls—the citizens of to-morrow though not of to-day—will succeed in making of them good citizens of India and the Empire is, not only to indulge in vain hopes, but also to offer a deliberate insult to the common sense and intelligence of our young men. The right way to prepare students for the coming battle of civic life is, in our opinion, by starting among other things, inter-collegiate Unions not only at Lahore but in all educational centres in the province. These bodies might be inaugurated at Lahore under the aupices of the University and in the *mofassil* under the patronage of the local college or colleges, but, save for this nominal connection, their entire management should rest in the hands of the students themselves. Political subjects should be freely discussed and no ban placed on lectures by public men."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

13. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 22nd February remarks that the Home Member's announcement in the Imperial Legislative Council that the Hunter Committee's report cannot be published before the end of March next will be received with feelings of regret. It means that the report cannot be considered in the present session of the Council, and will be held over for discussion in the

September session. A discussion so long after the publication of the report will, however, be of absolutely no use. The report should either be published at once or a session of the Council should be held in April next to discuss the document. It is to be hoped that Government will not allow the impression to go abroad that the discussion on the report is being intentionally avoided.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

(b) *Insaf* of the 23rd February writes to a similar effect, and says that the non-official members of the Imperial Council should have an opportunity of expressing their views in regard to the report before copies of it are sent to England.

The Punjab disturbances.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

14. (a) Referring to the compensation offered by Government to Miss Sherwood, the *Liberal* of the 23rd February writes :—" Will Government also try to compensate those women or children who have lost their bread-winners in the Jallianwala Bagh—men who were as innocent as even Miss Sherwood? If Government does that, it stands to lose nothing and will gain everything thereby. We strongly commend this proposal to the attention of Sir Edward Maclagan."

(b) Elsewhere the newspaper writes :—" After the outburst of indignant and scathing criticism in the British press following the terrible disclosures made by the official witnesses before the Hunter Committee, the least that the principal accused persons could do would be to maintain silence, but even this elementary prudence is not observed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who has written a long letter to the *Times*. . . . Sir Michael O'Dwyer may be unrepentant, and we do not expect him to be anything else, but has not he rushed in where a wiser man would not have ventured to tread? If the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab thought that he would brow-beat the *Times* as he used to treat the press in the Punjab, he has certainly found out his mistake for the reply of the great London journal is utterly crushing."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) Writing about the rejection of the Amritsar appeals by the Privy Council, the *Tribune* of the 27th February says: " One of the most important arguments of Sir John Simon was that if the Government of India's view of the powers conferred on them were correct, there was nothing to prevent them at a particular time from putting the whole of the Penal Code in an ordinance and making it possible for a Commission constituted as the Martial Law Commissions were to try every conceivable offence in the summary manner in which those Commissions tried the cases placed before them. What the Privy Council has done by its judgment is to declare in effect that the Government of India *have* this power. The Viceroy was already the most despotic authority in the civilised world. This decision makes his paramountcy still more supreme and unquestionable, and shows that the rights of the subject, so far as this particular matter is concerned, are absolutely dependent upon the Viceroy's will. If even after this there are men in our midst who will cavil at the Congress demand for a declaration of Indian rights, they cannot surely expect to be taken seriously by the public. We have no hesitation in saying that the judgment of the Privy Council in this case will and ought to immensely strengthen that demand."

(d) Commenting on the appeal for funds for the proposed Jallianwala Bagh memorial, the *Tribune* of the 22nd February writes :—" We have no hesitation in joining in the hope of the signatories to the appeal that even Englishmen, who believe in India's destiny as a free and self-respecting nation, will contribute to the fund. As for our own countrymen, we need scarcely say that all who are in a position to do so will deem it a sacred privilege to contribute their mite to the fund. May we suggest in this connection that a part of the money, however small, should be raised from among the common people who may not have much to give, but who may still desire to practically associate themselves with the movement. An anna fund or something like it may be started for the purpose."

Communal representation in universities.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

15. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd February says that communal representation is as essential in universities as it is in Legislative Councils and local bodies. Although Muhammadans form the majority of the population in both Bengal and the Punjab, the representation allowed to them

in the local universities is very inadequate. It is most desirable to spread education among the Muhammadans, and Muslim element is, therefore, indispensable in universities, colleges and schools. Can the Hindus look for unity and amity from the Muhammadans while usurping the important rights upon which the latter's very existence depends? Even the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, who claims to be the greatest friend of the Muhammadans, opposed the introduction of communal representation in the Dacca University Bill.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Mendicancy.

16. The *Tribune* of the 27th February writes :—"The beggar problem has assumed alarming dimensions not only in Bengal but in every province in India including the Punjab. The Bombay Government have already taken some action in the matter and following their example, the Bengal Government now proposes to make a beginning in the same direction. The Vagrancy Act has outlived its usefulness and if the evil is to be checked, legislation of a restrictive as well as reformatory character is urgently required. We hope one of our non-official members will take up the question, if possible, at the next session of the local Legislative Council."

PANCH
(Lahore);
Ram Singh,
editor.

A railway complaint.

17. The *Panch* of the 21st February complains that railway employés do not regard third class passengers as human beings. Should the latter make an inquiry from the former, a snub is the invariable result. The Sikh third class passengers in particular experience great trouble through the smoking of cigarettes or the *hookah* in running trains. Every compartment displays a notice forbidding smoking in it, but it is treated as a dead letter. Some more stringent measures should be adopted to end the inconvenience caused to Sikh passengers.

LOYAL GAZETTE
(Lahore);
Amar Singh,
editor.

Sikh grievances.

18. (*a*) Writing in the *Loyal Gazette* of the 15th February, one Hira Singh says that the Government of India has appointed a board to select 68 Indians for appointment to the Imperial Medical Service. It has highly surprised the writer to see that only two Sikhs have appeared before the board. It is the duty of Sikh leaders and the Sikh League to urge the employment of a large number of Sikhs in the service. Commenting, the *Loyal Gazette* says that it has transpired that no Sikh has been selected for the reason that Sikhs cannot wear hats. We cannot see why the turban should stand in the way of Sikhs being granted commissioned ranks. It is to be hoped that Government will inquire into the matter. The Sikhs can never wear hats: their religion does not permit them to do so. The European authorities should respect their religious susceptibilities and should not disregard their rights owing simply to a prejudice.

GURU NANAK
DARSHAN
(Amritsar),
Sumer Singh,
editor.

(*b*) The *Guru Nanak Darshan* of the 6th (received on the 18th) February complains that no regard is paid to the services of the Sikhs in making nominations for the Civil Service and granting *jagirs* and land. Next the paper refers to the dismissal of three Sikh Naiks of the Sappers and Miners, Roorkee, for keeping *kirpans*, and asks whether the incident is not tantamount to interfering with the religion of the Sikhs. The Khalsas should shake off their sleep, and send a deputation to wait on the Commanding Officer and the Commander-in-Chief to get the Naiks reinstated.

KHALSA
ADVOCATE
(Amritsar);
Gian Singh,
editor.

(*c*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th February writes :—"Jhelum is a district where the Sikh population, though in a minority, is not yet totally negligible. In the memory of the present generation, this district has never had, within the last quarter of a century, the good luck of having an influential Sikh judicial or executive officer, either at the headquarters or in either of the sub-divisions except the meteoric appearances of Sardar Hukam Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner and Chaudhri Rattan Singh, B.A., Tahsildar at Chakwal; for whom even the respective places were made too hot by a certain clique which shall remain unnamed for the present. It is no wonder, then, to have witnessed in this district from time to time such heart-rending accidents as the arson of a Sikh temple at Odharwal, *jhatka* question at both Chakwal and Jhelum, the desecration of the sacred Granth at Gadari and the *kangha-kirpan* nuisance at Dhudial. Is it too much to expect that the kind and wide-awake ruler of the province, Sir Edward Maclagan, who is to have a tour in the district in the month will be gracious enough to bestow his personal attention to the already overstanding grievances of the Sikhs in the district and arrange to secure an effective voice of the Sikhs in all the various departments of the district?"

(*d*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 24th February writes:—"That in the matter of adequate and proportionate distribution of posts, the claims of the Sikhs are grossly neglected and relegated, needs no elaborate statistical proving. It is a matter of common observance now. The pity is that in spite of the repeated hammering of this grievance the attention of the authorities concerned does not direct itself towards a remedy of the present state. Our representation in the University and the Education Department is least, in the Railway Department it is but too scanty, in the Postal Service the Sikh element was introduced not long ago, in the Civil Department our share is not worth any mention; and in the Police Department our natural fitness does not get the preference it deserves. Some say what is the use of crying ourselves hoarse over it, when no one is ready to listen. But we say go on agitating until you get your due."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Terminal tax.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

19. The *Desh* of the 26th February reports that a correspondent says that the people of Lahore like the projected terminal tax. Their only complaint is that the rates proposed by the Municipal Committee far exceed the octroi now levied, as also the rates obtaining in Amritsar and other places of commercial importance. They should, therefore, be reduced.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The capital of India.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

20. (*a*) Adverting to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma's resolution in the Imperial Council on the subject of the capital of India the *Liberal* of the 23rd February writes:—"We are ... glad that the resolution and the amendments were all lost by large majorities, and we hope Delhi will now for all time to come retain the position that was conceded to it after a very careful examination of the whole case and was approved by the King and Parliament."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 21st February writes:—"Sir William Vincent could not have taken up a more illogical or less tenable position. His position was illogical, because the question of departing from the King-Emperor's wishes could only arise with regard to the abandonment of Delhi, and the abandonment of Delhi formed no necessary part of the resolution. The resolution only asked that the headquarters should be permanently located at one place and there was nothing to prevent this one place from being Delhi. Sir William Vincent's position was untenable because ... the King took the step he did, not of his own accord, but on the advice of his constitutional advisers, and all that the resolution asked, assuming that the latter part of the resolution did suggest the abandonment of Delhi, was that the King's present advisers should give him a different advice. It is absurd in a constitutional and limited monarchy like that of England to speak of the King's choice in a matter of this kind, for the King does not choose."

(*c*) In its issue dated 22nd February the paper says:—"There is not the smallest doubt that the headquarters of the Government ought to be in one place and not two, and that place one where it may be in touch with the living and throbbing life of the country, and that from this point of view Simla is the very worst place imaginable, because at Simla there is no public opinion worth the name. It is equally true that under the new order of things Government would no longer mean the bureaucracy, but would mean, substantially in the beginning, and more and more as time passes, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, and that, therefore, the convenience of Government must mean, largely at first, and principally later on, the convenience of the members of those bodies, and from this point of view the retention of Simla as the capital of the Government for nearly seven months in the year stands self-condemned.... Considering all things the only three likely claimants, it seems to us, are Delhi, Calcutta and Allahabad, all others being literally out of the question, and of those, whatever advantages the other two may have, Delhi has the undoubted advantage of being already in possession of the field."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Insult to Sir Sivaswamy Iyer.

21. The *Liberal* of the 23rd February writes:—"With the issue of the royal proclamation it is absolutely necessary that not only a change should come over the spirit of the Government of India and all the Provincial Governments subordinate to the Supreme Government, but every individual who has the honour of calling himself an officer of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. Now, Captain Childers, an obscure officer in the Military police in Burma, may or may not have read the royal proclamation, but he cannot plead either fact as a justification for the gross insult he offered to Sir Sivaswamy Iyer in a railway carriage in Burma. . . . . It is stated that the incident is under enquiry by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma. Considering that the Lieutenant-Governor of that province is Sir Reginald Craddock it will be interesting to learn what orders he passes in this case. . . The only order that will satisfy the public in India in the case of this policeman in Burma is dismissal from the public service, and no apology can be regarded as sufficient reparation. Has Sir Reginald Craddock appreciated the object of the Reforms Act, or the inwardness of the royal proclamation?"

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Hardyal.

22. The *Desh* of the 27th February says that since Lala Hardyal, an able Indian, has realised the error of his ways it will not be improper to permit him to return to his country.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Aftab* of the 26th February says that the decision regarding Constantinople, over which the *Civil and Military Gazette* has expressed so much pleasure, cannot please and satisfy the Muhammadan public. Since international control has been established over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, it is one and the same thing whether the Turks remain in Constantinople or not. They lose their independence, and had better retire to Asia instead of retaining the so-called possession of Constantinople. Here they will be independent, free from international pressure and at liberty to do what they like. In case they remain in Constantinople and are required to keep a watch over the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, it will not be possible for them to give undivided attention to the management of their state affairs. Again, if the Dardanelles, the key of Constantinople, is wrested from them, how would they be able to guard their capital? The European powers are always on the look-out for opportunities to work against the Turks. Even when the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were under Turkey, frequent ultimatums used to be sent to the Porte. But with the internationalization of the Dardanelles warships will appear at Constantinople on the slightest pretext, and the Turks will have to experience great difficulties by remaining there. It has not yet transpired how they have received the decision in regard to their seat of government. This much is certain, however, that the nationalists will never approve of it. If the Allied powers are desirous of establishing peace in the world, they should display some spirit of sacrifice and make use of means free from all tinge of selfishness. Next the paper takes exception to the proposal to hand over Smyrna to the Greeks.

EAST AND WEST (Simla); Jogindra Singh, editor.

(*b*) The February issue of *East and West* writes in the course of an article on the passing of Mesopotamia under British control:—"In Mesopotamia. ... we are faced with two dangers: the economic danger of over exploitation, and the danger of a strong military administration setting the

Moslem world aflame. Our Government would have done well to have left Mesopotamia alone. 'Now there is no other way but to win the willing co-operation of the vanquished. . . . The possession of Mesopotamia is likely to prove a 'Dead Sea fruit'."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(c) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th February says that not only the Muhammadans and newspapers of this country, but leading and thoughtful men and journals in England also are advising the British Government not to increase its responsibilities after its victory in the war. They are also advancing strong arguments to prove that Mr. Lloyd George's idea about keeping Mesopotamia in particular under British rule is improper and inexpedient. The disorder and mismanagement, which appeared in Egypt soon after she came under British influence, have not as yet come to an end. The extension of British rule to Mesopotamia is also likely to prove a curse; and the Premier and his counsellors, who are flushed with the intoxication of success and victory, should not be in a hurry to do what may bring remorse and repentance in its train. Next the paper quotes extracts from some communications which have appeared in the London *Times* and the *Sunday Pictorial* against the British occupation of Mesopotamia, and expresses the hope that the Ministers will act on the friendly suggestions contained in them.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

England and Turkey.

2. Writing about the causes of the war, the *Siyasat* of the 27th February says that it appears from a speech recently made by Mr. Lloyd George that England held out a promise to Turkey that if the latter remained neutral, her territories would be secure against encroachment. It is not easy to understand, however, how a power, which remains neutral in a war, can be deprived of its possessions by another state. Continuing, the paper represents it as an admitted fact that the British occupation of Egypt was the cause of war between Turkey and England. The former, it adds, demanded the evacuation of Egypt as the price of her neutrality. The Turks would not have made the demand if Great Britian's attitude towards them during the Tripolitan and Balkan wars had not rendered them suspicious of her. She did not allow them to transport troops to Tripoli through Egypt, while that country proclaimed its neutrality in spite of its having been under Turkey. The Turks realised then that they had been deprived of Egypt in very truth. The Tripolitan war was the direct cause of Turkey siding with Germany against Great Britain.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The Bolshevik menace.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 1st March learns from the British press that the foreign department of the Bolsheviks has established a society with the object of propagating their views. The organisation has been called "an association to safeguard the interests of the Moslem world" in order to induce the Muhammadans to identify themselves with it. So far the nationalists of Egypt, Turkey and Persia, Afghan patriots, and the Muhammadans of the Caucasus and Russia have joined the association Although, however, it is said to have been founded to defend Islam, its real object is to overthrow British rule in the east. The Turkish question has caused a colossal upheaval in the Muhammadan world, and the Bolsheviks wish to derive some advantage from it. If, however, their objects are what they are reported to be, there can be no co-operation between them and the Muhammadans. Nevertheless, it behoves British statesmen to abstain, as far as possible, from disappointing the Muhammadans in any way at the present juncture.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Afghanistan and Bolshevism.

4. One **NISAR AHMAD** writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th February says that the confirmation of the news regarding the arrival of a Bolshevik mission at Kabul has caused feelings of sorrow and anxiety among the Indian Muhammadans. Next he condemns Bolshevism, and expresses his inability to understand what has led the Afghan Government to receive the mission, which is likely to bring trouble in its train. It is also to be regretted, he adds, that a party of Bolsheviks, whose teachings are antagonistic to those of Islam, should have been admitted into Afghanistan. In conclusion, he says that apparently that country is about to lose the position of security which it has so far enjoyed.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

Tribal raids.

5. **DOCTOR SATYAPAL** writing to the *Insaf* of the 28th February states that one Sant Bhagwan Singh, a member of a *sewak mandli*, which has gone to ascertain the condition of the frontier Hindus, reports that several dacoities have recently been com-

mitted by tribesmen. After reproducing the details, the Doctor states that the report adds that the people should no longer keep silent and should respectfully request Government to adopt effective measures to protect its frontier subjects and inflict deterrent punishments on the dacoits. It is not true that Hindus alone are being oppressed: Muhammadans also are not safe from the tyranny of the dacoits. Government should afford facilities to the Indians on the frontier in the matter of keeping arms, so as to enable them to protect their lives, honour, and property.

Indians abroad.

Leader (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

6. The *Leader* of the 3rd March says that the resolutions passed at the recent session of the Indian National Congress of East Africa show what injustice is being done to the Indians residing in that colony, what feelings of hatred the distinctions of colour and creed observed there have bred for them in the white colonists, and how they are being deprived of their legitimate rights. On the one hand, efforts are being made to ensure further emigration of Indians to the colonies and a committee was appointed for this object only recently. On the other, however, a strenuous struggle is being carried on for the exclusion even of the Indians long settled in the colonies.

II.– LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Patel Bill.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. The *Tribune* of the 5th March publishes a letter from A. L. Roy, a retired journalist, who opposes Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill and says among other things:—" It has ..... been a very wise and wholesome principle of the British Government to keep out questions, intimately relating to religious beliefs and social customs, from the province of state legislation..... But this wholesome rule of the British Government, confirmed by repeated royal pledges, is threatened to be violated at the instance of Indian nationalist politicians, notwithstanding all their tall talk of Home Rule and democracy and the latest fad of self determination. Talk of self-determination for India when the Hindus shall not be allowed to judge and decide for themselves what is best for their own social and domestic affairs, with their traditions of a civilisation dating back to thousands of years ! And it is exactly those Hindu politicians and patriots who are foremost in supporting the Khilafat movement and insisting on Turkey's right to rule over unwilling Christian subjects, that are also most forward in battering down the Hindu caste system on the plea of hardship and abuses, and helping in the dismemberment of Hindu society..... The orthodox Hindus are .... fully justified in insisting that if an Inter-caste Marriage Bill has to be passed to meet the requirements of the time, it should not be passed as a Hindu measure and thus allowed to introduce a disturbing and disrupting factor into Hindu society. If it is to be really a permissive measure, it should be passed as a Civil Marriage Act, apart from the current and traditions of the Hindu community at large, and not allowed to forcibly twist the accepted interpretation of their Shastras or misinterpret their customs. That would be a piece of coercion inconsistent with the so-called permissive character of the Bill."

The Reforms.

Liberal (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

8. (*a*) " The *Liberal* of the 1st March writes:—" It is a serious blunder which the Government of India has committed in nominating the personnel of the advisory committee appointed to examine the draft rules and regulations and standing orders under the new Government of India Act. It is idle to conceal the fact that the country is divided into two important factions as regards the utility of the Reform Act as finally passed, but each is determined to give it the fairest possible trial and co-operate with the authorities with a view to making it a success. That being so, it is extremely to be regretted that the Government of India in nominating members of the advisory committee has completely ignored the Congress section, which represents by far the larger section of the Indian community .... We are glad the Congress has not taken the insult thus levelled at it lying down ... We hope that suitable provision will still be made to have its views properly represented on the advisory committee.. Unless that is done, who can say that the reforms will receive that co-operation from the people which is so very essential for making them workable and about which we have been hearing so much of talk ever since they became law.",

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) Commenting on the lecture which Mr. Shastri recently delivered at Lahore on the subject of the Reform Act, the *Tribune* of the 29th February writes:—"To those familiar with recent controversies it must have occurred as a significant omission that the Hon. Mr. Shastri in his otherwise comprehensive speech did not say a word about the necessity or otherwise of further agitation with a view to the early introduction of a larger measure of responsible government and particularly the introduction of a measure of responsibility in the central Government. . . We in the Punjab are convinced that if agitation is stopped, not only is there no guarantee as to the [Parlimentary] Commission giving us what we want, but there is danger of the present reforms themselves being whittled down in the actual working. What we strongly apprehend is that nothing but the keeping of the fire of agitation constantly burning, until the goal is reached, would prevent the reactionary element of the bureaucracy from doing its worst to indefinitely put off the realisation of our hopes. Nor is another aspect of the matter to be overlooked. The concession of full responsibility as the author of the scheme have told us again and again, is largely a matter of the evolution and the proper training of an adequate electorate. Now surely this means, if it means anything, that those of us who desire a speedy attainment of self-government must make it our supreme endeavour to impart proper political education to the masses of the people, that is to a much larger body of men than the five millions of people who are immediately to be enfranchised. And what is this but agitation?"

(c) Commenting on the recommendations of the committee appointed to advise the Punjab Government on matters connected with the reform scheme, the *Tribune* of the 2nd March writes:—"It will be seen from this report that while too much is being sought to be made in certain provinces of the distinction between the so-called moderates and the so-called extremists, and while certain young and enthusiastic politicians are calling upon the country with all their vocal power to keep every man of moderate views out of the Council, we in the Punjab are actually face to face with the prospect of having a Council in which the bulk of the members will be neither moderates nor extremists, but will belong to a class having at present no nationalist complexion at all. . . . [Of the 87 seats], the university seat, some of the urban seats and one of the two commercial seats are the only ones likely to go to men of whom it can be anticipated with some degree of confidence that they will have a nationalist complexion, be the distinctive hue of that complexion moderate or extremist? The vast majority of the remaining seats, if not all, will at present go to persons who have no nationalist complexion and many, if not most, of whom will, whenever a crucial question is raised, a question in respect of which the bureaucracy takes a strong line, find it difficult, if not impossible, to resist the pressure that may be brought to bear upon them either by local officials or by their superiors at the headquarters. Of course we are not so pessimistic as to imagine that this state of things will continue for any very long time. Our faith in the uplifting power of the franchise, in the inevitably rapid growth of nationalism, and its irresistible fascination once you are brought into touch with it, as well as in the virtue of common and open deliberation with the eyes of the public upon you, is too great for us to have any misgiving on this score. That is what somebody forgot, somebody who made elaborate preparations to preserve the Punjab for the bureaucracy, to make her India's Ulster. . . . As the elections will not be held for some months yet, we are not sure that something very material and effective cannot be done or should not be attempted to partially avert the danger even in the case of the first election. The Punjab has won for herself a name for manliness, for sanity and sturdy commonsense, and for robust patriotism, and there is no reason to believe that if we are alive to our duty, if some of the best and most patriotic among us will take a sacred resolve to devote their time and energy more or less exclusively during the next few months to the work of politically educating the rural people, something valuable may not yet be done, some of the rural and all the urban seats may not be won for nationalism even at the first election."

(d) Elsewhere the paper says:—"A comparison of the recommendations of the advisory committee with those of the Southborough committee shows that while the total number of seats has been increased by 4, the number of urban seats remains exactly what it was—10. Indeed in one respect the position, so far as the representation of the urban areas is concerned, has been rendered worse. In the Southborough committee's scheme one seat was given exclusively to the cities of Lahore and Amritsar. That this was no special favour, only a comparison of it with what was done in other provinces in the case of cities of the importance of Lahore and Amritsar would show. Not to speak of Calcutta and Bombay, each of which was to have six general seats, and Madras, which was to have five such seats, Agra and Allahabad with their male population of 69 thousand each, and Bareilly with its male population of 38 thousand in the United Provinces, and Patna city in Behar with its male population of 52 thousand were each to have a seat to itself. On this basis and considering the fact that Lahore is the capital of the province, it would have been nothing unusual if a seat had been given to Lahore alone, while it was only bare justice to give a seat to Lahore and Amritsar taken together, the male population of which is 92 thousand. But even this is considered too much by the advisory committee, who have reduced Lahore and Amritsar to the position of other urban areas and have given one general seat to each division. It is worthy of note that the same committee have raised the representation of Rohtak from 1 to 2 seats, though the number of the male population of Rohtak is less than that of Kangra, and though the estimated number of electors in the Rohtak district is only one thousand in excess of that of Karnal and Gurgaon, and of Sialkot and Gujranwala taken together, being 5 against 4. As a lesson in contrast this is luminous, and is in keeping with the general scheme of representation of this province which is calculated to keep the Council as far as possible free from the inroads of the political classes."

(e) RAI SAHIB MAHARAJ KRISHNA KAPUR writes to the *Tribune* of the 2nd March:—"It appears that the L.M.S.'s are not going to be taken. . . . in the electorate for the election of university representatives on the local Legislative Council under the new reforms scheme. . . . I would strongly submit that there is no justification for such an unfair treatment to the indigenous medical profession, the bulk of which is composed of the old Licentiates of Medicine and Surgery. It will be no exaggeration to say that almost all the eminent and leading medical men in the province are L.M.S.'s. Several have been professors, assistant professors and lecturers in the Medical College creating many M.B. B. S.'s every year, although they themselves were L. M. S.'s. The M.B. B.S. degree was introduced in the Punjab University very recently and I can definitely say that the professional education and training received by the old L. M. and S. were same and similar (if not better). . . . The L. M. and S. was previously the highest medical qualification not only in the Punjab University, but such was the case in other Universities also. . . . I [have] received [a letter] from the Registrar, Bombay University, which clearly indicates that the L. M. S's there . . . are . . . going to be included in the university electorate for the election of a university representative to the local Legislative Council under the reforms scheme. . . . It will be a serious omission and sheer injustice that the Licentiates of Medicine and Surgery, who as a class are the pioneers and leaders of the medical profession in the Punjab, are left out from the university side."

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore), Sardar Singh, editor.

(f) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 27th February says that the Reform Act practically grants nothing to Indians. The number of Indian members of the Councils will undoubtedly be increased, but this will be of no use, seeing that the Governors and the Viceroy will have the power to reject any resolution passed by a majority. In the existing circumstances the Act constitutes an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of our getting freedom We cannot, therefore, count it as a unique blessing. Indians sacrificed their lives and money to bring the European war to a victorious end. They should consequently have been granted full self-government. We should, however, thankfully accept what has been given to us. Continuing, the newspaper says that local officers can work a lot [of harm] in framing rules and regulations under the Reforms Act. If, therefore, we are not careful, the boon will not reach us in its entirety. We should be on the alert to safeguard our rights, and should scrutinise the rules and regulations while they are being framed. Next the editor speaks of the inadequacy of the seats allotted to the Sikhs, advancing the stock arguments used by the Sikh press in support of the complaint. He wants for the Sikhs one-third of the total number of seats on the new

Legislative Councils of the Punjab, and says that it is the duty of the community to tell Government that this is its irreducible minimum. The Sikhs have never resorted to agitation, but they have realised now that only those who agitate can get anything. They should set up a strong agitation, so that Government may come to know that they will not keep quiet in the event of their legitimate rights not being granted to them. If their share of representation is not increased, the very life of their community will be in great danger.

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(g) The *Pindi Mail* of the 4th March writes:—"India is split up into not three or four but into hundreds of sects. Should each sect then put forward a demand for separate electorates and separate representation? For logically there is nothing to justify the grant in one case and the withholding in another. The principle of communal representation must, therefore, be treated as a matter of temporary expediency only, as a necessary evil which should be done away with as early as practicable. In our view the fixing of a time limit is essential, where the existing conditions render the grant of communal representation incumbent, or the situation may be reviewed after a period of ten years, the parties being at the same time given to understand that what has been granted to them might be taken away under changed conditions of Indian policy."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The financial statement.

9. (a) Commenting on the financial statement for 1920-21, the *Tribune* of the 3rd March writes:—"In a poor country like India the two things, apart from expenditure on objects of public utility and social advancement, that one usually and anxiously looks for in every new financial statement are (i) whether it affords any relief to the poor. . . . . There is no relief of any kind that we can see, though there is a surplus of £2 million provided for in the budget. . . . . The rapid and phenomenal growth of military expenditure during the last few years and the tendency towards further growth must cause the gravest concern to the public. It is poor consolation to India to be told in the same breath that the Government is observing the strictest economy, and that 'if India is to maintain in an efficient state an army of the strength required for the adequate defence of her frontier, the cost of the military services will, in future, be much in excess of the sum which we have been accustomed to allot in our budget for the purpose.' The Hon'ble [the Finance] Member cannot be unaware that the Indian public have never accepted the view that the whole of the present Indian army is needed for India's own purposes, or that it is at all fair to saddle India with the whole of the cost of maintaining this army. Nor can he hope to persuade one single individual in India, who is both independent and has a proper idea of things, that an expenditure of £40 million on defence, not to go beyond the figure provided for in the present budget, out of a total revenue of only £92 million, is anything else than disproportionately heavy or that it is not absolutely beyond India's power to bear."

(b) Elsewhere the paper says:—"Having regard to the rapid and phenomenal increase in India's own military expenditure, an expenditure involving partial injustice to the Indian tax-payer, because it should be borne partially by the Imperial exchequer, and also to the fact that during the current year India has had to incur an expenditure of about £15 million on the Afghan war and the frontier operations, we are decidedly of opinion that both the items provisionally entered in the financial statement, one under the revised estimates, the other under the budget for the ensuing year, under the head "further contribution to the war" should be definitely eliminated. The offer of this further contribution was subject to two conditions, one of which has admittedly not been fulfilled, while even as regards the other the position to our mind is not free from doubt. In any case the state of our finance clearly is not such as to make it either necessary or desirable for us to go beyond the terms of the original offer. According to those terms the offer no longer stands; it should, therefore, be definitely withdrawn. It must be said in fairness to the Finance Member that he has left this matter wholly in the hands of the non-official members, though for our part we should have preferred its being left in the hands only of the elected element in the Council. We can only hope that the independent members, whether Indian or European, will take a firm stand in this matter, and will not allow the interests of the tax-payer to be subordinated to any other consideration."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Press Act.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 28th February writes:—"[The Hon'ble Mr. Patel's] question on the Press Act, in the [Imperial Council] elicited from the Government a reply which affords the first indication of a readiness on the part of the Government to adopt a less unreasonable attitude in this matter. The reply was to the effect that although the Government did not propose to repeal the Press Act, they would examine the suggestions for its amendment made by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy. We have always thought that the Press Act is one of those measures that have to be ended and not mended, because its very fundamental principle is vicious. But if we cannot have what we want, it would surely be something if the Government agreed so to modify the Act as to remove some of its most obnoxious features. But whatever view the Government may take regarding the Act itself, there can be but one opinion regarding the absolute necessity and desirability of suspending its operation for the time being. We have already referred more than once to that part of the proclamation in which His Majesty calls upon both the Government and the people to do every thing in their power to efface all traces of past bitterness, and have said that properly interpreted His Majesty's words constitute a clear direction to the Government to suspend, for the time, the operation of all such restrictive measures as the Press Act, and the cancellation, wherever possible, of the actions already taken under them. That this view is not confined only to non-officials like ourselves is shown by the fact that at least three of the Local Governments have taken steps to cancel some of the actions taken by them under the Press Act. . . . We see absolutely no reason why other Local Governments should not take a leaf out of the book of these three Governments, and why the Government of India itself, one of whose most important duties is to co-ordinate the policies of the different provincial Governments in matters of common interest, should not take steps to impress upon the provincial Governments concerned the equal necessity and desirability of putting a proper construction upon the King's gracious words and giving full effect to them."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 1st March:—"We are sorry we cannot congratulate the Government on their refusal even in the twentieth century to liberate the press from its fetters, though we are gratefully conscious of the fact that a promise has been held out to examine the suggestions for its amendment. The amendments if fully carried out may purge the Act of some of its most obnoxious elements, but, in the meantime, is it too much to expect that the Local Governments like that of the Punjab, which have not yet seen their way to take action in view of the King's proclamation, will follow the lead of the Governments of Burma, Madras and Behar and Orissa, and cancel orders requiring the deposit of securities and order the return of deposits."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 6th March says:—"We have said that the Press Act is one of those obnoxious measures that have to be ended, if only because they cannot be mended. The difficulty of dealing with such an Act by means of an amending measure is shown by a cursory examination of the suggestions recently made by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, suggestions which the Government of India have promised to consider. . . . The only remedy lies in the total repeal of the Act, and in leaving the press to be dealt with as all other classes and sections of the community are dealt with. The arms of the ordinary law, including the law of libel, of sedition, and of contempt is long enough in India, and properly and judiciously administered it is more than equal to its task. If, however, a remedy on the lines of that provided for in the Press Act were really deemed necessary, it would be easy to have it by repealing the present Act, and having in its place a small measure, defining objectionable matter as sedition is defined in section 124-A, and providing for the trial of the alleged offenders not by a court which knows nothing of the peculiar and extremely difficult conditions in which journalism is conducted in this country but by their peers. It is only if these suggestions were added to those of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer that 'the keenly felt grievance' would be largely removed, and the press would have a fair measure of freedom. Without these the amended Act, while theoretically a better measure than the present Act, would in practice remain as obnoxious and as serious an obstacle to the development of a healthy and independent press and to the proper discharge of its duties by that press as the latter."

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

The Punjab disturbances.

11. (*a*) *Insaf* of the 28th February says that the public entertained the strong hope that the appeals filed by the twenty-one persons convicted in the Amritsar riot case would be accepted by the Privy Council. The news of the rejection of these appeals has come like a bolt from the blue. Now that the highest judicial tribunal has pronounced its decision, no legal relief is available for the convicts. His Excellency the Viceroy should exercise his prerogative of mercy and thereby maintain the spirit of tranquillity which has begun to manifest itself in the country. By so doing Lord Chelmsford can make amends for some past shortcomings on his part. Should he, however, fail to realise the importance of the opportunity, all public leaders—both moderate and extremist—should point out to His Majesty that the present is a unique occasion for the exercise of royal clemency. The royal proclamation and the lenient policy of Sir Edward Maclagan have greatly changed the condition of the Punjab, and it was hoped that hearts would become thoroughly tranquil in a few weeks. The Indian and British Governments should feel the pulse of the public and act with the greatest statesmanship.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 28th February says that the people were in hopes that the Privy Council would have the wisdom to announce that, in view of the royal proclamation, it did not wish to proceed with the appeals and was directing the appellants to be forthwith released. They felt confident that justice would be done to the accused and the measures resorted to by Government declared to have been illegal. It is a pity that this should not have been done.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 28th February says that the decision will be received with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, nay, dread. It means that cases which occured, say, as far back as the year 1899, can be tried by martial law courts in 1920. This being so, how can any one regard himself as safe? The finding of the Privy Council will be certain to cause feelings of indignation throughout the length and breadth of the country.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*d*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 1st March publishes a communicated article, which states that the Privy Council's judgment has profoundly disappointed the whole public of Amritsar. The people expected that the appeals would be accepted, that the Hunter Committee's report would reveal the truth, that tyrants would meet their deserts, and that the aggrieved would get justice. The Privy Council's decision has, however, dashed all their hopes to the ground.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 2nd March:—"If, as we firmly believe, it is the intention of the authorities to exercise royal clemency to the prisoners in the Amritsar riot case, we sincerely hope the action will be taken as early as circumstances permit. That the decision of the Privy Council has evoked a feeling of the keenest disappointment all over the province, the Local Government at least, which is or ought to be in touch with the public mind, must be aware.... We do appeal to the Government with all the strength and earnestness at our command to enlist this feeling in their favour, in favour of the noble end which they have placed before themselves, that of restoring the old-time happy relations between the Government and the people, by a timely and statesmanlike announcement."

(*f*) "S. K. M." writes to the *Tribune* of the 29th February under the heading "The Privy Council judgment and the colour line":—"There can be no doubt that the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Amritsar National Bank case has produced a feeling akin to dismay in the minds of the people. We fancied that we lived under a constitutional Government, but we now learn to our grief that there is no end or limitation set to the ordinance-making powers of the Governor-General-in-Council under section 72 of the Government of India Act, 1915, and that the application of Ordinance No. IV of 1919 bringing the whole criminal law of India within the purview of a martial law commission was *intra vires*. But this is not all. Speaking with the utmost deference in regard to a judicial pronouncement of one of the highest courts of the Empire, one still feels constrained to point out that the judgment, as it were, adds insult to an injury, putting a construction upon section 65 of the Government of India Act, 1915, which, whatever be its legal merits, has the net effect of drawing a colour line." [The writer then enters into a detailed examination, and concludes as follows :—]" It seems that after the Privy Council decision 'the unwritten laws and constitution' are to be only for the benefit of European-born subjects and that Indian-born subjects are excluded from its provisions."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(g The *Desh* of the 3rd March asks how Government arrived at the amount of the compensation to be paid to Miss Sherwood. Besides, will others also, who received injuries or whose relations were killed, be compensated ? It is obvious that the compensation will, in every case, come out of the pockets of Indians. This being so, there should be some fixed rates. The paper concludes by asking whether the injuries received by Miss Sherwood demand the large compensation offered to her.

DHARM (Lahore); Karm Chand, editor.

(h). The *Dharm* of the 1st March says that Government has shown no intention of paying even a farthing to the survivors of the Indians who were killed at Amritsar during the April disturbances. It should desist from compensating the Europeans concerned also. If a few Europeans were killed or wounded at Amritsar, 2,000 or 2,500 Indians also were shot there. The dictates of humanity demand that no distinction should be made between a white and a black man, and that both should be regarded as equal British subjects. Indians have suffered a heavy loss of life : their pockets also should not be emptied in order to fill the purses of a few Europeans. A new era is now about to dawn, and it can prove a success only if all bitterness between the rulers and the ruled is removed.

Canal officers and magisterial powers.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Mular Singh, editor.

12. The *Jat Gazette* of the 25th February says that the investiture with magisterial powers of Deputy Collectors and Divisional Officers in the Irrigation Department is a source of great inconvenience for the *zamindar* concerned. In the first place, canal officers can spare very little time for magisterial work and, therefore, consider it only of secondary importance. To make matters worse, their knowledge of the law and procedure is very poor. Section 203 finds no place on their Code of Criminal Procedure: they abstain from dismissing a complaint without issuing summons for the appearance of the accused. The number of corrupt Deputy Collectors is larger than that of Extra Assistant Commissioners of the same character. To dismiss a complaint under section 203 without summoning the accused means pecuniary loss to them. Nor is this all ; canal officers are almost always on tour, and the parties and their witnesses have not infrequently to travel twenty or thirty miles to attend court. And when a case comes up for hearing, they are told to wait till the next day, when the hearing is postponed to some other date. In view of all this, canal officers should not be invested with magisterial powers ; but if this is impracticable, steps should be taken to remove the above complaints. The number of postponements should be reduced and the cases should, as far as possible, be tried at the headquarters of canal officers.

Difficulties of agriculturists.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

13. **One MUZAFFAR KHAN of Jalalpur writing to the *Aftab* of the 28th February says** that the great European war and the Punjab disturbances must have shown to Government that the agriculturists of this province are loyal subjects of the Crown. They are, however, labouring under several disadvantages, some of which are detailed below :—

(1) Land revenue is daily on the increase. In certain cases, canal-irrigated areas yield an income less than even Government's dues in their respect. The water rate also is very high and calls for a substantial reduction.

(2) Every year Government sells land on the Lower Bari Doab Canal. As, however, *zamindars* cannot afford to buy it, non-agricultural classes generally secure the whole of it. This is most injurious for agriculturists. In future no land should be sold, the whole area available being divided among *zamindars*. It is unfair that they should work as labourers, but non-agriculturists should own land.

(3) Unallotted areas of land are not leased out to *zamindars* alone. At present even a cobbler, who may ingratiate himself with the

officers concerned, can obtain land on lease on the Lower Bari Doab Canal.

(4) The payment of a *nazrana* is now required from *zamindar* grantees of land. The practice should be discontinued.

(5) Under the existing conditions, Zaildars and Lambardars cannot become popular with the masses in carrying out official orders. Their powers and emoluments call for a marked increase.

The writer further suggests that something should be done to relieve *zamindars* of the tour expenses of officials, and that there should be a *panchayat* in every *tahsil* to decide local cases. In conclusion, he says that *zamindars* should regularly hold annual meetings and make a united demand for their rights. They should also have an organ of their own.

INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

Assessment of income-tax at Gujranwala.

14. *Insaf* of the 3rd March states that it has received a letter from Gujranwala alleging that certain income-tax officials there have been conducting themselves in a most improper manner in making assessments. They exact bribes from people by bringing undue pressure to bear on them in diverse ways The incidents mentioned in the communication are not only regrettable but even disgraceful. It is said that the men concerned complained to the Deputy Commissioner, but that he did not listen to them. The editor is inquiring into the allegations made to him and will publish the letter in full on the completion of his inquiry. The authorities should pay prompt attention to the matter.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

Cow-sacrifice.

15(*a*) The *Aftab* of the 1st March says that the Muslim League adopted a resolution at its Amritsar session to the effect that, in view of the Hindu-Muslim unity, the Muhammadans should, as far as possible, avoid sacrificing kine. Some people are of opinion that a resolution affecting the religion of the Muhammadans should not have been passed by a political body like the League. There is, however, nothing offensive in the wording of the resolution, and the League has done nothing beyond advising the Muslim community. It does not ask the Muhammadans to give up cow-sacrifice altogether. We are, nevertheless, of opinion that the Hindu-Muslim unity should not interfere with the religious affairs of either party, as this is likely to inflame popular passions. As for the resolution in question, it is practicable only in the case of well-to-do Muhammadans, and we hope that they will act up to it as far as possible.

(*b*) The paper also publishes a communication from one FAKIR SHAH ABDUL HALIM of Behar, who says that the League's resolution interferes, with a religious duty of the Muhammadans. With a view to placing the Hindu-Muslim union on a firm footing, the writer made certain proposals to Mr. Chhotani of Bombay. These were, after some discussion, agreed to by Maulana Abdul Bari and are to the following effect:—The sacrifice of kine on the occasion of the *'Id* is a religious duty of the Muhammadans and no one has the right to prevent them from performing it. The Hindus also should not, in view of the daily slaughter of kine, feel offended at the annual sacrifice of cows by the Muhammadans. The latter should of course perform the sacrifice in a way not likly to wound the susceptibilities of the former. The Hindu leaders and the National Congress should devise means to end the oppression and atrocities perpetrated by Hindus on Muhammadans on the occasion of the *'Id*. Neither community should interfere in the religious rites of the other in future. Maulana Abdul Bari added that the Hindu-Muslim unity was not meant to injure Islam, and that social intercourse between the two communities was possible only if either abstained from interfering in the religious affairs of the other.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 3rd March the *Desh* writes that it is extremely sorry to see that efforts are being made in certain quarters to nullify the resolution in question. A correspondent writing to the *Hamdam* says that the Hindu-Muhammadan unity, which came into existence with the Rowlatt Bill and was perfected on the caliphate day, has been destroyed by this resolution. The arguments advanced by him in support of his contention cannot but surprise his readers. He thinks that the identification of the

Hindus with the Caliphate question is conducive to this unity, but that the conduct of the Muhammadans in giving up cow-sacrifice is calculated to destroy it! His bigotry makes him forget that the question of kine-killing is not purely religious. It is an economic question in which both the Hindus and Muhammadans are interested. In conclusion, the paper deprecates the conduct of those newspapers which would embitter the relations between the two communities.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Japanese trade in India.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

16. The *Shanti* of the 28th February says that India no longer apprehends an invasion by Russia, but that she is certainly afraid of Japan. Besides, trade rivalry on the part of Japan will prove far more dangerous for Indians than a war with Russia would have done, seeing that they cannot boast of capital and factories and are not also free in the matter of trade. The progress achieved by Japan is certain to assume the form of a menace for India one day. She is undoubtedly our friend to-day, still we shall be guilty of negligence, if we do not improve the economic and industrial condition of our country.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 6th March 1920.

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INSAF (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

Assessment of income-tax at Gujranwala.

14. *Insaf* of the 3rd March states that it has received a letter from Gujranwala alleging that certain income-tax officials there have been conducting themselves in a most improper manner in making assessments. They exact bribes from people by bringing undue pressure to bear on them in diverse ways The incidents mentioned in the communication are not only regrettable but even disgraceful. It is said that the men concerned complained to the Deputy Commissioner, but that he did not listen to them. The editor is inquiring into the allegations made to him and will publish the letter in full on the completion of his inquiry. The authorities should pay prompt attention to the matter.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

Cow-sacrifice.

15(*a*) The *Aftab* of the 1st March says that the Muslim League adopted a resolution at its Amritsar session to the effect that, in view of the Hindu-Muslim unity, the Muhammadans should, as far as possible, avoid sacrificing kine. Some people are of opinion that a resolution affecting the religion of the Muhammadans should not have been passed by a political body like the League. There is, however, nothing offensive in the wording of the resolution, and the League has done nothing beyond advising the Muslim community. It does not ask the Muhammadans to give up cow-sacrifice altogether. We are, nevertheless, of opinion that the Hindu-Muslim unity should not interfere with the religious affairs of either party, as this is likely to inflame popular passions. As for the resolution in question, it is practicable only in the case of well-to-do Muhammadans, and we hope that they will act up to it as far as possible.

(*b*) The paper also publishes a communication from one FAKIR SHAH ABDUL HALIM of Behar, who says that the League's resolution interferes, with a religious duty of the Muhammadans. With a view to placing the Hindu-Muslim union on a firm footing, the writer made certain proposals to Mr. Chhotani of Bombay. These were, after some discussion, agreed to by Maulana Abdul Bari and are to the following effect:—The sacrifice of kine on the occasion of the *'Id* is a religious duty of the Muhammadans and no one has the right to prevent them from performing it. The Hindus also should not, in view of the daily slaughter of kine, feel offended at the annual sacrifice of cows by the Muhammadans. The latter should of course perform the sacrifice in a way not likly to wound the susceptibilities of the former. The Hindu leaders and the National Congress should devise means to end the oppression and atrocities perpetrated by Hindus on Muhammadans on the occasion of the *'Id*. Neither community should interfere in the religious rites of the other in future. Maulana Abdul Bari added that the Hindu-Muslim unity was not meant to injure Islam, and that social intercourse between the two communities was possible only if either abstained from interfering in the religious affairs of the other.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 3rd March the *Desh* writes that it is extremely sorry to see that efforts are being made in certain quarters to nullify the resolution in question. A correspondent writing to the *Hamdam* says that the Hindu-Muhammadan unity, which came into existence with the Rowlatt Bill and was perfected on the caliphate day, has been destroyed by this resolution. The arguments advanced by him in support of his contention cannot but surprise his readers. He thinks that the identification of the

Hindus with the Caliphate question is conducive to this unity, but that the conduct of the Muhammadans in giving up cow-sacrifice is calculated to destroy it! His bigotry makes him forget that the question of kine-killing is not purely religious. It is an economic question in which both the Hindus and Muhammadans are interested. In conclusion, the paper deprecates the conduct of those newspapers which would embitter the relations between the two communities.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Japanese trade in India.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

16. The *Shanti* of the 28th February says that India no longer apprehends an invasion by Russia, but that she is certainly afraid of Japan. Besides, trade rivalry on the part of Japan will prove far more dangerous for Indians than a war with Russia would have done, seeing that they cannot boast of capital and factories and are not also free in the matter of trade. The progress achieved by Japan is certain to assume the form of a menace for India one day. She is undoubtedly our friend to-day, still we shall be guilty of negligence, if we do not improve the economic and industrial condition of our country.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 6th March 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

INTIKHAB, (Gujranwala); Wali Ullah, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Intikhab* of the 29th February asks whether the Allies could have achieved victory in the war if Muhammadans had not unhesitatingly shed their blood for them. The latter constituted the bulk of the troops who marched on Turkish territory and brought the Turks to their knee. Now, however, that German militarism has been overthrown and the greatest Islamic power has been vanquished by Muhammadans themselves, the west does not display the least regard for Muslim feelings. The Muhammadans took up arms against their caliph in the belief that the war was not a religious one and the caliphate would remain intact on its termination. They find, however, that the Allies are bent upon dismembering the Ottoman empire and do not consider the Turks deserving even of the concessions granted to Austria, Germany and Bulgaria. They also see that a present of Turkish possession is being made even to those states which had not to fight Turkey in the war, and that Greeks are being landed in Smyrna to massacre Muhammadans in their own home and to raze their villages and houses to the ground. It is still more surprising that the Allied fleet, which is anchored at Smyrna, witnesses the oppression practised by Christians, but makes no move. It matters little whether Christians brutally massacre aged and sick Muhammadans, as also Muslim children and women, Should, however, the Turks even deport a rebellious, seditious and evil-minded Armenian, a veritable commotion is raised throughout Europe. But when Greecian beasts put oppressed Muhammadans to the sword, their conduct is held to be justifiable. And if the English drop bombs from aeroplanes on loyal and unarmed Indians, the incident is considered to be an act in complete conformity with the law. While the territories of the Christian powers which took part in the war remain intact, proposals are being made to partition the possessions of Turkey? Can there be a grosser act of oppression than this? Such things are being done simply because Turkey is a Muhammadan power. But although she may be swept out of existence, Islam can never be obliterated.

9 APR 1920

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd March says that a bigoted agitation is being carried on in England regarding the future of Constantinople. Even the *Civil and Military Gazette* has had to condemn the attitude which some narrow-minded Englishmen have taken up in the matter. How regrettable it is that the violation of the Premier's pledges regarding Turkey should be sought to be justified, and the wishes of ten crore Muhammadans should be ignored. Since Christian nations have been allowed the right of self-determination, justice demands that the Turks also should not be deprived of this privilege. It is very sad to see religious bigotry overcoming justice and equity in these days of enlightenment. The charge of Armenian atrocities levelled against the Turks is only an *ex-parte* decision. The Turks are not a bloodthirsty people ; indeed, they are very merciful by nature. Had they wished to extirpate their non-Muslim subjects, they could have easily done so during the long period of their rule without any one daring to interfere with them. Their humanity and religious toleration did not, however, let them undertake this task. Of course political conspiracies and other mischievous actions by the Armenians compelled the Turks to take strong measures against the former. The alleged Armenian atrocities are only an excuse invented by bigoted Christians to agitate against Turkey. It is inexplicable, besides, why the atrocities perpetrated by the Greeks in Symrna are being ignored ?

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th March says that the Supreme Council's decision to let the Turks remain in Constantinople has afforded great satisfaction in Paris. In England, however, it has been disapproved in certain circles, although she should have been glad at it, being the greatest Muhammadan power in the world. It is to be regretted that some prominent Englishmen should set up an agitation against the decision referred to. Continuing, the paper says that it is mere obstinacy to try to give a bad name to the Turkish Government. Again, Lord Bryce's assertion that Constantinople is a Christian city is wholly without a foundation. The Muhammadans there outnumber their Christian fellow-townsmen. Moreover, the existence in it of a large number of mosques, shrines, holy places and *waqfs*, as also the fact of its being the seat of the caliphate invests that city with the dignity of the metropolis of the Islamic world.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th March says that the resolutions adopted by the Khilafat committee, Calcutta, indicate that things are now assuming a serious aspect. The Muhammadans have a right to constitutional agitation, but if they make a mistake likely to prove subversive of peace, the result may prove very serious and constitutional agitation itself might be stopped. It is inadvisable to inaugurate a boycott of British goods, although it will not matter if this is done as an extreme measure. Similarly, if the Muhammadans have the necessary courage, they may resort to passive resistance in the matter of Government service with a view to give expression to their feelings of extreme resentment, although there is no hope of any large section of them doing even this much. This action on their part cannot, be held objectionable in law. It is, however, treading on very dangerous ground to send messages to soldiers in the form of resolutions, and the practice had better be altogether abandoned. Again, those who speak of seventy millions of the Muhammadans migrating from India do not realise that even seven of them, let alone seven crore, cannot do so. Where will they go to and how ? As to the sum of three million rupees asked for for the Khilafat deputation, it is doubtful whether it will be an easy thing to collect the amount. But suppose that it is got together and the Muhammadans succeed in informing the whole world of their demands. The final decision regarding the caliphate will still rest with those who, even after a complete dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, are expressing indignantion at the retention of Constantinople by the Turks. The Muhammadans and their sympathisers should employ only such methods of agitation as are lawful and constitutional, and should lay their sentiments before the British public, which is their real ruler and has the power to determine the fate of Turkey. In conclusion, the paper says that the light thrown by the Premier in the Commons on the decision in regard to the Turkish question shows that even if the Turks retain Constantinople, they will exercise full political control neither in that city nor anywhere else.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(e) The *Vakil* of the 5th March refers to Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech on the Turkish question, and says that it throws light on the principles underlying the peace treaty with the Turks. It also shows that the larger portion of the Ottoman empire is to be wrested from the Turks. Why? Because they are a tyrannical and barbarous race wholly unacquainted with the art of ruling other nations, which constitutes a permanent danger to the peace of Europe! This estimate of the Turks is grossly fictitious: Christian writers and statesmen themselves bear testimony to the contrary. They say how the Turks are most popular with their subjects, and why a bad name is sought to be given to them. But even if it be assumed that they have got all the faults laid at their door, still the question arises whether it is necessary to dismember their empire and set free the non-Turkish peoples under their rule? If the reply is in the affirmative, we would ask whether any one has listened to the Muslim population of Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece, Crete, Servia and Bosnia, which has always been the victim of murder and rapine? It is these things which have incensed the whole of the Islamic world, and it is this differential treatment which has convulsed the Muhammadan sentiment. We hope that foresight and prudence will triumph over the present intentions of the Allies, and that these powers will abstain from dismembering Turkey. At the same time we expect the Muhammadans to do nothing in their frenzy likely to spoil the whole thing and bring repentance in its train.

(f) "A MUHAMMADAN" writing to the *Vakil* of the 6th March says that Lord Bryce and some other statesmen go the length even of asserting that it will in no way affect the Muhammadans if the Turks are made to evacuate Constantinople. This means that the Prophet's followers in this country will not feel displeased in the event of the Turks having to leave Constantinople. As a matter of fact, however, not only they but the Hindus also have been urging that Constantinople as well as Mesopotamia should be left to the Turks, and that the Khalifat-ul-Musilmin should be allowed to retain his pre-war status. Some Englishmen assert that the Muhammadans do not care a straw for the caliphate question, although the latter are anxiously watching how Europe will decide the fate of an Islamic power like Turkey and what position is going to be assigned to the caliph. The hearts of the Muhammadans have been lacerated and the world is a house of mourning to them. It is alleged that the present outcry is the work only of a few leaders, but that the general public cares nothing for the caliphate question. This is not so. The public have been keenly discussing the question, and no one can gauge the depth of their feeling.

(g) Elsewhere the paper says that the agitation started in England against the Turks is as sudden as it is surprising. It is inexplicable why the volcano has begun to beltch fire all of a sudden, and that also after the Aga Khan, the Maharaja of Bikanir, Lord Sinha, Mr. Basu and certain other influential gentlemen, who are particularly interested in the Turkish question, have returned to India. People are asking whether the agitation is natural and in conformity with Christian principles, and whether it has an international understanding at its back. Apparently the Home Government and the British public, nay, even members of Parliament are as yet ignorant of Islamic views and sentiments in regard to Turkey. This is due chiefly to the fact that the Government of India and the India Office have not laid the demands of the Muhammadans, nay, Indians, concerning Turkey before the Home Government in their entirety. Is it not the foremost duty of the Government of India to remove the serious misunderstanding under which the British Government and public are labouring?

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(h) The *Pindi Mail* of the 7th March writes:—"It will amount to a gross and flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination, for which the Allies say they rightly drew the sword, if the Turks are bundled out of Europe. It may be that the Turks committed an act of supreme folly in having entered into the war without the least provocation and without the least excuse. So did Germany, and so did Austria. They have not been dismembered. The Allies never said that vindictiveness would characterize the after-war settlement by the victors. Let wanton aggression by all means have its meed, but the more or less complete political extinction, which the deprivation of the Turks of their most important city would involve, certainly lacks justification from any point of view. It is, therefore, satisfactory to note that, in regard to at least one very important aspect of the question of Turkish settlement, the Allies have veered round to the correct view and decided to let Constantinople remain with the Turks."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*i*) The *Liberal* of the 8th March writes:—"The agitation in certain quarters in England against Turkey and the demand for the expulsion of the Turkish Government from Constantinople take no note of the intense feeling in India on this subject . . . This agitation headed by a statesman of the rank of Lord Robert Cecil will do a great deal of harm to England. The other Allies, such as France or Italy, have not joined this agitation and it places England in a very unenviable position . . . While sympathising with the legitimate aspirations of our Moslem countrymen, we think we shall be failing in our duty if we did not sound a note of warning at this stage. To a peace-loving people it never pays to be unconstitutional and it is, therefore, absolutely essential that the agitation over the Khilafat question were kept within reasonable bounds. The resolution adopted at the Calcutta meeting and approved at one or two other places cannot take the case of Turkey a whit further and may possibly do incalculable harm to the progress of India. It is, therefore, of extreme importance that organisers of protest meetings throughout the country should see that public indignation or wrath over the grim possibilities of the future is not allowed to run amock, but is kept under check and control."

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*j*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 5th March publishes a communication, in the course of which the writer says that if the caliphate question is not decided in conformity with the wishes of the Muhammadans and the agitation set up by clergymen leads the British Government to make serious mistakes in regard to Turkey, there will be a terrible conflagration in the east, which will destroy the verdant vallies of Europe. The Indian Muhammadans are truly loyal to the King-Emperor and lakhs of them afforded practical proof of this by laying down their lives in the war. They will not of course raise the standard of rebellion in the event of the death nell of Isalm being rung. They will, however, certainly feel displeased with His Majesty, and will migrate from this country, it being enjoyed on them to prefer religion to worldly prosperity.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

Tribal raids.

2. (*a*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 26th February (received on the 5th March) says that the tribesmen have reduced the frontier Hindus to a very wretched condition. We wonder how dreadful and painful incidents like those perpetrated by the former can occur under British rule. Our leaders should look into the matter and send a deputation of Muhammadans to the frontier to end the troubles of the Hindus there. We also respectfully but strongly pray to Government to treat its Hindu subjects like children and not to tolerate their subjection to such gross oppression.

LEADER (Lahore), Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 3rd March publishes a communication from "ONE IN THE KNOW". The writer states that neither Hindus nor Muhammadans on the frontier are immune from tribal raids, which are due to inefficient administration by Government. Not a single night passes on which the raider do not cause some injury to a village or town. The sole reason for this is that the subsidy which used to be paid to the tribesmen and was their only means of support has been stopped by Government, and they are not allowed to enter, or do any work in, British territory. It is, therefore, Government which is responsible for the depredations in question. It could, if it so desired, put an end to them.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Chhotu Ram, editor.

The reforms.

3. (*a*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 3rd March strongly appeals to Government to allot to the rural classes the share of representation proposed for them by the Hallifax committee. It says that if this is not done, the rural population will not keep quiet, and there will arise a new situation, *viz.*, in future emergencies villagers will not make sacrifices like those which they made during the great war.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 7th March writes:—"There is no gainsaying the fact that considerable misgivings exist even in well-informed circles about the constitution of the reformed Punjab Legislative Council that will be inaugurated by the Government of India Act, 1919. It is not merely the inadequate character of the representation given to the urban areas that has given rise to these misgivings, although the exclusion of such important and flourishing cities as Lahore and Amritsar from having a separate franchise. . . . is bad enough. A more serious evil is the manner in which the new theory of the so-called antagonism between the urban and rural classes is being trotted out to serve the ends of reaction and retrogression. The genesis of the new theory is, of course, well-known. It was discovered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, when he found that the Lucknow compact had given a death blow to the old theory of Hindu-Muhammadan antagonism. The latter had been empolyed for a long time as a very convenient weapon in the hands of reactionaries to check all measures of progress and reform, and when that game was played out, the resourceful ex-satrap thought that this alleged new antagonism could be most conveniently exploited to serve the same purpose, at least in his own province. A little inquiry will, however, show that the so-called antagonism between the rural and urban classes is nothing but a myth. The past history of the Punjab Legislative Council itself shows that members from the urban areas have been among the most vigorous champions of rural interests." [Next the paper cites a few instances in support of this assertion, and concludes as follows :]—"With such record at the credit of the members from urban areas, it is hard to see how and where the so-called antagonism comes in."

(c) The *Tribune* of the 10th March writes:—"The prospect with which we in the Punjab are at present face to face is that of having a Legislative Council the over-whelming majority of whose elected members would be neither extremist nor moderate but would belong to a class having no nationalist complexion at all. To a certain extent this was inevitable. . . . But it is not with what was inevitable that we quarrel, but with that part of the proposed arrangement. . . . which, as far as one can see, is clearly designed to keep the political classes as far as possible out of the Council. One of the proposals we have specially in view when we say this is that requiring a residential qualification in candidates. The obvious effect of this proposal would be to complete the process begun by the division of seats into urban and rural, to carry it to its utmost logical conclusion. Not only must the rural electors have the largest number of elective seats, but they must be represented by one of themselves. At first sight it might seem that this is an ideally perfect arrangement with which no true democrat ought to quarrel. But only a little reflection shows that the arrangement, so democratic in its form, is in essence an utterly unjustifiable interference with the freedom of electors. . . . It amounts in practice to saying to electors whom they shall not elect, and to whom among the prospective candidates their choice shall be restricted. There is obviously nothing very democratic about this denial of freedom to the electors! But the theoretical objection to the proposal pales into insignificance by the side of the mischief which it is bound to do in practice. It will effectively prevent the electors from being represented in the Council by the only men who in the present stage of the country's development, can be trusted to represent them properly and do the most good to them. . . . If the rural electors want to elect no one outside their own set, they can always do so. No rule or regulation is necessary to make men realise their own interest or protect it where they are their own master. . . . Is it wrong to assert that in the present case the residential qualification is needed not to help the electors to safeguard their own interests, but to make them, so long as they do not realise own interests, play into the hands of the reactionaries, both among themselves and in the bureaucracy? . . . The whole thing is absurd on the face of it, and while it would admirably serve the purpose for which it is clearly intended, that of keeping the bureauracy's hold upon the legislature intact, it would manifestly serve no other purpose."

(d) The *Tribune* of the 12th March publishes a letter from CHHOTU RAM, B.A., LL.B., of Rohtak. The correspondent endeavours to reply to the paper's adverse criticism of the proposed constitution of the new Punjab Legislative Council, and concludes as follows:—"Rural representatives will not lag behind their urban colleagues in advancing the best interests of the motherland in a spirit of fearless patriotism without losing balance of mind or sobriety of judgment in a craze for popularity. It may also be noticed that the representation proposed for rural areas is neither excessive nor unreasonable. In fact it falls far short of their due share as calculated on the basis of their numerical strength or on the basis of the contribution which they make to the public exchequer. However, in view of the relative intellectual and political advancement of the urban and rural populations I will not grudge the temporary advantage conceded to the former in the present recommendations for the distribution of seats between urban and rural areas. But the population of rural tracts has a right to expect a corresponding spirit of compromise on the part of the advocates of urban interests. Let the Council as composed under the new arrangements have a trial. If rural representatives in it fail to rise to the occasion or to acquit themselves worthily, it will be time to denounce them. In the meantime let nothing be said or done which may have the effect of dividing rural and urban representatives into two hostile camps or of creating avoidable mutual misundestanding and distrust."

(e) MR. RAJ KRISHAN, M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Karnal, writing to the *Tribune* of the 13th March says:—"That the Hallifax committee have entirely shirked its responsibility to the wage earning classes, will be clear from a cursory perusal of the recommendations made by them on this point. They say, 'the Committee thought that in the Punjab no special representation was required for the urban wage-earning or the depressed classes'. No reasons have been vouchsafed to us for this astounding proposition. It is going directly against the wishes and recommendations of the joint select committee, and if this recommendation is accepted and endorsed by the Government of India great injustice will be done to a class of people who are as much entitled to vote as any other class. In both the urban and rural areas all income-tax payers have been given a vote, but . . . . a person whose income is less than Rs. 2,000 per annum is not liable to pay income-tax. In plain English this means that the Hallifax committee have by their recommendation deprived a very large class of intellingent persons of the right to vote. This hits the salaried classes the most. There is no reason why an Assistant Surgeon, a Munsif or a Tahsildar or a teacher or clerk in offices, traders and others engaged in commerce and industries and other pursuits of a similar character should not have a vote simply because their income is not more than Rs. 2,000 per annum, while a vote has been secured for a landholder whose income may be much less. . . . If a landowner who possesses or owns land paying Rs. 25 as land revenue is entitled to a vote or if a Lambardar or Sufedposh or Zaildar as such is fit for a vote, why should not a wage earner whose actual income may far exceed that of the Lambardar be given a vote? It is common knowledge that the income of a landholder from land paying Rs. 25 annual land revenue is not more than Rs. 200 or 250; in some cases it may be much less. According to the recommendations of the Hallifax committee such a landholder would be entitled to a vote in the urban area even, as it has been provided that 'any rural qualification would entitle a person to a vote in the urban area'. It is only reasonable that if a person possessing a rural qualification is entitled to a vote in the urban area, the same privilege should be extended to those persons who possess urban qualifications should be entitled to a vote in the rural area if they are otherwise qualified. This matter can be easily arranged by extending the right to vote to persons whose annual income may not be less than Rs. 250 in both rural and urban areas. No doubt it will increase the number of voters, but the increase should be welcomed and not discouraged by the authorities. It will certainly equalise the voting qualifications of the landholders and others who do not own land and who depend upon trade or arts and industries for their living."

(f) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 11th March:—"If the five and a half million voters who forthwith become, though at present only partially, the political masters of the country's destinies, and the much more numerous body who are at present only prospective voters, but who cannot fail to exercise a moral influence which the actual voters shall not be able to ignore, are to do their duty in the best interests of their country . . . . the first and most essential thing for the leaders of the people, the would-be legislators and ministers, is to lose no time in addressing themselves to the all-important task of 'educating' them. And when we speak of education we mean not merely general education . . . . but political education, education that has to be imparted chiefly by the press and the platform . . . . With a view to bringing the masses in direct touch with their leaders . . . . the gospel that has hitherto been preached only to the men and women of cities and towns, that even so has changed the face of political India, has now to be carried to the cottage and the hovel in the remote villages where the nation lives. Only so can the Reform Act, such as it is, be made a success . . . . And if this is the bounden duty of political leaders in all parts of India, it is all the more so in the Punjab where, owing to circumstances too well known to need specific mention, the bulk of the present as well as the prospective voters have yet to be brought within the current of self-conscious national life. Upon a large, if not the largest, part of this electorate the hold of the bureaucratic system, that is, of an order of things which the reforms scheme is deliberately designed to end decisively and finally, is all but complete, and there are unhappily prominent men among ourselves so blinded by individualistic and temporary self-interest and so deaf to the call of patriotism and of all higher and nobler emotions generally, as to readily play into the hands of every reactionary who has either the desire or the skill to use them as tools. Unless we know our duty and are prompt in addressing ourselves to it, it will be no matter for surprise if the electorate will, in these circumstances, return a large number of men to the Council who for the present will readily dance to the tune set either by district officers or by their superiors at the headquarters. A legislature, the majority of whose members were thus subservient, would clearly be a more potent weapon in the hands of the reactionary elements in the bureaucracy than even their present undivided authority and irresponsible power, and the process of dumb legislators quietly registering the decrees of the executive, so beautiful in its simplicity and its logic, will go on as merrily as ever."

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(*g*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 5th March considers it most disappointing that the Southborough committee recommended the Sikhs for only eight seats on the Punjab Council. We are told that we constitute one-eleventh part of the population of this province and are, therefore, entitled only to the same share of the total representation. We cannot tolerate such absurd arguments at this hour of the day. Did we supply only an eleventh part of the recruits required for the army during the war? On the contrary, Sikhs numbered one-third of the men enlisted. Is then our demand for one-third of the Council seats unreasonable? Do the officials wish to teach us the lesson that in case of their requiring recruits on a future occasion, we should propose to render them only "conditional help"? If Government expects us to help it as we did during the war and wishes us to sacrifice our lives for the sake of righteousness, it should adequately reward our services now, *i.e.*, should grant us the amount of representation asked for by us. It should also acknowledge our right to a third share in every branch of the public service. If the authorities disregard our services now, we shall not have the heart to enlist in the army in future. If they think that population is a necessary factor in the grant of rights, we tell them plainly that in future we will supply recruits only in proportion to our numerical strength. We know how to agitate, but even if we did not do so, the authorities would, by ignoring our rights, teach us the art of agitation. We would submit, however, that our taking to agitation will not have a good result for the military department. We should not, therefore, be forced to resort to agitation. In conclusion, the paper advises the Sikhs to join the Congress and benefit themselves and their province by arriving at a settlement with it in regard to their rights.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh editor.

(*h*) The ***Panch*** of the 28th February (received on the 8th March) asks if the Sikhs are not dumb clay figures, why the allotment to them of so few seats on the Punjab Legislative Council does not impel them to open their lips. The renunciation of political work by communities, it adds, involves them in death. The Sikhs eschewed politics and remained thoroughly loyal, while their leaders devoted themselves to flattering Government officers. They have, however, realised to-day that nothing can be gained by loyalty and flattery alone. It is only by taking an active part in politics that the community can gain anything. Eighty-three thousand Sikh voters will return only eight representatives, but 85,000 Hindu voters will elect as many as eighteen councillors. Could such treatment be accorded to a people having a tongue in their mouth and not wholly lifeless? The Sikhs should raise a strong voice in support of the Sikh League's demand for a third of the seats on the provincial Legislative Council.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Fiscal autonomy.

4. One **BRIJ NARAIN** writes to the *Tribune* of the 11th March :—"A great wrong was done to India in 1879 when she was forced to adopt free trade. Is there any hope of that wrong being righted under the new constitution? Every one knows that public opinion in India is overwhelmingly protectionist. It cannot be doubted that the Indian legislature will truly reflect the protectionist sentiments of the people. But . . . . the executive alone will have the power of making fiscal proposals. Will the Indian members of the Government of India have sufficient influence with their European colleagues to induce them to introduce a Bill with the object of taxing imports of British cotton goods? I can more easily think of a cow flying and of the Ravi flowing backwards than of a protectionist Government of India. Again, we are more or less committed to preference. And yet, as every one knows, it is not the interests of India which require the acceptance by her of the principle of preferential trading. Shall we be able to say 'No' to preference under the new constitution? We may, of course, say, if it pleases us, that the Reform Act 'marks a most welcome step in the development of our fiscal power', but the Reforms Act gives the people of India no control over the tariff. And surely fiscal autonomy means something more than the Secretary of State's non-intervention in India's fiscal policy, or the framing and administration of that policy by an irresponsible Viceroy and his mainly non-Indian executive."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The royal proclamation.

5. The *Liberal* of the 8th March writes :—"Public opinion in India accepted the royal proclamation not merely as a declaration of clemency, but as a statesmanlike pronouncement widely distinguished from the reactionary and repressive policy which had been followed in India, apart altogether from the Punjab horrors of 1919, for a number of years . . . It has been claimed for the Government of India that they have had a full share in the drawing up of the royal proclamation. Without questioning this claim it may be well asked how far the policy of the Government is likely to be influenced by the underlying spirit of the King's message. In reply to questions put in the Imperial Legislative Council it has been stated that the Government have no intention of repealing the Rowlatt Act Neither is the Press Act to be repealed though the Government will consider the modifications suggested by Sir Sivaswami Iyer. It is abundantly apparent, we think, that the royal proclamation has made little difference to the unbending and uncompromising official attitude. It is due to our own efforts that the new era has been proclaimed in India, and, God willing, it will be our duty to make this new epoch of promise a living reality. Our destiny is in our own hands and it is for us to fashion it as we will."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Imperial budget.

6. (*a*) The following is taken from the *Liberal* of the 8th March :—"Much disappointment has been caused in the country by the financial statement introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Hailey in the Imperial Legislative Council. . . There is an actual deficit of 19 crore in the current year... But what is more alarming is the fact that the Finance Member has held out the prospect of spending Rs. 60 crore on military requirements next year... Stupendous allotments have also been made for railway extension, irrigation and the new capital. With the development of these projects we have not the least quarrel. It is also true that no fresh taxes have been levied. But we ask what relief has been provided to the middle classes and the poor for whom the maintenance of life has become a serious problem. Their vital needs—sanitation, education and industry—are starved to feed the great spending departments."

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(*b*) The *Pindi Mail* of the 11th March writes :—"A close examination of the budget .... reveals to the critical student many features, some of which, at any rate, cannot but be viewed with anxiety.... Beneath the wave of seeming prosperity, there are .... dark under currents and cross currents.... The floating debt of 50 crores, or even more, and the consequent unavoidable resort to issue of notes when the most pressing liabilities have to be met, are certainly not sound finance.... Further, the country is sorely in need of funds for the development of her education, for the campaign against disease, and a host of other things. The Finance Member does not help us here."

The Punjab budget.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. (*a*) Writing about the Punjab budget for 1920-21, the *Tribune* of the 9th March makes the following quotation from the Financial Secretary's memorandum :—"The estimated increase of Rs. 11½ lakhs on the revenue side over the Revised of the current year will not provide a sum anything like sufficient for the anticipated expenditure owing to the necessity of not unduly checking the expansion of the growing departments such as Forests, Education, Medical, Agriculture and Civil Works, while at the same time making provision for the very heavy expenditure in the shape of increased pay, travelling and other allowances of all Government servants necessitated by the high cost of living." Commenting the paper says : —"In the absence of details, we cannot express any opinion as to the absolute necessity or desirability of every part of the increased expenditure under every one of the above heads, but speaking generally we are not prepared to grudge any expenditure which the Government may see fit to incur upon most of these objects. Indeed, it is safe to assert that even with the increase now provided for neither education nor sanitation is at all likely to have anything like the measure of attention which they have long deserved and which must be bestowed upon them in the best interests of the people who maintain the Government. Taking the first, for instance, we find that the increased provision includes '4 lakhs for agricultural education, 2 lakhs for the training of teachers, 4 lakhs for building grants to local bodies for vernacular schools, a lakh for the expansion of female education, and a similar sum for the provincialisation of local bodies' high schools and two lakhs towards the cost of a training school for mechanics'. All this is undoubtedly satisfactory as far as it goes, but we believe the figures have only to be reduced to facts for the authorities to see the inadequacy of the provision in relation to the rapidly growing needs of the people. After all the three concrete questions that the public will ask are, (1) how many more schools will it be possible to start with this money; (2) how many more children of a schoolgoing age will it be possible to bring under instruction, and (3) how far will it improve the quality and character of the education imparted, both by diversifying it as well as otherwise? Let the figures be worked out on these bases and it will be seen that the increased provision is far from being 'liberal.'"

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 11th March says that two items in the budget require special mention. A sum of Rs. 18,34,000 will be spent on the Publicity Committee, and the Excise Department will yield an income of Rs. 1,45,00,000. The proposed expenditure will be of absolutely no use, while the anticipated income is shameful. The money that is being wasted on the Publicity Committee can be utilized to meet some more important expenditure. As to the income realised from the Excise Department, it had better be sacrificed. This would undoubtedly reduce Government's income, but it will be certain to improve the morality and health of the people, which are far more valuable and important than the money in question.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Punjab disturbances.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

8. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 2nd March writes :—"The Privy Council has at last pronounced its judgment in the appeals preferred on behalf of 21 persons convicted in the Amritsar riot cases. The decision has come as a surprise and has cast a gloom over all. But it must be remembered that the verdict comes from the highest tribunal of the British Empire and, as such, is the last verdict on the legal issues raised. Although the judgment has gone against the unfortunate convicts, yet it is hoped that prerogative of mercy will save them from the gallows. British statesmanship will not fail to oblige the Indians by extending royal clemency to those condemned to death and other varying sentences."

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 13th March says :—"The sooner the Government announced its decision to extend royal clemency to these prisonors the better it would be both for its own reputation for statemanship and for the peace and contentment of the province. The present anxiety of the public mind is not at all conducive to that restoration of healthy relations between the Government and the people on which Sir Edward Maclagan is believed to have nobly set his heart."

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(c) The *Shanti* of the 6th March praises Miss Sherwood for her refusal to accept the compensation of Rs. 50,000 offered to her by Government. The latter, it adds, had no right to compensate this lady alone. She suffered only physical trouble at the hands of some wicked persons, but several Indian families were destroyed by gun fire, and hundreds of innocent widows and mothers are passing their days in misery.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The post of Extra Assistant Commissioner.

9. Writing about the result of the competitive examination for the post of Extra Assistant Commissioner, the *Tribune* of the 11th March says :—" In this connection we would respectfully request His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to mark the advent of the new era by giving more posts to candidates qualifying themselves in the competitive examination. It is evident that such men would, speaking generally, bring better knowledge and greater abilities to bear upon the discharge of their duties than merely nominated persons .... It is perfectly obvious that the larger the leaven furnished by the appointment of such men, the more is the mass likely to be leavened, and the tone of the service as a whole is bound to be improved by their larger employment."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Racial discrimination in the Telegraph Department.

10. The *Tribune* of the 7th March says :—" The *Bombay Choronicle* draws attention to an advertisement by the Postmaster-General, Punjab, in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the 20th February, in which a reference is made to the reservation of the general scale of service in the Indian Telegraph Department for Europeans and Anglo-Indians..... We have no hesitation in joining in the emphatic protest entered by our contemporary against this continued racial discrimination, so wholly repugnant to the spirit of the Reform Act and of the royal proclamation. Neither ' the increasing association of Indians with every branch of the Indian administration with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in British India,' nor ' the fullness of political freedom ' has any meaning if for any branch of the public service Indians are to be disqualified merely because they are Indians. Indeed, the policy of such discrimination against the children of the soil is not only against the latest but against the earliest of authoritative pledges, for it was definitely discarded on behalf of the Crown by the Queen's proclamation in 1858, even as it had been definitely discarded on behalf of Parliament by the Charter Act a quarter of a century before."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

11. (a) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 7th March :—"We have before us a copy of the appeal for funds in aid of the Sir Michael O'Dwyer Memorial that has been or is being issued to the Ruling Chiefs of the states and the public of all classes and communities in the Punjab..... So far as the European and official members of the [Memorial] committee are concerned, we have nothing to say except that as a matter of principle we strongly deprecate the association of high officials with a movement to commemorate the services, supposed or real, of one who was himself a high official. Similarly, we are not in any way surprised at the association with this movement of the several Indian gentlemen who have so readily consented to serve on the committee, whether as office bearers or as members. It required courage of certain kind for any Indian, it is true, at the present time, so soon after the terrors of martial law, of which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the originator, and the Jallianwala Bagh shooting, of which on his own evidence he approved, to identify himself so closely with a movement to perpetuate the memory of Sir Michael's administration; but courage of this particular kind the several gentlemen or many of them have never lacked and have no reason to lack. Nor finally can we effect any surprise at the announcement that already a sum of about a lakh and three-quarters of rupees has been subscribed. One of the too frequent sayings of Sir Michael O'Dwyer as Lieutenant-Gevernor was, *jo khitamat karenge unko inam milega*. In the present case there are, as we know, many persons in the province who got rewards during Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration in the shape of squares of land or titles and *sanads*, or in some other shape or form, and it is not to be wondered at that these men should continue their *khitmad* for a little while after they have got the *inam*, especially as they have found

from experience that there is no finality in the matter of *inam*, and naturally hope that the service rendered to a ruler even when he has ceased to be in office will not go entirely for nothing. Besides, if one gets a reward of fifty thousand rupees in kind, no doubt for service rendered to Government, it does not cost one much to pay five thousand in cash in aid of a memorial fund like the present. What one does not understand or appreciate, what must, indeed, be staggering to ordinary commonsense and sense of decency is the audacity and the absolute brazenfacedness of an appeal to the general public to subscribe to a fund like this, which, whatever its ostensible object, could only be calculated to prepetuate the memory of the shame, the humiliation and the wrongs inflicted upon the Punjab by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, a memory which his successor—a ruler of a very different stamp—has in spite of his best wishes and best efforts found it hard to wipe out so far. If there are any among the members of the committee who do not know that the general public will look upon such an appeal as an outrageous insult to their manliness, their sanity and commonsense, above all to their love of country, they must be living in a fool's paradise. A year and a half ago we said that Sir Michael O'Dwyer deserved no memorial. To-day, in view of all that has happened since, we say deliberately and without any fear of contradiction from a single Indian true to his country, that the only memorial that Sir Michael deserves is the execration of posterity both in India and in his own country whose good name he has sullied as no ruler of a province ever did before."

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 10th March says that for six years Sir Michael O'Dwyer pursued a policy of rigour and repression in the Punjab. He made an impious attempt to put an end to political agitation in this province, thrusting political leaders into jail. To crown all, he widowed hundreds of women with the aid of martial law, killed sons of as many old men, separated hundreds from their sisters and sent an equal number to jail. It is a pity that the Hon'bles, Khan Bahadurs and Rai Bahadurs should form a committee to perpetuate the memory of this man and should appeal to the public for funds. These gentlemen should not, for God's sake, sprinkle salt on our wounds. Is the Jallianwala Bagh an inadequate memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer? Will not the wounded who were left there uncared for and died after suffering agonies help to keep his memory green? Why should fresh wounds be inflicted on us?

The labour problem.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

12. The following is from the *Liberal* of the 8th March:—"The labour problem in India is assuming alarming proportions day by day, and on its satisfactory solution depends, to a very large extent, the industrial progress and prosperity of the country. Precious little has so far been done by either the Government or the educated classes to help labour to organise itself, and lack of organisation is the chief drawback from which the labouring classes suffer. The economic pressure that has given a rude shock to the sullen consciousness of the labourer has already asserted itself and we find the working classes in all departments of industry demanding what is their due and which has been withheld from them for long by the greed of the capitalist and the apathy of Government. It will serve no useful purpose now to stifle agitation or to belittle its far-reaching effects on the peace and progress of the country. The agitation is real, for the cause is just. It is, therefore, beyond human effort to suppress it."

Excluded newspapers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

13. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 12th March:—"We learn from the Associated Press that in reply to a question in the Punjab Legislative Council, Mr. French stated that while no persons are at present excluded from entering the Punjab, six newspapers are still excluded. We hope the question will be followed up and the Government asked to state why these papers are still excluded. It was bad enough to take the drastic action even during the war. It is infinitely worse to continue such action when the war is over and the province is perfectly tranquil."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

ITTIHAD (Amritsar); Sardar Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Ittihad* of the 12th March says that the prime ministers of the great states of Europe do not hesitate openly to tell lies. The story about the Armenian massacres has been given the widest publicity with the object of bringing the Turks into infamy. If, however, the Turks have really been putting the Armenians to the sword for centuries past, how is it that the latter have been multiplying instead of having been swept off the earth's surface? At one time Spain and Sicily contained hundreds of thousands of Muhammadans, but after the Christians had girt up their loins to extirpate them, no trace of them was left there. On the other hand, the Armenians still exist, although hundreds of them are massacred daily! Perhaps they rise again after three days through some power derived from the spirituality of Christ. Again, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians, the Servians and the Greeks also were long under the rule of Turkey. How did they manage to grow into strong and prosperous nations? The riddle has been solved by the prime minister of Servia. He says that various charges were levelled against the Turks in order to wrest Macedonia and certain other European territories from them. Continuing, the paper refers to the indiscriminate slaughter of Muhammadans during the Balkan war, and goes on to say that even in these days the Greeks are carrying on a general massacre of the Prophet's followers in Asia Minor. The Sultan has repeatedly invited Europe's attention to the matter, but no heed has as yet been paid to it. All this leaves no room for doubt that Europe is bent upon effacing the Muhammadans from the world.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper says that the speech recently made by him in the Commons on the Turkish question shows that the Premier is wholly ignorant of Islamic politics. He may rest assured that the caliph of Islam can be no helpless being like the Pope with his life at the mercy of others. He may satisfy England by saying that in Constantinople the Sultan will be within range of the Allied guns, but this state of affairs will still further add to the uneasiness of the Muslim world. The military power of the caliph must be strong enough to enable him to protect Islam against its enemies. The Muhammadans will continue their agitation until the Allies give him this power by restoring his territories to him.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(c) The *Siyasat* of the 15th March, which appears with black borders, has an article headed "Mourning for Constantinople." The paper says that not only it but the whole of the Muslim world also is in mourning to-day. The evil day which the unfortunate followers of Islam were destined to see has arrived. The greatness of Islam is about to pass away. We are going to see its corpse lowered into the grave. The last root of Islam has now been dug out. O Muhammadans of India, weep, lament and mourn. Confess your sins. This is the only remedy for your misfortunes. Continuing, the paper says that the Allied powers have decided to occupy Constantinople, the capital of Turkey. The event should not create the impression that the wrath of God has been appeased. The Muhammadans should fear Him even now. They should repent, and step into the arena of practical work. God is compassionate and may feel pity for them.

(d) Elsewhere the paper says that 26,000 Jews were put to the sword in Ukraine, the fact having been corroborated by the American representatives there. No one, however, complained of this massacre. The Turks were recently charged with having killed 16,000 Armenians. The Turkish Government denies that it is in any way responsible for this bloodshed. It requests America to make inquiries in order to ascertain whether the allegation is true or false. But this proves of no avail, and steps are being taken to wrest their capital from the Turks, although the Allies have not inflicted such a heavy punishment on any other of their enemies. It is the duty of the Muhammadans promptly to hold neetings everywhere to protest against the decision relating to the military occupation of Constantinople. They should wire to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and the provincial rulers urging them to secure the reversal of the decision.

(e) The *Siyasat* of the 17th March says that Great Britain is noted for her regard for the promises made by her. She redeemed her pledge to keep the freedom of Belgium intact with the blood of her brave sons. This very Great Britain promised not to deprive Turkey of her metropolis. Influential ministers like Mr. Bonar Law and the Secretary of State for India have admitted this. Nevertheless, we find to-day that Constantinople is being taken from Turkey. The apparent reason for the occupation of this city consists in the allegation that the Turks have massacred sixteen thousand Armenians. But does not justice demand that their offence should be established before they are awarded a punishment which has so far been inflicted on no self-respecting nation. The agitation carried on by clergymen in England has influenced the Allies to punish Turkey like this. The agitators are imparting a religious colour to the matter and should, therefore, be regarded as enemies not only of Islam but of Great Britain also. We should hold meetings in every village and town and support Mr. Muhammad Ali's demand for the appointment of an impartial commission, including Muhammadan representatives, to inquire into the Armenian massacres. The Turks should not be deprived of Constantinople until the inquiry has been completed.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(f) A correspondent writing to the *Vakil* of the 14th March says that a resort to boycott is one of the constitutional means suggested for employment to ensure a satisfactory solution of the Turkish question. Mr. Gandhi is opposed to the movement, and contends that English goods should not be boycotted, as this would be a form of coercion. He has, nevertheless, supported the observance of a *hartal*, and has also suggested the withdrawal of co-operation with Government. Further, he considers it lawful on the part of the sepoys to tender their resignations in the event of the Premier, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy overlooking Muhammadan interests. Are not these instructions likely to interfere with the administration and to result in violence? During the Boer war Mr. Gandhi induced hundreds of Indians to enlist as volunteers to help the British Government. Was not this act on his part synonimous with oppression on the Boers? The boycott movement deserves further consideration from him.

(g) In its issue dated the 15th March the newspaper says that it has not surprised it in the least to hear of the occupation by the Allies of the seat of the caliphate. There can, however, be no denying the fact that their decision is wholly opposed to the feelings of the Muhammadan world. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, England was the prime mover in the matter, and has asked the French and Italian Governments to co-operate with her in occupying Constantinople. The end of that city is very pitiable, while the whole Ottoman empire is being dismembered. No one says that the Turks are quite innocent and free from every defect ; but is their offence greater in magnitude than that of the Germans and Austrians? The fact, moreover, that they were dragged into the war against their will should tell in their favour. The story of their alleged oppression on the Armenians undoubtedly goes against them, but it requires further corroboration. And even if it were corroborated, the question would arise whether the treatment accorded to Turkey has been extended to the other powers also which behaved in a similar way. But apart from all this, the Indian Muhammadans were justified in expecting that the British Government would respect their susceptibilities and abstain from taking the lead in impairing the dignity of an Islamic power.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(h) The *Aftab* of the 15th March refers to the sacrifices of men and money made by the Indian Muhammadans for the sake of England during the great European war. The only reward, it adds, demanded by them was that Turkey should be accorded the same treatment as had been extended to Germany, the bitterest enemy of England. The British public would not like to see Germany swept out of existence, but the Turks are being expelled from Europe. This is the height of bigtory and folly ? An arch enemy is being let off on the score only of his being a Christian, but a lesser foe is considered deserving of death merely because he is a Muhammadan. When, therefore, the existence of Islam is in danger, we should tell Government in plain words that the Muhammadans will know no rest unless they are fully assured as to the future of Turkey and the caliphate. All that the leading members of the community have done and are doing in the matter is commendable. The conduct of the *ulema*, however, who are still keeping silence is to be regretted. It is time that they held a big conference and told the Premier that the caliphate is a wholly different thing from the religious position assigned to the Pope, and that it can remain intact only if the Hedjaz and Mesopotamia are ruled by the caliph. It is a pity that they are indifferent to the matter, which attitude on their part, whether intentional or otherwise, amounts to treachery to Islam.

(i) In its issue dated the 17th March the paper says that news regarding the Allied Council having decided to occupy Constantinople has caused feelings of extreme anxiety and dissatisfaction among the Indian Muhammadans. Practically, it adds, the Allies came into possession of this city the very day on which the Dardanelles was thrown open to their warships. What has now forced them formally to occupy it ? They did not consider this necessary so long as men like Kamal Pasha were in power, for the reason that the latter bowed to all their demands, whether legitimate or otherwise, without demur. The situation underwent a change, however, when Enver Pasha and some other supporters of the nationalist party came into power. The appointment of Marshal Izat Pasha as prime minister signifies that Turkey is now in the hands of the nationalists, whom the Allies regard as their particular foes and cannot bear to see in power. The proposed occupation of Constantinople means that the Allies wish to see whether or not they can end the nationalist influence there. Continuing, the paper says that Turkish affairs cannot be settled satisfactorily before a very sharp collision has taken place between the Allies and the nationalist party. There is thus a likelihood of a sanguinary war between the two. The Indian Muhammadans should remember that the Turks come of a brave and self-respecting race and have been ruling over Christians in Europe with the sword for the last six centuries. They will never submit to the humiliation proposed for them. If they are doomed to destruction, they will not suffer extinction in a way which may expose them to charges of cowardice and went of spirit. They will prepare for death and come out sword in hand with an impetuosity which will be simply irresistible. If the Allies wish to occupy Constantinople let them do so. If they wish to make over Smyrna and Thrace to Greece, let them do so. If they will wrest Mesopotamia, Armenia, Syria, the Hedjaz, etc., from Turkey, let them do so. They should, however, bear in mind that their wishes can never be realized. The probabilities are that, just as the Bolsheviks have surmounted all difficulties in Russia, the Turkish nationalists will prove victorious in the long run, and that Enver and Kamal Pasha will triumph like Lenin and Tirpitz.

RAILWAY,
(Lahore);
Badri Nath,
editor.

(j) The *Railway* of the 18th March, remarks that unholy efforts are being made with a view to bringing ruin and destruction on Turkey. Diverse tactics are being employed to make the war, which was a political one, serve religious ends. Can, therefore, any sensible person even think that peace has been, or will soon be, established in the world ? Three hundered millians of Indians are demanding with one voice and heart that Turkey should not be partitioned and the caliphate should remain intact. It is a pity that our Government pays no attention to the matter.

AL-FAZAL
(Kadian);
Ghulam Nabi,
editor.

(k) *Al-Fazal* of the 11th March says that the Calcutta *Khilafat* conference has passed a resolution to the effect that the Muhammadans should observe *hartal* on the 19th March and send a final message to the Viceroy and His Majesty that if the decision of the caliphate question is contrary to *Shariat*, it will be impossible for them to maintain loyal co-operation with the British Government. Commenting, the paper wishes that the Muhammadans had not made up their mind to act in the proposed manner, seeing that in no circumstance does Islam consider it lawful for its followers to rebel against their rulers. The paper also disapproves of the suggestion that they should migrate from this country, and prays that they may do nothing likely to result in a disturbance.

DESH
(Lahore);
Dina Nath,
editor.

(l) An Amritsar correspondent writing to the *Desh* of the 13th March says that the *Khilafat* conference, Calcutta, resolved, in the presence of some Hindus, that in the event of an unfavourable decision being arrived at in regard to Turkey the Muhammadans would sever their connection with the British Government, and that they expected the Hindus to sympathise with them in the matter. It is true that the Hindus sincerely sympathise with their Muslim brothers, still it is wholly impracticable that they should break off relations with Government over the caliphate question. All Hindu societies and leaders should announce in clear words that the Hindus have nothing to do and no sympathy with the resolution in question.

KHUDA DOST,
(Lahore);
Nand Gopal,
editor.

(m) In discussing the Turkish question the *Khuda Dost* of the 18th March refers to the resolutions adopted at the Calcutta *Khilafat* conference, and remarks that every sensible person can foresee the consequences of carrying them into practice. The question deserves a very dispassionate consideration at the hands of our Muhammadan friends. Even Lahore leaders like Mr. Fazal-i-Husain and Doctor Iqbal are of opinion that the public transgresses the bounds of law at the *Khilafat* meetings. The Muhammadans should, therefore, be told how far they may expect the Hindus to co-operate with them in acting upon the resolutions regarding the boycott of British goods and severance of loyal relations with the British Government. This is very necessary, so that they may make no mistake in their estimation of their strength. We do not think that there is a single Hindu—whether Arya, Brahmo or Sanatanist—who will come forward to side with them to the extent laid down in the resolutions referred to. It will be suicidal on their part to trespass constitutional limits and offer opposition to the British Government. They can never achieve their object by holding out threats to it or by creating disturbances in the country. It would be an act of supreme folly for even millions of persons, having no arms and with limited resources like those of Indians, to rise against the most powerful state in the world. Even if our Muslim friends were to proclaim a *jehad* and the Hindus were to join hands with them, which is wholly unlikely, still it would be impossible for them both to accomplish anything against the British Government.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(n) The *Tribune* of the 16th March refers to the report that the resolution to be adopted on the *Khilafat* day will be to the effect that "if the peace terms with the Sultan of Turkey are not in accordance with the dictates of *Shariat*, the commandments of Islam will force Muslims to sever loyal connection with the British throne." Commenting, the paper says :—" If this statement is correct, we are bound to say that it will be practically impossible for the vast majority of Hindus and others to take part in the celebration. It must be understood that profoundly as the Hindus sympathise with their Muslim brethren in this matter, and very far as they are prepared to go in helping them to attain their end, there is a limit beyond which they cannot go. Whether the commandments of Islam will force Indian Muslims, in the event of the Turkish settlement not being satisfactory to them, to sever loyal connection with the British throne is a matter entirely for Muslims, and their judgment in respect of it should be entirely unaffected either by help or hindrance from other Indians. The severance of loyal connection with the British throne, with all that it means, is an extreme step of which each community, class or group of individuals may think only in circumstances which leave them absolutely no option in the matter, and obviously one community, class or group of individuals cannot support it in the case of another merely out of sympathy, however strong or deep-rooted.... The advice that we consider it our duty to give to-day is exactly the advice that we would give to-morrow, if the position of the communities were reversed and either the Hindus or Sikhs or some other community called upon the Muslims to help them in this particular way in a pre-eminently religious matter as the Moslems are calling upon non-Moslems to-day."

(o) Commenting on the Government of India's warning to the Muhammadan public and Government servants in connection with the observance of the *Khilafat* day, the *Tribune* of the 19th March writes :—" Regarding that part of the notification which declares the determination of Government not to tolerate what they are pleased to call contingent disloyalty we must be permitted to speak in equally plain terms. Not even a casual reader of these columns will accuse us for one single moment of advocating or countenancing disloyalty in any form, but when the Government attributes 'contingent disloyalty' to the authors of the Calcutta resolution, it cannot be out of place to remind it that the highest law adviser of the Crown in England, speaking in the greatest deliberative assembly of the Empire, the Mother of Parliaments, definitely declared only a few months ago that there could be no disloyalty in a declaration beginning with 'If.' Our readers will remember that in a famous speech at Belfast Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, let fall the ominous sentence :—' I tell the British people this from this platform here in your presence to-day and I say it now with all solemnity : I tell them that if there is any attempt made to take away one jot or tittle of your rights as British citizens and the advantages which have been won in this war of freedom, I will call out the Ulster volunteers and the provisional Government.' The declaration naturally made a profound sensation, and the Government was asked by a thousand voices why Sir Edward Carson was not being prosecuted for treason. The question was thus answered by the Attorney General on a motion for adjournment of the House :—' If the right honourable and learned gentleman chooses to say that he will summon an institution which he calls a provisional Government at some future time upon the happening of some event, whatever else you may think or say, I, as Attorney General, should differ from any lawyer who said that that was the commission of an offence.' Are not the authors of the Calcutta resolution exactly in the same boat with Sir Edward Carson in this matter ? We may think of that resolution what we like—and we have made no secret of our profound disagreement with its authors—but clearly if Sir Edward Carson was not guilty of 'contingent disloyalty,' no more are they."

The Irish Home Rule Bill.

Leader (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

2. Writing about the new Irish Home Rule Bill, which, it says, the Irish will never accept, the *Leader* of the 13th March, says that just now a wave of freedom and equality is sweeping over the world. No power can stop it, and the prevailing desire for freedom cannot be suppressed with military force or by promulgating martial law. We would request the powers of the world to relinquish their desire to rule over other nations against the latter's will with the aid of oppression and rigour. If it is possible to grant self-government to different Turkish possessions, there is no reason why Ireland, Egypt and India should be kept out of this blessing. Continuing, the paper says that it was possible in the case of India alone that a legitimate and constitutional struggle by the people was represented to the world in the light of a rebellion. It was also here that martial law was introduced, and indescribable and shameful repression was practised on the people. It was possible only in India that General Dyer could massacre unarmed and running people without even an explanation having been called for from him.

II.– LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The reforms.

3. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 13th March says that the larger part of the seats on the new Punjab Council is to be allotted to the rural population. The result will be that not only the representation of the residents of cities and towns on the Council will be most inadequate, but that the majority of the members elected will be men from whom no freedom of thought or independence of opinion could be expected. To confine the election of members chiefly to the rural population means that mostly toadies alone will be returned to the Council. This is not only keeping the urban population out of its rights, but also depriving the Council of the advantages which the Reforms Act could bring it.

KHALSA SAMACHAR (Amritsar); Vir Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 11th March says that the Punjab advisory committee has recommended that it cannot go beyond the rule that every person claiming to be a Sikh should be regarded as such. It will now be possible for apostate Sikhs like Harnami Shah of Amritsar to stand for election to the reformed Punjab Council on behalf of the Sikhs. The above recommendation by the non-official members of the present Council has endangered the cause of Sikh representation. The Sikhs have unanimously pointed out to Government that they do not look upon men like Harnami Shah as their co-religionists. It should give further consideration to the question and so arrange matters that no man, who is not a genuine Sikh, may be able to secure any of the seats assigned to the Sikhs.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 12th March regrets that the Sikh leaders should not like even to hear the name of the National Congress. They are of opinion that the well-being of their community lies in flattering the authorities. We would advise them to make every possible effort to come to an understanding with the Congress leaders in regard to the representation of their co-religionists on the Punjab Legislative Council. If such a settlement is arrived at, the Sikh community will be spared the trouble of burning incense at the altar of the authorities. We feel confident that the Congress leaders will gladly allot to it more seats than the number officially proposed for it Even if they should give us one or two seats less than we ask for, it would be better for us to accept the offer.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore), Amar Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 14th March says that the Punjab advisory committee has recommended the Sikhs for only nine out of fifty-eight seats on the Council to be filled by election. How preposterous it is that while 124,000 and 90,000 Muhammadan and Hindu voters will return 29 and 20 members respectively, more than 90,000 Sikh voters will elect only 9 members. In these circumstances, it will be all the same whether the Sikhs are represented on the Council or not. Continuing, the paper suggests that if Government should refuse to the end to help us in obtaining our legitimate share of the seats, both Sikh representatives on the advisory committee should forthwith tender their resignations. Indeed, we are of opinion that in the event spoken of the Sikhs should as a community refuse to accept anything from Government. They should get their full dues or nothing.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 19th March has the following :—" There is, of course, nothing uncommon in having some persons as life members of any association or society, but we confess we never heard of any person, however exalted in rank, being a life-councillor of any legislative body, unless it be the House of Lords in England. It remained, however, for the Hallifax committee to introduce this innovation, not in so many words, indeed, but in effect. Among the recommendations of that committee is the following :—' It was considered that the large landowners of the province should form a distinct class, and should have separate representation with four seats, the elections to these seats being made by all persons who pay Rs. 500 per annum land revenue or enjoy an assignment of at least Rs. 500 land revenue per annum, and the election to the fourth seat being made by the Tumandars of Dera Ghazi Khan in *Jirga* assembled.' . . . . One does not, indeed, know which to admire more in this arrangement, the conservatism of the bureaucratic mind in seeking to give the imprimatur of a Parliamentary statute to an old-world institution like the *Jirga*, or the charming simplicity with which a comfortable and handy berth has been reserved for Nawab Sir Behram Khan, who has always been a reserve force on the side of Government. The Nawab Sahib has all along been a nominated member of the Punjab Legislative Council since its reconstitution under Morley-Minto reforms, and now that nomination bids fair to be out of vogue in the new reformed Councils, a convenient method is devised to secure his inevitable election to the Council. It is surprising that the novelty and the beauty of the arrangement did not strike those of the non-official Councillors who participated in the deliberations of the Hallifax committee."

Separate Muhammadan representation.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Sayed Habib, editor.

4. Referring to the opposition of the Hindu members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the grant of separate representation proposed for Muhammadans in the Dacca University Bill, the *Siyasat* of the 13th March says that the enemies of the Hindu-Muhammadan unity are utilising the speeches made by some of our so-called moderate Hindu fellow-countrymen to bring this union to naught. After requesting his journalist brothers not to prolong the unpleasant controversy, the editor remarks that if the Hindus are not prepared to allow separate representation to the Muhummadans in all matters, they should bear in mind that "the palace of unity" will topple over to-morrow, if not to-day.

Repressive Laws.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. Writing about Mr. Patel's motion in the Indian Legislative Council for the appointment of a committee to examine the working of the repressive laws, the *Tribune* of the 16th March says :—" He [Sir William Vincent] put forward two arguments, each as untenable as the other, to show that the resolution could not be accepted. One was that the Government had done everything in its power to allay public feeling by giving full effect to the Royal Proclamation. . . . The whole contention of the popular party now for weeks has been that while the Government has undoubtedly done much by way of giving effect to the Royal Proclamation, much yet remains to be done. . . . It does no good to any one for the Government to go on reiterating the formula that it has done 'everything in its power.' The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof, and the very fact that the bitterness which it was the supreme object of the Proclamation to allay has so far been only partially allayed shows that the Government has not done 'everything in its power.' Further, it is a notorious fact that the Local Governments have not followed anything like a uniform policy in this matter, that while some of them have liberally, and, as we ourselves think, correctly interpreted the words of the Proclamation, others have not done so. . . The second argument is even more astounding. The Government, said the Home member, were now in his judgment in a most difficult and critical stage in the life of the country. . . . Any little thing would cause excitement in the country and would be seriously dangerous to the welfare of India. . . . It is precisely because the public mind is still in an excitable state, which may any moment be converted into a dangerous state, that it would be the path of wisdom and statesmanship for the Government to lose no time in removing the root cause of this state by applying to it the sovereign remedy of conciliation. If they could always secure the co-operation of the members of the Council, said the Home member, in dissociating themselves from revolutionary and anarchical crimes, then the Government would find it unnecessary ever again to use the Acts to which reference had been made. In saying this the Hon'ble member was, we fear; only adding insult to injury, for the non-official members of the Council had never been slow to dissociate themselves from revolutionary and anarchical crimes. Where they *have* differed from the Government is not as regards condemnation of the crimes, but as regards remedial measures. It is true that the condemnation itself has not been as unqualified in their case as in the case of the officials, but is not the reason perfectly obvious? The non-official members, unlike the official, do not believe in the original perversity of the people, and while condemning political crimes as they ought to be condemned, they naturally try to trace them to their true source, the existence of political discontent engendered by past mistakes of Government. Further, the very existence of repressive measures, which confound the innocent with the guilty, and some of which, like the Rowlatt Act, for instance, are degrading to India's self-respect and manhood, weakens the hands of the non-official members in combating crime. If the Government really desires popular co-operation it must begin by repealing these measures, and follow the natural and normal method of

dealing with political crime, the method laid down by Bacon. In other words, it must, while punishing the actual offenders, try to eradicate the causes of the offence. This is the true remedy : all else is quackery."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

India's military expenditure.

6. (*a*) Writing about the growing military expenditure of India, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 13th March says that now that Government is promising to pay greater regard to Indian opinion, there is a hope of this country being relieved of a large part of the expenditure. It is also to be hoped that efforts will be made to Indianise the army by throwing open higher ranks to sons of the soil.

PINDI MAIL (Rawalpindi); Muhammad Sharif, editor.

(*b*) The *Pindi Mail* of the 14th March writes :—"The 'appalling' growth of army expenditure in recent years, especially the large increase foreshadowed in the budget for the ensuing year, was felt as a nightmare by many of the Hon'ble members of the Imperial Council. That military expenditure should be kept at the lowest possible figure is a proposition against which no one will raise any voice of protest. But and there is a but—what about the safety of the country ? . . . As Mr. Winston Churchill explained the position not very long ago, the great nations of the world, however much their representative may wax eloquent over the reduction of armaments, fight shy of it as a practical proposition . . . Mr. Winston Churchill rightly stated that any abnormal reduction of expenditure was hardly possible. On the other hand, the necessity for maintaining the army in a highly efficient and trained condition, with the best and latest equipment is more pronounced than ever . . . The problem which confronts us in India, ... does not admit of any easy or prompt solution. Here the unruly tribes on the border have ever and anon proved a thorn in our flesh. . . . It is, therefore, imperatively necessary that, apart from other things, India must maintain an efficient army and air force, for border fighting. In the interest of security and peace, people should not, we think, grudge the additional outlay which this involves. While we have said so, we do not for a moment suggest that there is no wastage at present, no scope for introducing economies. . . The state should not be fettered in the discharge of its most primary and fundamental responsibility of providing against foreign aggression. The unpreparedness of England at the commencement of the great war in August 1914, which was one of the factors in making Germany come to a decision, must serve as an object lesson and warning to all pacificists who would imperil national safety in the name of economy."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

The Punjab disturbances.

7. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 13th March says that Indians should remain prepared to hear the news of the hanging of Chaudhri Bugga and others. The executioner can destroy the latter's mortal bodies, but no earthly power can banish their images from our hearts. We would humbly beg Government to release these unfortunate persons and thereby earn the blessings of thirty-two crore Indians. Their appeals have been rejected, not on facts, but in view only of a point of law. Who does not know that in the martial law courts no one was allowed an opportunity of making a defence, and that accused persons were not justly dealt with ?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) In asking for mercy for the Amritsar convicts whose appeals to the Privy Council have been rejected, the *Tribune*, of the 14th March writes :—"The whole country is looking forward to the action of Government in this matter as the supreme test by which it will judge both the earnestness of the authorities in giving effect to the letter and spirit of the Royal Proclamation, and the strength and reality of their professed desire to efface the bitter memory of the past, to restore healthy and normal relations between the Government and the people and to usher in a new era of mutual co-operation. Much as the Government has undoubtedly done in both directions, it is by its action in this matter, more than by anything it has done so far, that it will be judged, not only because of the widespread interest the case has excited, but because it is only now that the Government has had a judicial pronouncement of the highest authority in favour of the technical correctness of its action, and consequently has had the first real opportunity of exhibiting its magnanimity. If the Government will rise to the height of this opportunity, it will, by one single stroke, be able to enlist in favour of the cause it represents the intense feeling which the judgment of the Privy Council has evoked. If it fails to rise to the occasion, all that feeling will go to accentuate the forces of discontent and dissatisfaction."

(*c*) The *Leader* of the 15th March says that an important debate was expected to have taken place in the present session of the Imperial Legislative Council on the Punjab disturbances and the oppressions practised during the martial law days. It cannot, however, be held owing to the Hunter Committee's report not having been published up to the present. Continuing, the paper reports that Sir William Vincent stated in reply to a question by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that 3,044 persons were arrested in the Punjab during the administration of martial law, and that 739 of these were released without a trial. The editor will not discuss the case of those who were convicted and punished by martial law commissions and whom he considers to have been innocent. He wishes to deal here with the case only of the persons who, after their arrest by the police, remained in jail for several days and were subjected to undeserved hardships, but who were not prosecuted owing to the inability of the police to adduce any proof against them. They number nearly one thousand and their case cannot, therefore, be overlooked. Government has passed the Indemnity Act to protect its officers, and that also in such haste that it would not await even inquiries by the Hunter Committee. Is it not the moral duty of the Indian and Punjab Governments to ascertain who was responsible for the trouble caused to about one thousand innocent persons, as also to take steps to secure the adequate punishment of the officials through whose negligence, dishonesty and wickedness loyal British subjects were subjected to unjustifiable severities?

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

The Provincial Civil Service.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 14th March:—"In the case of the Civil Service . . . . the Secretary of State has recently sanctioned a time-scale for the superior branch with an overseas allowance, [but] nothing or next to nothing has been done for the hard-worked men of the provincial branch. The existing grades of the provincial Civil Service are the same as those fixed more than half a century ago, ... although the cost of living has risen tremendously, particularly during recent years. . . . In the interests of the administration and in justice to the provincial service men themselves, it is necessary that there should be a thorough overhauling of the grades, that some new grades should be created at the top, more listed appointments be thrown open to the service, and the strength of the higher grades be substantially increased. As for the Punjab provincial Civil Service, it suffers in respect of its pay and emoluments even as compared with its sister-services in other parts of the country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The 6th and 13th April.

9. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 17th March:—"We cordially associate ourselves with the suggestion made by Mr. Gandhi that the 6th and the 13th of April should be celebrated all over India in a befitting manner . . . Mr. Gandhi is emphatically of opinion that there should be no *hartal* . . . In our opinion the most decisive reason for avoiding *hartals* on these occasions is the experience of last year. . . . We should be particularly careful not to call out forces that we are not sure of our ability to control. . . . Suitable extracts from the Royal Proclamation should be read out at the meetings to be held either on the 6th or the 13th, and resolutions passed both thanking His Majesty for his gracious message and calling upon the bureaucracy to faithfully and literally carry out His Majesty's instructions, especially as regards the release of political prisoners and the suspension of the working of repressive laws. This would at once make for steadiness and for progress. It would tell the people that in striving for the fullness of political freedom and for the establishment of conditions favourable to its growth they are striving for nothing but what the highest imperial authority has definitely promised to them, and would at the same time strengthen their hands in fighting against injustice and wrong and in the struggle for the speedy realisation of their ideals. And more than anything else, it would be an emphatic declaration on the part of India's millions that it is only on the terms and the basis laid down by the King that the people would co-operate with the King's officers and servants, and on no other. That is a declaration of which there is paramount need in these days when everybody talks of co-operation and but few seem to have any regard to the only condition on which co-operation is possible in a country like India."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

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Corruption in the public service in the Punjab.

10. The *Tribune* of the 19th March publishes a communication headed "Corruption and how to eradicate it." The writer says among other things:—"Let the Government remember that nothing lowers its prestige more and nothing brings more discredit on it than the general impression that on account of lack of due diligence on the part of its superior officers unrestrained and uncontrolled corruption is rampant. . . . There should be a special machinery in existence to cope with the evil by means of which the campaign against corruption should not be allowed to slacken. I would propose, therefore, that the Local Government should appoint a senior capable officer specially for this purpose whose duty it should be to itinerate in the *mufassil* and to spend a month or two secretly and *in cognito* at a certain place and find out from the people in a very judicious manner the names of the officers who indulge in taking bribes recklessly and without fear of anybody. I am strongly of opinion that there is no section of people who can more help the Government in the matter than the members of the bar. If the members of the bar in general depose to a certain officer being corrupt, it should be taken that that officer is without the least doubt corrupt and instantaneous action should be taken against such a delinquent. General invitation issued by the late Lieutenant-Governer should be renewed at constant intervals to the people asking for their help and co-operation in keeping the administration of justice pure and undefiled."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

11. The *Vakil* of the 14th March requests all the Indians, particularly the Muhammadans, on the memorial committee to desist from sprinkling salt on the wounds of the Punjabis. They should dissociate themselves from the movement, which is a blot on the fair fame of this province. They should rest assured that, even as it is, the people of the Punjab can never forget Sir Michael O'Dwyer and will remember him for centuries, although his memory will be associated with the worst and darkest doings.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

Excluded newspapers.

12. Adverting to the Chief Secretary's statement in the Punjab Legislative Council concerning the exclusion of persons and papers from this province, the *Liberal* of the 15th March writes:—"A complete reversal of policy is absolutely essential in the Punjab and the prohibition against all newspapers must be withdrawn without delay. The Punjab should be placed on the same level as other provinces and no man and no newspaper should be prohibited from entering it."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR, (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th March says that Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Bryce, some other bigoted statesmen of the late Mr. Gladstone's type and the Archbishop of Canterbury with his numerous bishops and prelates have taken a biased view of the Turks in branding them as murderers of the innocent and simple-minded Armenians. The allegation is not well founded, and British statesmen, howsoever hostile they may now be to the Turks for political reasons, will have to admit sooner or later that, so far from the latter being to blame, the fault lies with the Armenians. The last-named are big calumniators, great liars and relentless tyrants. There can be no doubt that the British Foreign Office is bitterly hostile to the Turks and is determined to sweep them out of existence. Nevertheless, there exist in England good-hearted statesmen like Mr. Montagu who are voicing Muhammadan sentiments at great personal risk. How unjust it is that the clergymen of England should accept false charges emanating from cruel and tyrannical people like the Armenians as gospel truth. The Armenians have frequently revolted against the Turks, although the latter have always been successful in quelling the risings. In conclusion, the paper says that when the Turks were fighting the Russians in the Caucasus they were attacked by the Armenians from the rear? If in such a grave situation, it adds, the former ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion and some innocent Armenians were killed on the occasion, no fair-minded person can ever say that they were guilty of atrocities on the Armenians.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th March says that the massacre of Muhammadans by the civilised Greeks in Smyrna, painful reports of which have been appearing in the press, have failed to move humane Europe. The *Near East*, which is by no means a pro-Turkish journal, states that the Greeks massacred Turks in Smyrna in 1919, while the Armenians killed thousands of inoffensive Muhammadans during the Russian invasion. The *Muslim Outlook* is of opinion that Muhammadans are being killed off in order to render them inferior to Christians in number and thereby make it possible for the government of the countries concerned to be entrusted to some Christian power. But will not the massacre of innocent Muslims—men, women and children—bring retribution in its train?

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Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR, (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th March says that Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Bryce, some other bigoted statesmen of the late Mr. Gladstone's type and the Archbishop of Canterbury with his numerous bishops and prelates have taken a biased view of the Turks in branding them as murderers of the innocent and simple-minded Armenians. The allegation is not well founded, and British statesmen, howsoever hostile they may now be to the Turks for political reasons, will have to admit sooner or later that, so far from the latter being to blame, the fault lies with the Armenians. The last-named are big calumniators, great liars and relentless tyrants. There can be no doubt that the British Foreign Office is bitterly hostile to the Turks and is determined to sweep them out of existence. Nevertheless, there exist in England good-hearted statesmen like Mr. Montagu who are voicing Muhammadan sentiments at great personal risk. How unjust it is that the clergymen of England should accept false charges emanating from cruel and tyrannical people like the Armenians as gospel truth. The Armenians have frequently revolted against the Turks, although the latter have always been successful in quelling the risings. In conclusion, the paper says that when the Turks were fighting the Russians in the Caucasus they were attacked by the Armenians from the rear? If in such a grave situation, it adds, the former ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion and some innocent Armenians were killed on the occasion, no fair-minded person can ever say that they were guilty of atrocities on the Armenians.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th March says that the massacre of Muhammadans by the civilised Greeks in Smyrna, painful reports of which have been appearing in the press, have failed to move humane Europe. The *Near East*, which is by no means a pro-Turkish journal, states that the Greeks massacred Turks in Smyrna in 1919, while the Armenians killed thousands of inoffensive Muhammadans during the Russian invasion. The *Muslim Outlook* is of opinion that Muhammadans are being killed off in order to render them inferior to Christians in number and thereby make it possible for the government of the countries concerned to be entrusted to some Christian power. But will not the massacre of innocent Muslims—men, women and children—bring retribution in its train?

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(c) In an article on Turkey's misfortunes, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st March says that the principle of self-determination demands that Constantinople being a holy city should remain under Islamic sway, *i.e.*, the caliphate. It is, however, to be regretted that the principle is being ignored in this case, while no regard is paid to the wishes of the Indian Muhammadans, who rendered valuable services during the war. As ruler of ten crore Muhammadans, it is the duty of Great Britain to maintain friendly relations with Islamic kingdoms. But while France is pleased at the retention of Constantinople by the Turks, there is a great agitation against the Turks in England. Mr. Lloyd George should not be influenced by this hue and cry, and should let no blot fall on the fair name of England. The proposal regarding the temporary occupation of Constantinople by the Allies has produced an undesirable effect on the Muhammadan world, seeing that it takes no time to convert a temporary into a permanent possession. Continuing, the paper endeavours to defend the Turks against the charge of Armenian atrocities, and concludes by saying that the anti-Turkish crusade started by clergymen in England is objectionable in the extreme. The inflaming of the religious passions will have a dangerous effect.

WATAN (Lahore); Insha Ullah, editor.

(d) The *Watan* of the 19th March says that it would have been wise on the part of Christians to leave Constantinople alone. They, however, look upon the Muhammadans as worthless beings, and pay not the least regard to the latter's feelings. Now that Constantinople has been occupied, it stands to reason that the mosque of St. Sophia will be converted into a church. This was the heartfelt desire of Christians and their clergymen, and is no new or surprising thing for the Muhammadans. Europe, particularly England, has always held out assurances for the safety and integrity of the Turkish empire, but these promises have never been kept. Let us see what further misfortunes are in store for the followers of Islam. We have been left no more tears to shed.

VAKIL, (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(e) The *Vakil* of the 19th March publishes a communication from SHEIKH GHULAM SADIQ of Amritsar, who says that the Muhammadans can do their utmost within the bounds of law to ensure a satisfactory solution of the Turkish question. It is, however, most absurd on their part to say that, in the other event, they will sever their connection with the King-Emperor. Pronouncements like this are no better than maniacal vapourings. It is suggested that the tie can be dissolved by renouncing titles and by Muslim Government servants, both paid and honorary, resigning their posts. It is difficult to see how the resignation of their appointments by an infinitesimally small number of Muhammadans can mean the renunciation by all their co-religionists of the obligations which they owe the King-Emperor as subjects. Besides, if these officials throw up their posts, how will they be able to maintain themselves? If, moreover, an Indian renounces his allegience to His Majesty, how can he seek for justice in the courts established in the country? The Muhammadans should, for God's sake, consider what they can gain by saying such absurd things while residing in India. Where will they go to if they adopt the mad suggestion to renounce their allegience to their sovereign in favour of their new leaders? The writer has consulted many people and finds that they are all opposed to the suggestion in question. The Muhammadans may extend all possible sympathy and help to the Turks, but they should keep themselves within the bounds of law.

(f) The paper publishes a communication from DR. SATYAPAL also, who considers it improper on the part of the Muhammadans to renounce their loyalty to the King-Emperor or to overstep the bounds of law in any other way. The Hindus, he adds, are by no means prepared to participate in things opposed to law. They are thoroughly willing to render every help to their Muslim brothers so long as the limits of law are not transgressed. If the latter must make the renunciation of loyalty an essential part of their programme, the former cannot go with them to that length. Their sympathy with the Muhammadans or participation in a *hartal* can never mean that they approve of the resolution on contingent loyalty adopted at Calcutta. They wish only to tell the British nation that they cannot calmly witness the trouble that is being caused to their Muslim brothers in connection with the caliphate question. The writer cannot venture to advise the Muhammadans, but he can tell them on the strength of his sincere love and sympathy for them that although their feelings have been grossly injured, it is necessary to exercise self-restraint on such critical occasions. They may continue their agitation and may voice their feelings, but they should do nothing opposed to the country's laws.

VAKIL (Lahore), Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*g*) One AHMADULLA NADVI of Amritsar writing to the *Vakil* of the 20th March advises the Muhammadans to stick to constitutional agitation, which, he says, will be certain to lead them to their goal, although this may take a long time. If they make use of unconstitutional means, he adds, the agitation will include *jehad*, migration from India and the severance of loyal connection with Government, all of which are incompatible with the existing circumstances. The Muhammadans will then be unable to continue the agitation, while their freedom of speech and writing, their life and property and their country's interests will all be jeopardised. Public feeling will cease to be amenable to control, and we shall be deprived of the guidance of our present political and religious leaders. In short, we shall lose all the means of gaining our object which are now available to us.

(*h*) The *Vakil* of the 20th March writes that just now the Muhammadans and the British Government are both on their trial. The former should show that they will not abandon self-restraint even under trying circumstances and serious calamities. As to the latter, it has to prove that it places justice above racial distinctions and religious bigotry. If both emerge successful out of the ordeal, Thrace and Smyrna will be freed from Greek control, Syria will come out of French hands, and England will permanently abandon all claim to Mesopotamia and Palestine. The holy places of Islam will be restored to the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin, and all fear of the Muhammadan joining hands with the Bolsheviks will disappear. The foundations of the British Empire will be strengthened, and a permanent union will be established between Great Britain and the followers of Islam. To begin with, the idea of occupying Constantinople should be abandoned, and an impartial commission appointed to inquire into the alleged Armenian massacres. Since the British Government expects the Muhammadans to exercise self-restraint and conform to the law, it would do well to follow a similar course itself also. It should stop religious fanatics in England from transgressing the limits of propriety; their frantic acts have deeply moved the *ulema* in this country. Next it should redeem the pledges given by British statesmen in regard to the future of the Ottoman empire. If the public finds that Government is determined to violate these pledges, it will naturally feel inclined to break the law. Continuing, the *Vakil* asks the Muhammadans to carry on a constitutional agitation to gain the end in view. The public opinion in England should be captured; and this requires systematic propaganda work. If anything can alter the decision of the peace conference, it is the public opinion of England and India. The Muhammadans should prepare for a strenuous constitutional struggle, which should be continued until the goal is reached. And if this proves unavailing, the relations between the rulers and the ruled will become highly strained and may even reach the breaking point.

ITTIHAD (Amritsar); Sardar Khan, editor.

(*i*) The *Ittihad* of the 20th March remarks that the means hitherto adopted by the bigoted Christians of Europe and America to prove the Turks to be a barbarous and cruel people have evidently been considered insufficient. The cinema also has now begun to be pressed into service. According to the London correspondent of a contemporary, a film is being exhibited in that city in which the Turks are shown in the act of perpetrating atrocities on naked Armenian women and children. Commenting, the editor says that it is grossly foolish to look for justice at the hands of the nations which are so prejudiced against the Turks.

(*j*) Elsewhere the paper states that twenty-six thousand Jews were killed in Ukraine in one year. The Allies have not, however, the courage to inquire from the Ukraine Government for what offence so many innocent human beings were killed. Again, the Greeks put the Muhammadans of Smyrna to the swords, but there is none to ask the former the reason for the massacre of so many guiltless persons. But the false allegation regarding an American having been murdered in Armenia, has lead to the Allied fleet setting sail to occupy Constantinople. This perhaps means that the murdering of Jews and Muhammadans, who do not form part of the flock of Christ and are, therefore, excluded from the pale of humanity or are mere animals, did not constitute a crime; but that the Armenians being Christians—

no matter whether they have killed hundreds of thousands of Muhammadans—their sins have been washed off by the blood of Christ and their murder is, therefore, homicide deserving of punishment. Justice and equity have departed from the world.

INTIKHAB
(Gujranwala);
Wali Ullah,
editor.

(k) The *Intikhab* of the 20th March says that peace can on no account be maintained in the world by inflaming the Muhammadan sentiment. It is necessary to satisfy them by settling the questions relating to Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, etc., in conformity with the principles of justice and self-determination.

(l) Elsewhere the paper says that the severities to which the Allies have subjected the Turks will not only displease Muhammadans throughout the world, but will also lead to very serious consequences. The Turks and Arabs will never like to see Syria administered by France, nor will the first-named tolerate that Smyrna, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia should be taken out of the Ottoman empire and placed under a non-Muslim power. If Armenia is going to be made independent, Mesepotamia and Palestine also should be similarly treated and placed under some Muhammadan Emir.

(m) In another place the paper has, in black borders, a leaderette headed "Mourning for Constantinople." The editor says to the Muhammadans in its course that the last vestige of the political power of Islam is about to disappear. He also urges them to wake and see how they are going to be treated by the enemies of Islam. After referring to Reuter's telegram regarding the porbable Allied occupation of Constantinople, it writes:—Would that British statemen had probed our hearts, considered our demands and applied the balm of justice to our breast rent with grief. We say plainly..... that the Indian Muhammadans are truly loyal to the King-Emperor George V, and that hundreds of thousands of them have had their heads cut off in order to afford practical proof of their sincere loyalty. They will not of course raise the standard of rebellion in the country in the event of the death-knell of Islam being rung. They will only get displeased with their soverlign and will migrate from India in this state of displeasure, because it is also incumbent on them to prefer religion to worldly things.

RAILWAY
(Lahore);
Badri Nath,
editor.

(n) In an article on the recent *hartal*, the *Railway* of the 22nd March requests the Home and Indian Governments not to convert the *Khilafat* question into a political one, nor to approve of nefarious designs for the destruction of the caliphate or the Turkish empire. The European war was certainly no religious war, but Christian powers are now giving it the colour of a crusade. If Germany can profit by President Wilson's fourteen points, why should there be intrigues to expel the Turks from Europe? The event will prove highly injurious for the British Government. If the Turks concentrate their forces in Asia, they will allow no peace to British possessions in that continent.

ARYA GAZETTE
(Lahore),
Khushhal Chand,
editor.

(o) The *Arya Gazette* of the 18th March says that while the Turks deny the bloodshed ascribed to them, the rest of the world is speaking of them as butchers and murderers. If they have really girt up their loins to commit merciless massacres, their conduct is undoubtedly to be condemned. In case, however, the allegation is only a pretext to expel them from Constantinople, it is undoubtedly a most shameful thing.

DESH
(Lahore);
Dina Nath,
editor.

(p) The *Desh* of the 19th March takes exception to Mr. Shaukat Ali's remark at the Burhanpur *Khilafat* conference that if the Turks are turned out of Europe, it should be the duty of the Asiatics to see that no European resides in Asia.

KHUDA DOST,
(Lahore);
Nand Gopal,
editor.

The world situation.

(2) The *Khuda Dost* of the 26th March says that there is undoubtedly no protection against the weapons of force, rigour and repression. These can, however, help one only in ruling over bodies, hanging one's fellow human-beings and blowing them from the cannon's mouth. They are of no help in obtaining control over hearts. The unrest which now prevails in the world is not attributable to the fact that a person having two shirts does not give one of them to his brother. The question is why one in possession, not only of two shirts, but of many coats and pairs of pantaloons, should try to strip a brother even of the worn-out and tattered clothes which cover his body. We do not say

that France and Japan should be handed over to Indians : we only say that brothers wearing the cloth of gold should not wrest her tattered shirt from Turkey. Continuing the paper writes :—You (the English) are our brothers. You also have some right to sit at the luxurious table of India. We do not complain of your partaking of bread at the table. But we have the right to say : You are our dear guests and we are your hosts. For God's sake consider the needs of the hosts also. We have got food and are ready to share it with others. . . But you, too, have some duties and should not overlook them. Remember that the human heart can be caught only in the silken net of love. This alone is the secret of maintaining universal peace and safety and of doing good to man.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

Tribal raids.

3. The *Khuda Dost* of the 19th March asks whether His Excellency the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province are unaware that numerous Hindus daily suffer injury at the hands of tribal dacoits. Has not Government, it further inquires, in spite of its possession of guns and aeroplanes, the power even to punish the frontier tribes ? And if it has this power, are the frontier Hindus intentionally left at the mercy of the tyrannical tribesmen ? Does the reason for this consists in their co-religionists in other provinces disseminating the message of freedom in the country ? We do not think that the reply to these questions can be in the affirmative. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the existing situation raises doubts in the minds of many people which they find it impossible to solve. Cannot the idea suggest itself to them why the British Government, which could rescue Belgium out of the clutches of the strongest military power, cannot render similar help to the innocent frontier Hindus against a handful of tribesmen ? Is it not its duty to afford protections to these Hindus ? And if it is incapable of doing this, why does it not permit them to keep arms. Their present helplessness and consequent ruin are attributable only to Government not allowing them to keep guns and the like. The raiders, however, have arms. We wish our officers would show as much sympathy and anxiety for the frontier Hindus as they do for men of their own nation. Indians of all shades of opinion should hold a public meeting to invite Government's attention to the tyranny practised by tribal dacoits. Our Muhammadan brothers say that the Hindus should stand by them in connection with the Turkish question, but they also must do their duty when their Hindu fellow countrymen are daily subjected to oppression in their own country. So far, however, not a single responsible Muhammadan has condemned depredations by tribesmen or expressed any sympathy for the Hindu sufferers.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The reforms.

4. (*a*) The following is taken from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 16th March :—" The [Hallifax] committee has recommended that there should be only 10 urban and 48 rural seats. Out of the ten urban seats, five go to the Muhammadans and five to the general public, meaning the Hindus, and none goes to a Sikh. Thus it is evident that in the opinion of this committee either there is no urban Sikh population in the Punjab or it is so insignificant and its vested interests so few that they can deny the Sikhs any representation in urban seats with a clear breast. Big towns like Amritsar, Campbellpur, Ferozepore, Gujranwala, Jhelum, Lahore, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Sargodha, Wazirabad and others practically go unrepresented so far as the urban Sikh population is concerned. There must be assigned at least three seats out of ten to the Sikh population. The allotment of seats to the urban population is miserably too scanty and must be raised to the same number as in other 'major provinces.' Of the 48 rural seats, nine are proposed to be allotted to the Sikhs, that is, about 19 per cent. of the total rural seats. Considering the number of Sikh voters and their vested interests we cannot help pointing out once more that the seats allotted to the Sikhs are not only inadequate but far too short of what is their just due and what is their demand. Out of 48 at least 16 should go to the Sikhs, so as to bring it up to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total elected rural seats. But how is it that a province, which is regarded as the sword hand of India and which supplies about one-half of the entire military strength of India, can be relegated to a position of inferioity to provinces which go by the

name of major provinces. Is this a fitting recognition of the incomparable services of the Punjab? . . . It is our opinion that in justice and fairplay, if not ingratitude and regard for exceptional meritorious services, the Government should have assigned to the Punjab the position of prominence over and above the rest of the provinces."

Khalsa Advocate, Amritsar; Sian Singh, editor.

(b) S. Ujjal Singh, M.A., writing to the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd March says:—"Much is being made of in Government circles of granting a boon to the Sikh community in the form of 'separte representation.' It was a right long overdue. There is no reason for the Sikhs to be jubilant over it, for that means nothing without the representation being adequate. . . . Their irresistible claims based on the grounds of tradition, political importance and military services of the community have been repeated times out of number. But the war being over, they are now a depreciated currency. The Government have conveniently adopted a different attitude. The reforms being the result of political agitation, the greatest benefits should naturally go to those who have threatened most and cried loudest. This is the standard which the Government seem to have placed before them. The Sikhs, therefore, as judged by this standard, stand nowhere. The Government consider that by allotting a few seats here and there for the Sikhs, they have shown them a great favour and expect gratitude in return. The Government must understand that they cannot fool the Sikhs all the time. . . . Now what methods should be adopted to get justice done to our rights? One thing is quite clear. The Government care little for petitions, which are now an anachronism. The Government have further shown beyond doubt that rights can never be had for begging nor as a reward for service. They can only be won by the power and the will to get them. . . . As a mark of resentment we should consider the possibility of withdrawing co-operation with the Government, which will be responsible for driving the Sikhs to that course. The lead should be given by the Sikh members in the provincial and Indian Legislative Councils, who should, for saving the honour of the community, submit their resignations. As a matter of fact they can never take their seats in the Council with self-respect and honour when the community they represent is thus humiliated. This should only be the first step and further steps of such nature, if necessary, should be determined by a sub-committee specially created for this purpose. . . . We must frankly and boldly reject *in toto* the terms offered to us. We will not be satisfied with the crumbs thrown to us. We must have our rights in full."

Commenting on the above the editor writes:—"Brother Ujjal Singh. . . . has been carried away to suggest a step which, he thinks, is the only right one to mark the Sikhs' resentment of the attitude of the Government. Before rushing to a resort to that extreme step we think it would be much better to exhaust all other constitutional methods of driving home the propriety of our claims and rights to those concerned. . . . Besides, we do not believe in the effectiveness of this step at this stage."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Imperial preference.

5. One Gyanchand writes to the *Tribune* of the 27th March:—"The Government of India seem to be drifting towards the policy of Imperial preference, and knowing as we do how powerful generally the catchwords are, I am afraid that our representatives in the Councils will consent to the adoption of a system of preferential tariffs in order to show that they do not take what the Viceroy calls a 'parochial' view of the matter. The thin end of the wedge was introduced when duty on skins and hides was levied last year. Then even our spokesmen like Pandit Malaviya and others welcomed the new departure and accepted it as a proof of the *bonâ fides* of the Government of India. The indecent haste which the Government of India have shown in committing the country to their view by appointing a committee to consider our future fiscal policy confirms the suspicion that the Government of India are taking their cue from the authorities in England. It is the initiation of that policy that we have to fight against stubbornly and strenuously. A country like ours cannot afford to indulge in the luxury of Imperial preference. When the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain started his campaign of tariff reform the Government of India, when sounded on the matter, were of opinion 'that if the matter were regarded exclusively from the economic standpoint India had something but not very much to offer to the Empire, that she had very

little to gain in return, and that she had a great deal to lose or to risk'. It is true to-day as it was then that India has nothing to gain and everything to lose by the adoption of this policy. The Viceroy may consider an economic standpoint to be a 'parochial' one now, but we are so very poor that in the interest of our country it is our duty to take that view of the matter and submit all these proposals for preferential tariffs to what Marshall calls 'the cold arbitrament of numerical estimates.' That is not being done and it is that danger that we have to sedulously guard against. Whether 'the Reform Act marks a most welcome step in the development of our fiscal powers' depends upon many incalculable factors, the relative strength of which it is impossible to foresee; but if we will allow ourselves to be imposed upon by this cant about an imperial obligation and accept the principle of 'Imperial preference' we will find ourselves on a steep and slippery incline leading for heaven knows what but certainly not industrial salvation."

The present condition of Indians.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

6. The *Khuda Dost* of the 24th March says that Indians know full well in what helpless condition they are. Their country and its arts and commerce have been captured by foreign nations. They themselves are not allowed to settle in the Crown colonies like Canada and South Africa, although they also are British subjects and rendered England greater help in the war than these country did. They are not less loyal than the colonials, but they cannot earn their bread even by working as coolies in Canada, South Africa and other British possessions. They will continue in their present degraded condition unless they are willing to sacrifice everything for the physical, intellectual and moral improvement of their children.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Punjab disturbances.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

7. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 22nd March writes:—"The whole country believes, in spite of the Privy Council judgment, that most of the prisoners in the case are innocent. This view of the question apart, can no notice be taken of the unanimous wish of the people, who have in unmistakable terms prayed for mercy being shown to all the prisoners in the case in view of the King's gracious Proclamation? Is not the people's united appeal a guarantee that the release of these unfortunate men will not in any way endanger public peace or safety? Cannot these lives be spared to allay public feeling, if for nothing else, and thereby the people afforded an opportunity to forget the past and let by-gones be by-gones?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 23rd March writes:—"It is now more than a month since the Privy Council rejected the appeal of the prisoners in the Amritsar riot case.... but the executive Government has so far made no public announcement of its intentions in regard to the prisoners. Yet the issue is simple enough. Are these men entitled to, and are they to have, the benefit of the royal clemency?.... Judge the case from whatever point of view one may, it belongs exactly to the type which His Majesty must have had in view when he directed His Excellency the Viceroy to exercise in his name and on his behalf his royal clemency in the fullest measure compatible with the public safety." [Next the paper contends that their case is a political one and says in the course of its remarks:—] "The evidence against the accused was obtained in circumstances when evidence might be obtained for anything and against any man; and as regards the proper weighing of that evidence either by the prosecution or by the court, we do no injustice to any one when we say that such a thing was simply out of the question in those days. The atmosphere of excitement, of prejudice and of racial feeling, to the existence of which the evidence before the Hunter Committee has since borne such striking testimony, simply rule out the possibility of a fair trial such as one expects from a British court in an ordinary non-political case. Nor, even if all this were otherwise, would the very limitations of the form of trial that was adopted in this case, with the denial to the accused of the facilities that are a common feature in our criminal trials, permit of scrupulous or unadulterated justice being administered in the case...... So far at any rate as the leading accused in this case, men like Messrs. Ratan Chand and Bugga, are concerned, the people believe them to be innocent..... The people, indeed, believe that they owe their misfortune solely to the fact that they had incurred the bitter animosity of an all-powerful police by their independence and by the part they had taken in the *hartal* and in the general agitation. It is this belief on the part of the peoplet, and the Local Government at least must know how widespread it is, which ought, in our opinion, to be the decisive factor in determining whether the present is a fit case for the exercise of royal clemency. If, as we believe and as is, indeed, obvious, the object of that clemency is to conciliate the people and to wipe out all traces of bitterness between them and the officers of Government, then not only is this a fit case, but a fitter case than this has never existed."

RAILWAY, (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(*c*) Writing about the peaceful character of the recent *hartal* at Lahore, the *Railway* of the 22nd March says that if Sir Michael O'Dwyer had now been here, he would have realized how loyal and peace-loving his rebellious and revolutionary Punjabis are. Have the Punjab rebels, asks the paper, become reformed in such a short time? By no means, it answers. They were not, and will never be, rebels. It is our right to carry on a constitutional agitation against any unjust or improper act on the part of Government. No civilized Government dare wrest this right from us. The Punjabis have proved during this *hartal* that it was not they but the repressive policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the arrogance of certain officials that were responsible for the April disturbances. They have also made it clear that the introduction of martial law was wholly uncalled-for and unjustified.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

The pay of railway employees.

8 Writing about the recent *hartal*, the *Railway* of the 22nd March says that the petitions and memorials submitted by Railway employees for an increase of pay have gone in vain, and that they will have to resort to the noble principle of *satayagraha* in the end. Their bread problem can be solved only with the aid of passive resistance. It is no offence to go on strike or observe a *hartal*.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

WATAN (Lahore); Insha Ullah, editor.

Muhammadans and kine-killing.

9. The *Watan* of the 26th March publishes an article under the heading "The cow". After stating how kine-killing was stopped in the days of Akbar, the writer says that a few years back the narrow-minded Hindus of low ideas felt proud of their numerical strength, tried to impress the Muhammadans with their power and bloodthirsty spirit, and hatched plans in secret to cause disturbances at different places on the occasion of the Bakr 'Id. Now they wish to gain their object, *viz.*, the stoppage of cow-killing, by taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim unity, which owes its origin in the Punjab to Dyer and Dwyer. In other words, formerly they wanted to overawe the Muhammadans, but now they are trying to make the latter destroy their own religion. But even if a few foolish Muhammadans begin to act in conformity with the wishes of the Hindus and become prepared to interfere in their religious injunctions, not the least harm can thereby be wrought to Islam. The Prophet's faith is not such as can be altered by a few pro-Hindu Muhammadans ignorant of their religion. The Hindus should know that no political, material and worldly benefit and expediency can make Muhammadans consent even to the slightest alteration of their religion. Even the most ordinary thing in Islam cannot be abandoned for the attainment even of the greatest worldly object. The leaders who may consider themselves favourites of millions of Muhammadans can, on the slightest violation of the Islamic injunction on their part, be instantly reduced to a most degraded position. It is shameful for the Hindus that in lending their support to the cow they should follow not their own creed but the one started by Akbar. (*To be continued.*)

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The municipal committee of Gurdaspur.

10. Referring to the announcement by the Punjab Government that the Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur will cease to be president of the local municipal committee to enable some non-official Indian to take his place, the *Desh* of the 21st March remarks that this is a happy step in the direction of the expansion of local self-government, for which the Sir Edward Maclagan's Government deserves thanks from all of us.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The coming visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

11. Commenting on the speech with which the Viceroy brought the budget session of the Indian Legislative Council to a close the *Tribune* of the 27th March writes :—" [His Excellency appeals] to the non-official members and through them to the public generally to see that

when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales comes next year nothing may be either said or done which may in any way jeopardise the spirit of harmony. For our part we are in profound sympathy with this appeal, but we venture to remind His Excellency that it will depend very much upon his own Government and the several provincial Governments whether this spirit of harmony is to prevail. They are the repository of all power at present and it is for them to lead the way. The first and most essential thing, it seems to us, is for the Government definitely to give up its present policy of discriminating against the leaders of the advanced party in the constitution of advisory boards for the framing of rules under the Reform Act. The second and equally important thing for them to do is to associate the representatives of both wings of the national party with scrupulous impartiality with all arrangements made for the Prince of Wales's visit. It is perfectly true that the Prince comes as the representative of a sovereign who is above and aloof from all parties, but it is no use merely emphasising that fact in official speeches if high officials will not in their actual arrangements in connection with the visit exhibit that rigid neutrality as between parties which must be grateful to the royal heart and which alone befits the royal position."

Memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

12. The following is from the *Liberal* of the 22nd March:— "There is very strong feeling in the Punjab against the proposal to perpetuate the sad memories of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime in the Punjab by erecting a memorial to him. It would be far better if all traces of the late Lieutenant-Governor's connection with the Punjab were forgotten, for any recollection of events of April last which a memorial, if erected, is sure to keep afresh cannot fail to arouse deep resentment among the people. To call a peace-loving and law-abiding people as 'rebels' is offensive enough, but to persist in doing so is nothing short of a deliberate and unpardonable attempt to blacken His Majesty's loyal subjects, who have given unassailable proof of their deep-rooted loyalty and stead-fast devotion to the Crown during the last war, and who can be fully relied upon in case of any emergency of a similar nature that may arise at any time in the future. We appeal to the memorial committee to abandon the proposal in view of the changed conditions of the province and utilise the funds already collected for distributing aid to those unfortunate widows and orphans who have been rendered desolate as a result of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, for which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was mainly, if not entirely, responsible."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 27th March 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 26th March publishes a cartoon, in which a "modern crusading hero" labelled "Christian powers" is defending a girl called Armenia against "the half-dead Turk" lying prostrate on the ground. The letter-press, which is headed "This is a big calumny", contains the following among other things:—

Armenia.—This dead person is killing me.

Crusading hero.—Yes, he is a wretch of this sort. See to what plight I shall reduce him.

Turk (feebly)—

I admit, O dagger, that my throat will not remain to-day,

(But) O tormentor, thou also wilt not remain in the tyrant's hand for ever.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Piasa Akhbar* of the 30th March publishes the first instalment of an article headed "Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the Khilafat deputation". This reply, it says, is extremely disappointing and has made things worse still. The Premier has not extended to the deputation even as much sympathy, or discussed the caliphate question in as kindly a spirit, as His Excellency the Viceroy did. He has dealt with the Turkish question in such a manner and has raised such new points that the outlook has become more disappointing than ever. He has cut asunder even the slender thread of hope to which the Muhammadans had been clinging. The Muslim world will cease sympathising with the Turks only if it is convinced that they have gone so mad as to take delight in massacring Armenians for no reason. The deputation did well in demanding an impartial investigation into the matter. Continuing, the paper points out that there was no Muhammadan among the Indian delegates to the peace conference, which had to settle most important questions affecting Turkey. The Muhammadans in both India and England raised their voice against the arrangement, as anxiety in connection with the caliphate question had already begun to be felt in this country ?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) The *Tribune* of the 28th March thus concludes an article on "The Premier and the Khilafat deputation":—"Speaking with particular reference to Indian Mussalmans, Mr. Lloyd George gratefully acknowledged that they had stood by the Throne and Empire and helped England in the struggle and as such had a right to be heard in a matter which especially affected Islam, and went on to say:—'We have heard them. Not merely have we heard them, but we have very largely deferred to their wishes in the matter. The settlement is very largely affected by the opinion of India and especially the Mussalmans of India.' The statement is undoubtedly gratifying to Indian Mussalmans, but we cannot help thinking that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile it with Mr. Lloyd George's claim that the Allies are meting out nothing more or less than justice to Turkey. If Turkey is having only justice, where does the question of deferring to the sentiments and the opinions of Indian Mussalmans come in? If those sentiments and opinions are to be a determining factor in the matter, it is only right to expect that, as far as rests with England, Turkey will have something more than justice. As a matter of fact, Indian Mussalmans do not admit that she has had a full measure even of justice, and she has been treated exactly as Germany and Austria have been."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(d) The *Partap* of the 30th March says that the Premier's reply to the Khilafat deputation is apparently very forcible. There is, however, one defect in it. No class of British subjects had any religious connection with the rulers of Germany and Austria, and could not, therefore, feel offended at the treatment, howsoever severe, accorded to them. On the contrary, sixty millions of the King-Emperor's subjects look upon the Sultan of Turkey as their religious head. Any severity practised on Turkey will cause a shock to them and create feelings of uneasiness among twenty-one crore Hindus also. Is it proper for Government to ignore the sentiments of a very large number of their subjects? Did not Mr. Lloyd George change his Irish policy in order to please America? Will not Government pay as much regard to the feelings of the Muhammadans as it had for those of Mr. Wilson? Great Britain should prevail upon her allies so to decide the Turkish question as to win her the everlasting gratitude of the Muhammadans.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(e) The *Liberal* of 29th March writes:—"By previous arrangement and public announcement Friday, the 19th of this month, was observed as a day of protest against the fanatical agitation in England for the expulsion of the Turks and the Turkish Government from Constantinople and the general suppression of the Turks as an independent nation and a separate power . . . [This all-India demonstration] has special application to the unexpected agitation in England, since no such movement is reported from either France or Italy, the two other Allies in Europe . . . In spite of the solemn promise made by the Prime Minister and the grave warning of Mr. Montagu, Indian opinion is considered to be a negligible factor in the determination of the fate of Turkey. For the rest, there is nothing new in the charges brought against the Turks. The atrocities of the unspeakable Turk were as well known five years ago as they are to-day, but so long as Turkey served as a buffer state in the Near East the Ottomon empire, with all its abuses and evils, was not only tolerated, but the British and Turkish Governments were on perfectly friendly terms. It is only now after the war and the downfall of the Turkish Government that the conscience of some of the prelates and politicians of England has been suddenly aroused to the vileness of the Turks, and the clamant cry has been raised that they must clear out bag and baggage from Constantinople . . . The agitation in England is the acme of the spirit of aggrandisement."

DESH, (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(f) The *Desh* of the 1st April reports that it was suggested at a recent Khilafat meeting at Lahore that the Muhammadans should cease sending their boys to Christian mission schools and colleges to read. The reason advanced in support of the suggestion was that English and American clergymen were bent upon ruining the caliphate. It was also announced at the meeting that hundreds of Muslim students had already left the mission schools at Ambala and Ludhiana. No reasonable person can object to this behaviour on the part of the Muhammadans, seeing that they regard the clergymen referred to as their enemies. They have a right not to have their children educated at mission schools and to boycott these institutions. They have already announced their intention to boycott British goods; and if all mission schools and colleges are emptied of their Muhammadan pupils, we may expect the Muslim community to carry out its intention into practice. Otherwise, the announcement will be considered only an empty threat on its part.

Persia and Turkey.

KASHMIRI MAGAZINE (Lahore); Muhammad Din, editor.

2. The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 28th March states that the Persian Foreign Minister is about to lay before the Supreme Council the charges to which Turkey has rendered herself liable by violating the neutrality of Persia. At a time when all the Muhammadans have sunk their differences and are struggling for the preservation of the caliphate, we cannot but view this act on the part of Persia with feelings of wonder and surprise. Some Muhammadans are of opinion that the strings are being pulled by some one in the background. They argue that the misrule prevailing in Persia and her consequent weakness have bereft her of the courage to lay her grievances against the Turks before the Supreme Council. Praise is due to Great Britain, in that after only a few months' British administration of Persia there has come about so much awakening there. Wajid Ali Shah, the oppressed King of Oudh, felt constrained to hand over his throne to others in return for an annual grant of fifteen lakhs, but his love for his native land never let him leave this country. The ruler of Persia, however, has sold his independence in return for the reception accorded to him in a few western cities and the presentation to him of the freedom of Guild Hall and addresses from different associations. To crown all, he is even prepared to prove himself to be true to his salt by narrating a story of Turkish atrocities before the Supreme Council. We are also at a loss to understand what is meant by the neutrality of Persia. When Turkish forces crossed the Persian frontier, Tabrez and the Erivan *ilaka* were the headquarters of Russian troops, whence the latter used to move against the eastern part of the Ottoman empire. When the Turks saw that the north-west portion of Persia was under the control, not of the Shah, but of their Russian enemies, they were forced to cross the so-called Persian frontier.

Bolshevism.

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Ahmad Shah, editor.

3. "A MUHAMMADAN" writing to the *Zulfiqar* of the 24th March says that the originators of the Bolshevik movement wish to involve the world in destruction by disseminating their principles of government. The Muhammadan public needs able guidance as to what the holy Quran enjoins with regard to the sort of views which are held by the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevist principles of government are extremely detrimental to the ordered progress of the world, and justify the shedding of blood in order to secure possession of property. Continuing, the writer quotes a *fatwa* by Maulvi Ali-ul-Hairi of Lahore, who says that, as tested with the aid of the Quran, Bolshevist principles are certainly of a tyrannical character, seeing that they transgress the limits set by God. It is, therefore, wholly opposed to Quranic teachings to share Bolshevik views or to incline oneself towards them in the least. It is an unlawful act, nay, it renders one liable to be thrown into hell. The correspondent also transcribes a *fatwa* by Maulvi Mohsin Ali of Lahore, who gives the opinion that the principle followed by the Bolsheviks are wholly opposed to the teachings of Islam as embodied in the Quran, which contains numerous passages enjoining on the Muhammadans to abstain from movements like Bolshevism. Both these *fatwas* have been secured by the writer.

Indians in Canada.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

4. The *Desh* of the 26th March reports that one Sardar Batan Singh writing to the New York *World* states that an Indian named Sant Singh, who had resided in Canada for seven years, was not allowed to land there on his return from a visit to India. Commenting, the paper says that it is most regrettable that although Indians are allowed to stand shoulder to shoulder with people from Canada, Africa and England in laying down their lives on the battlefield, they should be prevented from setting foot on Canadian soil with the object of earning their bread there. A more flagrant instance of injustice can hardly be conceived.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore; Amar Singh, editor.

5. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 28th March contends that honorary magistrates and municipal commissioners wield no influence in villages or towns; that they can never prove of much help to Government; and that they are mere sycophants who receive grants of land, *jagirs* and titles by flattering and misleading the authorities. Now, adds the paper, they are getting seats on

the reformed Councils distributed in a manner which precludes the possibility of any but themselves being elected. The officers who are agreeing to their proposals do not realize that opposition to Government and feelings of unrest will increase in the country in consequence. For some time there will undoubtedly be less opposition to Government in the Councils than is the case at present, but agitation and dissatisfaction will continue outside the Council chamber. Feelings of unrest and resentmen will not disappear until the doors of the Councils and all other representative bodies are thrown open to the real and true representatives of the people. Government displeased the Hindus by passing the Alienation of Land Act, which turned most of them into extremists. The division of appointments to the public service on communal lines had the effect of accentuating the resentment thus caused. The passing of the Rowlatt Act united the Hindus and Muhammadans, and the agitation over the caliphate question has cemented this union. The authorities should now have sided with the public and parted company with the useless class of sycophants in question. The proposed differentiation between the urban and rural population in the matter of representation on the Councils will undoubtedly be advantageous for these selfish people in some respects. It will, however, create feelings of uncompromising hostility to Government in the urban population, while the time will come when the residents of towns and villages will unite, which will inaugurate strong opposition to Government in the Councils. The events will be most deplorable, but the responsibility for it will lie exclusively with the short-sighted officials who, instead of securing the sympathy of the public, are trying to win over sycophants with no influence.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Voting in the Councils.

6. The *Tribune* of the 28th March writes :—"Referring to the question recently raised by Babu Surendranath Bannerjea in the Imperial Legislative Council as to whether members who were not present during a debate were entitled to vote. . . . the *Pioneer* reminds Mr. Bannerjea that the practice is common enough in England, where 'large numbers of members of the House of Cammons vote on all kinds of subjects who have not been present during the actual debates.' . . . What we do not see is why India should borrow so patent an absurdity merely because it exists in England. . . . To enable men to vote without having listened to the debate is practically identical with enabling them to vote by proxy or by letter. This is especially so in India where the officials have a standing non-elected majority and where party discipline on the official side is naturally even more rigid than in a self-governing country. To enable members to vote without listening to debates in such a case would be to reduce the existence of non-official members, for purposes of debates, literally to a nullity. We do hope for the decency of public life no less than in the interests of commonsense that the practice should be nipped in the bud."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Reverse Council Bills.

7. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 1st April :—"There has been a great outcry in the country against the present practice of the Government in selling Reverse Council Bills at a rate much higher than the bank rate to the advantage of a particular class of merchants and others who find it profitable to transfer large sums of money from India to England . . . It has been suggested that the scheme of selling Reverse Councils can be modified so as to make it less objectionable. Already the difference between the Government and the bank rates has been reduced and the weekly loss to the country is much less now than before. But the question is why India should at all be subjected to any loss in this respect in order to benefit a small class of capitalists. The absolute necessity for the sale of Reverse Councils has not arisen yet, and may not arise in future. At any rate, unless the exchange falls below the point fixed by the Currency Commission any action taken in anticipation of an imaginary danger is as undesirable as it is fallacious. The recommendations of the Currency Commission themselves have not been welcomed by many Indian merchants and financiers. Its fixing the exchange at a high rate is criticised as tending to benefit England more than India. And the very hasty and premature action taken by the Government in selling Reverse Councils with the ostensible object of keeping up the exchange in accordance with one of the principal recommendations of that Commission, has naturally caused the present outcry. It is obvious that the authorities should move with less speed in this matter. It must be

noted that Mr. Hailey does not admit that the loss India has incurred in the sale of Reverse Councils is a *real* loss."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Punjab disturbances.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. (*a*) Writing about the Viceroy's orders in the cases of the Amritsar rioters sentenced to death, the *Tribune* of the 1st April says:—"The decision as a whole is deeply disappointing, though naturally less so than it would be if the Government of India were to decline to interfere in all cases.... It is extremely regrettable that the Government should have left the sentences of two of the prisoners as they were, and in the case of the other three should have considered that the requirements of the case could be met by a commutation of the capital sentence to what in law is the equivalent of it, a sentence of transportation for life.... As regards the two prisoners, whose sentences the Governor-General in Council has not seen fit to modify, we sincerely hope a final effort will be made to have their lives saved by an appeal to the Secretary of State, and that the Government of India will afford the necessary facilities for such an appeal. We cannot help thinking that the Government has largely thrown away an excellent opportunity of striking the popular imagination by adopting a policy of open-handed magnanimity in its hour of triumph—for the Privy Council decision was a technical triumph for the Government—and the highest interests of statesmanship require that it should afford an opportunity to the Secretary of State to do what it has itself left undone."

(*b*) Writing about the recent Punjab Provincial Conference, the *Tribune* of the 2nd April says:—"The disturbances of last year, the causes that led to them and the measures taken by the authorities, nominally to suppress them, but in reality to punish the Punjab for its having foiled the late Lieutenant-Governor, constituted a tragedy without a parallel in British Indian history... A good many of the leaders in different parts of the province, including the president-elect himself, had to pay dearly for their independence, their public spirit and their patriotism, and were not only dealt with summarily, but had martial law justice in all its ugly features meted out to them... What is equally if not even more essential is that they [the disturbances] should be prevented in future, and this can only be done when those responsible for past misdeeds are brought to justice and when public opinion gets sufficiently strengthened partly in the very process of the persecution and partly in consequence of the resentment caused by it to render repetition of it impossible."

(*c*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 2nd April:—"Replying to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law said:—'The extract from the Punjab Government's report to the Government of India published as Cmd. 534 is merely a narrative of events.' The description of this 'preliminary whitewash', as an English journal felicitously called it, as only 'a narrative of events' is not only incorrect but disingenuous, though, of course, the disingenuousness is not on the part of Mr. Bonar Law, but of those who put the reply in his mouth. Had Mr. Bonar Law taken the trouble to read the report with the most ordinary care, he would have seen that it is as far from being a mere narrative as any similar document could possibly be. Alike in its obvious intention as well as in its execution it is the painting of the official lion by himself, an extremely partisan view of what is perhaps the saddest chapter in British Indian history."

The Congress report on the disturbances.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. (*a*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 28th March:—"Judging from the Associated Press summary of the report of the commissioners appointed ... by the sub-committee of the Indian National Congress to enquire into the Punjab disorders .... our eminent countrymen have acquitted themselves in a manner entirely worthy of their high reputation for probity and of the momentous nature of the occasion. The report is a carefully and conscientiously prepared document on a subject of the greatest public importance, in which no effort is made to extenuate the excesses on the part of the mob, and nothing is set down in malice against officials who made a palpably and outrageously oppressive use of power vested in them for a very different purpose. The sense of responsibility of the commissioners

and their almost nervous anxiety to do justice to all sides are visible in every line of the summarised report.... There is only too manifest a tendency to understate rather than exaggerate the case against the authorities..... The same sobriety and scrupulousness is shown in the framing of the judgments, which is an infinitely more difficult process. The most conspicuous example of this sobriety and this scrupulousness is the deliberate omission on their part to advise that some of the officials, including Sir Michael O'Dwyer, should be impeached..... 'Future purity' they say, 'will be sufficiently guaranteed by the dismissal of the officials concerned.' Any one who knows how strong is the feeling in the country generally and among the people affected in particular regarding the conduct of these officials, will recognise the splendid courage which the commissioners have shown by the transparent modesty of their demand. On every point except this one the verdict of the commissioners is the verdict which public opinion has, from the first, passed upon the affair and those connected with it." [Next the newspaper refers to the commissioners' findings on various points and concludes as follows:—]. "What notice the Imperial Government and the British public will take of these judgments, it is not for us to say or to antipicate. What we can say without any exaggeration and without any fear of contradiction is that they constitute the cope-stone to the dark edifice of popular condemnation of martial law, of the excesses perpetrated under it and of the men responsible for them which no amount of whitewashing will ever succeed in making less dark."

(b) In its issue dated the 31st March the paper quotes two passages from the report in condemnation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration, and comments as follows:—"This deliberate verdict is not in the nature of a vague generality indulged in by irresponsible critics, but is the judgment of a commission, presided over by a man who would rather cut off his right hand than commit himself to a proposition of the correctness of which he was not absolutely convinced, and consisting of members every one of whom is a lawyer of eminence and as such accustomed to sift evidence every day of his life. Nor is the evidence on which the judgment is based kept in the background..... Except for the popular excesses strongly and justly condemned in the report, the responsibility for all that happened [in April last] must be laid either directly or indirectly, either immediately or remotely, at the door of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and while his career must for all time be a lesson and a warning to all British officials in India, it is the clear duty of his countrymen and of the Government he served, in their own interest, to make an example of him."

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

(c) The *Partap* of the 30th March says that the only objection that can be urged against the report is that the witnesses examined by the commissioners were not cross-examined by the other party. The objection is undoubtedly weighty, and we admit that it will be certain to detract from the value of the report. The same objection can, however, be raised against the proceedings of the Hunter committee. Only one party's witnesses made statements before the committee, and were not subjected to cross-examination by the other. Continuing, the paper asks the people to read the Congress report in the same spirit in which it has been written. It considers it necessary for Government also to pay attention to the report. The document emanates from the commission appointed by the country, and it is essential for Government to acquaint itself with public opinion in regard to the disturbances of 1919. If it desires, as we know that it does, to maintain peace in, and banish unrest from, the country, it must study the report with care.

KHALSA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Sardar Singh,
editor.

The Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

10. (a) In its combined issue dated the 19th and 26th March the *Khalsa Akhbar* publishes a communication from "MASTER" SUNDAR SINGH, Joint Secretary, District Sikh League, Lyallpur. After stating that the Sikhs took a prominent part in opposing the Rowlatt Act and that most of the Jallianwala Bagh martyrs were their co-religionists, the writer dilates on the spirit of resignation and fearlessness displayed by the Sikhs arrested and convicted in connection with last year's disturbances. Continuing, he says that, in view of the sacrifices made by the Sikhs, the members of the Jallianwala Bagh memorial committee should include some Sikhs also. In conclusion, he appeals to the Sikhs to make liberal contributions in aid of the memorial, adding that he will himself collect funds from the 6th to 13th April.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Commenting on an appeal issued by the secretary to the Jallianwala Bagh memorial committee for funds in aid of the project, the *Tribune* of the 1st April writes :—" [The] failure on our part to honour the memory of the brave and innocent persons who shed their blood at Jallianwala Bagh in defence of the sacred and elementary rights of public meeting and of free speech would be a national disgrace . . . We have no doubt . . . that in these days when one hears so much of the capital of all sorts and conditions of new companies being oversubscribed, there will be no difficulty in raising the comparatively humble sum of ten lakhs in the whole of India in aid of a national memorial, commemorative alike of Hindu-Mahomedan unity and of the precious blood shed in defence of national rights, on the erection of which all that is good and true in self-conscious India has set its heart."

(*c*) The paper also publishes the following from Lala LAJPAT RAI :—"Baisakhi is approaching. It is the Hindu new year's day which is considered auspicious and sacred in the land of the Five Rivers. Amritsar is the only city of the Punjab, to which for the Baisakhi the Punjabis throng in their thousands (sometimes hundreds of thousands) for a dip in the holy tank. The events of the last year have made it doubly sacred. It was on this day last year that hundreds of our countrymen died and thousands of them were wounded while assembled in a meeting in defence of their fundamental rights of free speech and free assemblage. It was on this day that Madan Mohan, the boy martyr of Amritsar, lost his life. It was on this day that the tender plant of Hindu-Mahomedan unity, watered by the joint blood of the two communities, grew into a popular tree. The sacred Baisakhi is, therefore, the starting point of a new era, a new Samwat to be henceforth called the Jallianwala Samwat. Henceforth Jallianwala Bagh shall be the symbol of our political unity, the constant reminder to us of our destiny, the inspirer of our future, and the token of our love of liberty. In consecrating our lives to the service of the cause symbolised by 'Jallianwala' we shall forget the authors of the tragedy whom Providence used as tools for his own purpose ; we shall try to think of them kindly, excusing them as the passive victims of their racial pride and arrogance, the agents of a system rather than the active and deliberate pursuers of a policy of wholesale murder. We shall remember the good and forget the evil. Every Baisakhi we shall renew our vows and solemnly pledge our lives to the service of the country for which hundreds of our people died. . . . We shall observe it not as a day of mourning but as a day of prayer. We shall not mourn over our losses but rejoice over gains. The dead died to give us life and the only way in which we can respect their memory and honour their sacrifice is by living noble lives—lives of sacrifice and service for the motherland. . . . Hindus and Mahomedans, beware of the curse of Jallianwala in case you break the compact. Indian nationhood has acquired new dignity in the Jallianwala Bagh and it is to maintain that dignity in its purity and grandeur that we propose to perpetuate the memory of Jallianwala by preserving the plot as a national memorial. . . . All India must contribute towards the cost of this memorial and we are confident that all India will contribute, but the sons and daughters of the Punjab have a special duty which they cannot shirk except at the risk of eternal shame and digrace. . . It is the duty of every Panjabi, wherever he may be, whatever his religion or belief or political opinion, to subscribe for this memorial and to subscribe as liberally as he can."

Mr. Justice Shadi Lal.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), Hindu ; K. N. Roy, editor.

11. The *Tribune* of the 3rd April has the following :—" It is with the sincerest pleasure we learn that Mr. Justice Shadi Lal has been appointed Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court in succession to Sir Henry Rattigan. The appointment will give unbounded satisfaction to the people of India, in the first place, because Mr. Justice Shadi Lal is eminently fitted for the high office, alike by his intellectual attainments, his commanding position both as a lawyer and judge, and the universal esteem and regard in which he is held, and secondly, because this is the first time that an Indian has been permanently appointed to this exalted office. To us in the Punjab it is a matter for special congratulation that it is our High Court and our province on which the high honour of having the first Indian Chief Justice has been conferred. While congratulating both the Government of India and the Secretary of State on behalf of the whole country on this eminently just, wise and statesmanlike action, a

fitting prelude to the new era, we feel that the gratitude of our own province is especially due to His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan, but for whose whole-hearted support the appointment would not have been possible.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Mular Singh, editor.

The Indian army.

12. The *Jat Gazette* of the 24th March complains that the pay of the sepoy is very low and that the rates of pension fixed for him are by no means generous. The civil employees of Government receive one-half of their salaries as pension, but this privilege is denied to military pensioners. As to the pay allowed to Indian soldiers and officers, it is so small that a large majority of them would voluntarily leave service if they were allowed to do so. They should be placed on a footing of equality with their British *confreres* ; but if this is impracticable, they should be paid at the same rates as the latter at least for the periods during which they serve outside India, while they should have similar concessions regarding rations, clothing and family allowances. There should, besides, be better barracks and better arrangements for recreation for them. They also require for their treatment hospitals equipped with the latest scientific apparatus and provisioned will all medicines. Again, every regiment should have attached to it co-operative stores to supply their family requirements, a co-operative bank to lend them money at low rates of interest, and a school for the education of their children. The schools already in existence for imparting education to illiterate sepoys should be improved. It would also be very useful for both Government and the sepoys if the latter are taught some useful work in their leisure hours such as gardening, agriculture, tailoring, carpentry, weaving and the like. We feel confident that the Esher Committee will favourably consider the suggestions made by us.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Pay of railway employees.

13. The *Railway* of the 31st March says that railway employees should not wait for their demands to be met by the authorities concerned. A child has to cry to get milk even from its mother. The officials in question, who have to deal with a step mother, will have to resort to a somewhat stern measure in order to get their meals from her. The only means now left to them consists in protest and strike. They should not be misled by her sweet words, which would spoil their whole case. They should remain firm and unbending until they get all their dues. Continuing, the paper requests the North-Western Railway Association not to put off a resort to the last and final weapon. The preparations have well nigh been completed. The Association should bear in mind that the officials are hard at work to frustrate all its efforts. It should strike the blow before their devices succeed. We hope that it will come to a speedy conclusion, and that the railway employees will abide by that decision, thereby promoting their own and the future generations' betterment.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Punjab press.

14. The *Desh* of the 1st April reports that several new dailies are about to be started in Lahore. After stating that a daily called the *Qaum* is to be launched under the patronage of Lala Lajpat Rai, the paper says that Sir Michael O'Dwyer believed that he had so crushed the Punjab with the aid of martial law that she would be politically dead for fifty years to come. As a matter of fact, however, she has attained the vigour of youth fifty years earlier.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 3rd April 1920.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1920.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. H. Hardy	*Civil & Military Gazette* Press, Lahore; 3,800.
2	**Pindi Mail**	Rawalpindi	Muhammad Sharif	Commercial Union Press, Rawalpindi; 1,200.
3	**Tribune**	Lahore	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 5,000.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 677.
5	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 1,009.
6	Liddell's Weekly†	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 600.
7	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
8	Simla Times†	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
9	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. R. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,350.
10	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	Khosla Brothers' Press, Lahore; 700.
11	East and West	Simla	S. Jogindra Singh	Army Press, Simla; 410.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 462.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 325.
14	Vedic Magazine	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 465.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Aftab**	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 815.
17	**Akash***	Do.	Diwan Chand	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore;
18	**Akhbar-i-'Am**	Do.	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore;
19	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 2,300.
20	**Insaf**	Do.	Amar Nath Shad	Insaf Steam Press, Lahore; 3,000.
21	**Khuda Dost**	Do.	Nand Gopal	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore;
22	**Leader**	Do.	Sham Lal	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
23	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
24	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B A.	Parkash Steam Press, Lahore;
25	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,900.
26	**Punjab***	Amritsar	David Shahbaz Akhgar	*Punjab* Press, Amritsar; 1,500.
27	**Railway**	Lahore	Badri Nath Sharma	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore;
28	**Siyasat**	Do.	Habib Shah	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
29	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar;
	BI-WEEKLY.			
30	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 878.
31	**Paigham-i-Sulah**	Lahore	Murtza Khan	Muslim Ahmadia Printing Press, Lahore; 333.
32	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,624.

* Defunct.
† Not received during the quarter.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1920—continued.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—continued.			
	Weekly.			
33	Ahl-i-Hadis ...	Amritsar ...	Sana Ulla ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,186.
34	**Akhbar-i-'Am** ...	Lahore ...	Gopi Nath ...	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
35	Al-Hakam ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	S. Yakub Ali ...	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian ; 600.
36	**Al-Munir** ...	Jhang ...	Ghulam Hussain ..	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang ; 1,485.
37	Al-Qureish ...	Amritsar ...	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Works, Amritsar ; 300.
38	**Ar-Rai** ..	Lahore ...	Fateh Muhammad ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
39	Arorbans Gazette ...	Amritsar ...	Narain Das ...	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 900.
40	Arorbans Sudharak ...	Lahore ...	Salig Ram ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
41	**Arya Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Khushal Chand, B.A. ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,529.
42	Brahman Samachar ..	Do. ...	Vidya Rattan ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 950.
43	Desh Upkarak ...	Do. ...	Thakar Dat Sharma ...	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
44	Dharm ...	Do. ...	Karam Chand Bahl ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
45	Faruq ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Qasim Ali ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 495.
46	**Himala** ..	Lahore ...	Dina Nath ...	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 4,380.
47	Hindu Gazette* ..	Do. ...	Kishan Chand .	*Parkash* Steam Press Lahore ; 385.
48	Intikhab-i-Lajawab ..	Do. ..	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,682.
49	Ishait-ul-Quran ...	Do. ...	Fazal Ahmad ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 400.
50	Ittihad ..	Amritsar ...	Muhammad Sardar Khan, Nashat.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 250.
51	**Jat Gazette** ...	Rohtak ...	Molar Singh ...	Hariana Press, Rohtak ; 691.
52	Jiwan Tat ...	Lahore ...	Amar Singh ...	Jiwan Press, Lahore ; 334.
53	**Kashmiri Magazine** ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Din, Fauq ..	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 930.
54	**Khalsa Akhbar** ...	Do. ..	Sardar Singh .	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,300.
55	**Loyal Gazette** ..	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,550.
56	**Municipal Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Din Muhammad ..	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 440.
57	Nur Afshan .	Ludhiana ...	Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry ...	Mission Steam Press, Ludhiana ; 493.
58	**Nusrat*** ..	Amritsar ...	Hakim Muhammad Inayat Khan.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 350.
59	**Paisa Akhbar** ...	Lahore ..	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 4,610.
60	**Parkash** ...	Do. ...	Radha Krishna, B.A. ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,545.
61	Phul ...	Lahore ...	Mumtaz Ali ...	Universal Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
62	**Rajput Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Sukhram Das ..	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 970.
63	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar ...	Ralia Ram ..	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 728.
64	Sanatan Dharm Patrika* ...	Lahore ...	Diwan Chand Sharma ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
65	**Shanti** ...	Rawalpindi ..	Kishan Chand, Mohan ...	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi ; 875.
66	Sharif Bibi ..	Lahore ...	Fatima ...	Khadim-ul Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 100.
67	Tahzib-i-Niswan ...	Do. ...	Mumtaz Ali's daughter ...	Universal Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
68	**Victoria Paper** ...	Sialkot ...	Brij Lal ...	*Victoria Paper* Press, Sialkot ; 800.
69	**Virat*** ...	Lahore ...	Banke Dial ...	Ranjit Steam Press, Lahore ; 650.
70	**Watan** ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Insha Ullah ...	Karimi Steam Press, Lahore ; 630.
71	Zulfiqar ...	Do. ...	S. Ahmad Shah Shamsi ...	Sewak Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.

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* Defunct.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1920—continued.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—concluded.			
	Tri-Monthly.			
72	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Abu Turab Muhammad Abdul Haq.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 300.
73	Intikhab	Gujranwala	Wali Ullah	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
74	Mukhbir	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar; 250.
75	Sialkot Paper	Sialkot	Todar Mal	Indar Press, Sialkot; 200.
	Fortnightly.			
76	Aijaz-ul-Quran	Amritsar	Zia Ullah	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 200.
77	Al-Faqih	Do.	Hakim Miraj Din	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 300.
78	Brahm Parcharak	Lahore	Nirmal Chandar	Universal Press, Lahore; 243.
79	Mister Gazette	Do.	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 200.
80	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 417.
81	Paigham-i-Sarin*	Lahore	Dogar Mal	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
82	Rajput Hitkari	Do.	Daswandhi Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 875.
	Monthly.			
83	Ahmadi Khatun*	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Yaqub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 500.
84	Ahluwalia Rajput*	Lahore	Amar Nath Shad	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
85	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra	Amritsar	Moti Ram	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 200.
86	Al Aziz	Batala	Q. Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar; 250.
87	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 400.
88	Anwar-us-Sufia	Do.	Hafiz Zafar Ali	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 800.
89	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Mukand Lal	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 550.
90	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai Bishwasi	Universal Press, Lahore; 300.
91	Darshananand	Do.	Nar Singh Sharma	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
92	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
93	Mehra Sudhar†	Do.	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A.	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
94	Makhzan	Do.	Khan Bahadur Sh. Abdul Qadir, B.A.	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 752.
95	Martand	Do.	Ram Lal	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,065.
96	Mastana Jogi	Do.	Sufi Lachhman Parshad	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
97	Naqshband	Sialkot	Ahmad Din	*Naqshband* Press, Sialkot; 400.
98	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mittar Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala; 800.
99	Qasid	Montgomery	James William	Universal Press, Lahore; 250.
100	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Lahore	Pir Bakhsh	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
101	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore City	Manohar Lal	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 345.
102	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar; 300.
103	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore; 569.
104	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 4,300.
105	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore; 226.
106	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Zahur Din	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 700.

* Defunct.
† An irregular periodical.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1920—concluded.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI.			
	WEEKLY.			
107	**Khalsa Samachar**	Amritsar	Vir Singh	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,234.
108	**Panch**	Lahore	Ram Singh	Model Electric Press, Lahore; 1,500.
109	**Panth Sewak***	Do.	Chanda Singh	Universal Press, Lahore; 2,000
110	**Punjab Darpan**	Amritsar	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 800.
111	**Sikh Sepoy**	Ferozepore City	Tek Singh	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 350.
112	**Sri Guru Nanak Darshan.**	Amritsar	Sant Sumer Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,000.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
113	Chandar*	Lyallpur	Raghbir Singh	Royal Press, Lyallpur; 450.
114	Nirguniara	Amritsar	Khalsa Tract Society (?)	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 257.
	MONTHLY.			
115	Punjabi Bhain	Ferozepore	Takht Singh	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 1,050.
	QUARTERLY.			
116	Dukh Niwaran	Tarn Taran (Amritsar)	Mohan Singh	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 500.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
117	Sewak	Lahore	Amar Singh	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 200.

* Defunct.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 31st publishes the second instalment of its article on the Premier's reply to the Khilafat deputation. It agrees with him that England never fought against Turkey before the war, but contends that in the Crimean war she as well as France helped Turkey, not out of any love for the Turks but out of enmity towards Russia. As long as Turkey was a powerful kingdom, England, France and all other states maintained friendly relations with her. Subsequently England took possession of Egypt and Cyprus, both of which were Turkish possessions, and her friendship for Turkey came to an end. Again, England and France did not espouse the cause of Turkey when Tripoli was occupied by Italy, nay, they did not even allow Turkish forces to pass through Egypt to fight Italy. This is not all; when Turkey defeated Greece, the European powers made Turkey to restore the conquered territory to the Greeks. On the other hand, when the Balkan states attacked Turkey, the maintenance of the *status quo ante bellum* was not insisted on. Turkey was assured on the outbreak of the war that this position would be maintained, but the powers, including England, did not raise even their little finger to redeem the pledge. Coming to the European war, the paper says that the forfeiture of two warships, which they had got built in England, had the effect of incensing the Turks against her. It also takes exception to Mr. Lloyd George's assertion that the same treatment is being accorded to Turkey as had been extended to Christian Germany and Austria. She has been subjected to far greater hardships than the latter two countries. In the first place, she has had, unlike them, to suffer troubles inseparable from a long armistice, while the Greeks and Armenians have killed hundreds of thousands of innocent Turks during this period of suspense. The paper then quotes the *Sunday Pictorial* to show that Germany has suffered far less than Turkey, and that while the possessions wrested from the former were conquered by her only a generation or two ago, the latter is being deprived of places conquered by her five centuries back. How can the Premier assert in these circumstances, it asks, that the same treatment has been meted out to Christian and Muhammadan powers? After contending that Bulgaria and Austria also have fared better than Turkey, it says that while the Hungarians, Czechoslavs and Yugoslavs have been made independent. England, France and the Jews have occupied Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine respectively. In conclusion, the *Paisa Akhbar* says that the Premier's reply is disappointing in every way and likely to cause pain

and grief to the Muhammadans. It surprises one to read his remark that the settlement of the Turkish question has been very largely affected by the opinion of India, especially the Indian Muhammadans. This settlement does not show where the Allies deferred to the wishes of the Muhammadans of this country. And what would have been the nature of the settlement if these wishes had not been kept in view!

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(b) The *Vakil* of the 1st April states that the inhabitants of central Europe were asked under whose rule they would like to remain in future, the final decision having been in conformity with their views. Will a plebiscite be taken in Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia and other parts of the Ottoman empire also. Mr. Lloyd George referred to the census figures of Smyrna and Thrace, but the fate of the Turkish possessions should not be decided on the basis only of figures. It is the duty of the Supreme Council to inquire from the above countries what sort of rule they would like in future and under whom they would prefer to pass their days. No differentiation should be made between Christian and Islamic nations in this respect, the same treatment being accorded to both. The paper then goes on to say that Turkey deserves special treatment, her ruler being the caliph of Muhammadans, as also the guardian of their sacred places. In conclusion, it says that Mr. Lloyd George's assertion that the settlement of the Turkish question has been largely affected by the opinion of India, is very surprising. The settlement as outlined by him in his speech shows absolutely no trace of this deep effect. And if it is really the result of this effect, God alone knows what would have been the end of Turkey in its absence.

SIDAQAT
(Lahore);
Ghulam Haidar,
editor.

(c) The *Sidaqat* of the 1st April says that the European powers dealt a secret blow to the Sultan's caliphate during the Turco-Italian war. Although Egypt was then under His Majesty's suzerainty, Lord Kitchener did not allow Turkish forces to pass through it. His Lordship and other British statesmen knew full well that the advent of Turkish forces into Tripoli would mean a crushing defeat for Italy, which would have been attended with very dangerous consequences, not only for England, but for other Christian powers as well. It is true that outwardly England remained neutral and professed sympathy for the sentiments of her Indian subjects. We can, however, fully see through the policy which the European powers were pursuing with the secret object of putting Italy in possession of Tripoli. This conduct on their part was the first blow dealt to the Turkish caliphate. The second blow was delivered during the Balkan war, when the Turks lost most of their European possessions. Turkey was in a very sad plight when the great European war broke out. England did her utmost to keep Turkey neutral, going the length of assuring the latter that her neutrality would ensure her independence for at least twenty-five or thirty years to come. In view, however, of England's past treatment of her and the former's evasion in handing over Turkish warships to her, Turkey had only one alternative left, *viz.*, to throw in her lot with Germany. Continuing, the paper says that during the course of the war the British held out to the Indian Muslims the assurance that their holy places would not be interfered with. But the Sherif's revolt and his occupation of Mecca and Medina caused misgivings in the minds of the Muhammadans. It is an open secret that if the Sherif had not been backed by Great Britain, he would never have rebelled against the Sultan or succeeded in gaining his object. The Muhammadans naturally felt pained when Arabia came under British domination, and all the holy places of Islam passed out of their hands. In conclusion, the *Sidaqat* remarks that Mr. Lloyd George's pledges in regard to Turkey were the pledges of the British Government, and it was the duty of the British people to redeem them. We find to-day, however, that a strong party in England, including Lord Curzon, Lord Robert Cecil and the clergy, is demanding the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. This is the third blow to the Sultan's caliphate.

WATAN
(Lahore);
Insha Ullah,
editor.

(d) The *Watan* of the 2nd April says that the British Government still believes that if it were to displease the Indian Muhammadans, they might create difficulties for it by raising the standard of revolt, and that it must, therefore, reassure them in some way. The announcement by them, however, that they will not remain loyal in the event of the settlement of the Turkish question not being to their liking, would deal a death blow to their present position. If, they accomplish nothing even after their ultimatum to Government and no unusual difficulties confront the latter, with what face will they speak of their special importance in future? Government will then be at liberty to treat and disgrace them in any way it may like. It is, therefore, necessary that resolutions on loyalty or disloyalty should be adopted after only a careful consideration of the position of the Muhammadans of India. The enthusiasm visible at public gatherings and the cheering by the populace should not mislead the leaders in judging of things.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(e) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 2nd April publishes a communication from SYED TAHAWWUR HUSAIN of Multan city. The writer says that the Indian Muhammadans have raised the caliphate question after ruining the Turks with their own hands. He asks them to think whether there is any good in carrying on the agitition started by them. Will the conquerors hand back the conquered territories to Turkey? The British Government has, besides, so won the hearts of the inhabitants of these places that they are loudly imploring it not to withdraw its protection from them. After remarking that the Muhammadans have now two courses open to them, *viz.*, migration or *jehad*, the writer endeavours to show how it is impracticable for them to adopt either.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(f) The *Aftab* of the 3rd April says that the Allies have taken possession of Constantinople and have also plainly declared that Thrace and Smyrna would go to the Greeks. These proceedings are most discouraging and offensive, and have profoundly disturbed the followers of Islam. The matter is connected with religion, which the Muhammadans hold dearer than their lives and property. They will make every possible effort to conform to Islamic injunctions in the matter.

ITTIHAD (Amritsar); Sardar Khan, editor.

(g) The *Ittihad* of the 4th April ironically remarks that Europe is most anxious to banish ignorance from Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. The Premier stated in the course of his reply to the Khilafat deputation that the Arabs had asked for independence and release from Turkish domination. If this is really so, why have the demands of the Damascus Congress been rejected? Why have both England and France refused to recognise the independence of Syria? Does the term 'independence' mean that the Arabs, who proved traitors to the Turks for the sake of England and France, should become slaves of those countries?

Bolshevism.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam; editor.

2. (a) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th April says that the Bolshevik movement results in the murder of the weak and innocent everywhere. The Bolsheviks make use of economic, religious and national forces to achieve their objects. It is possible that the Bolsheviks and Afghans or the former and the Turks may join hands, just as the Bolsheviks and Germans did, for a short space of time. But such union can never be permanent, being intended only to serve a temporary purpose. Continuing, the paper says that the Reds spread their propaganda in the Asiatic possessions of Russia with the aid of the sword. When we read in the papers that the Bolshevik have brought Bokhara and Khiva or the Muhammadans of Turkistan under their influence, we should not rush to the conclusions that the Muslims concerned have turned Bolsheviks. The event only means that the Bolsheviks are in military possession of these countries and are ruling there with the sword. The Bolshevik emissaries have been doing their utmost to popularize their movement among the Prophet's followers in central Asia. Most of the latter have identified themselves with Bolshevism for fear of life or in order to escape hunger and starvation. But the Muhammadans in general evince no interest in the movement, nay, they abhor it. Since Bolshevism has been spread with the sword it cannot prove very lasting. The paper then goes on to say that the Bolsheviks are trying to convert the Afghans and the Turks to their ideas by means of bribes. They are doing so only to secure the latter's help in their campaign against England. The nationalists of Turkey having failed to derive any benefit from their union with Germany are now forming an alliance with the Bolsheviks. Like the Germans, the Russians and the Turks also wish to make trouble for England in India. They cannot send their forces to this country and are, therefore, trying to make it too hot for the English by inflaming the frontier tribes, causing disturbances in India and leading the Afghans astray. The idea can, however, never materialise, the reasons for which are obvious. The Muhammadans cannot identify themselves with this movement without disobeying the injunctions of the Quran.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(b) The *Railway* of the 8th April expresses surprise at the report that the Bolsheviks are about to attack Afghanistan. That country, it adds, is not powerful enough to withstand their trained armies. After remarking that the Bolsheviks are also trying to interfere with the peace of India, it says that if they succeed in taking Afghanistan, they will be certain to invade this country and do their utmost to conquer it. If, therefore, Government desires that the people should devote their all to the defence of India, it should grant their wishes respecting the caliphate question. In the other event, complications are apprehended to arise.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians in the colonies.

3. The *Tribune* of the 10th April writes :—"The position of Indians in almost all the British Dominions and Colonies continues to be one of unbearable suffering and humiliation and the British statesmen who preach Imperial preference and India's duties and obligations to the Empire have been as helpless to-day in remedying this palpable and glaring wrong as they ever were. Regarding the recent shooting of Indians in Fiji Mr. D. M. Manilal writes from Suva—'The recent riots provoked by a false rumour started by some European to frighten Indian women, have defined the position of Indians in Fiji. Legislation has placed the brand of inferiority on every Indian, who cannot move or remain in Suva without a permit, whilst every Fijian, Samoan, half-caste Chinaman, Japanese or Polynesian has the same privilege as Europeans. Over twenty-five Indian women have been locked up. All this is to frighten Indians to return to work. What do the Government of India mean by receiving Fiji's deputation for begging new labour emigration ?' We are well nigh tired of commissions and committees of inquiries, which are in many cases only expedients to gain time, to whitewash ugly blots and perpetuate deep-rooted wrong. It is time that strong and drastic action were taken by Imperial authorities to give effect to their loud professions in regard to the people of India abroad."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The reforms.

4. (*a*) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 4th April:—"The advisory committee of the non-official members of the Punjab Legislative Council have declared it to be too much to grant us more than nine seats under the new scheme—us, the *ex*-rulers of the land, the leading landlords and colonists and the greatest defenders of India ! . . . . But Government can easily remedy this defect, if it care to, with a view to giving the loyal Khalsa his due. An Urdu contemporary has advised both the honourable Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council to resign their seats as a protest against the treatment that has been meted out to Sikh claims by the Punjab advisory committee, and this advice has been warmly supported by an esteemed brother in the columns of the *Khalsa Advocate*. While we sincerely admire the spirit that actuates the suggestion, we are afraid, we cannot, in view of the present interests of the community, endorse it. . . . . So far as our connections with the Government are concerned, a leader can work more usefully when he is in the Council than when he is out of it."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 8th April, writes :—"One of the most important resolutions adopted at the Jullundur Conference was that which placed on record the strong and emphatic opinion of the Conference that 'in order to ensure the smooth and successful working of the constitutional reforms it is highly desirable that officials who were directly connected with the introduction and administration of martial law and other high-handed acts of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's reactionary regime should not be associated with the carrying out of the reforms in the province.' Sir Edward Maclagan has been long enough in the province as head of the administration to know who these officials are, and how impossible they have made themselves in this province. They are not merely or chiefly the officials whose punishment, either by dismissal or by prosecution, the Conference and other public bodies as well as the press have been urging with a singular unanimity and emphasis. The foremost of them—we must state with absolute frankness—is Mr. Thompson, who was throughout the whole of the period of trouble Sir Michael O'Dwyer's right-hand man and was more intimately associated with him during those days than any other official. Nor did Mr. Thompson for one single moment show any sign of repentance, even after the worst had come to the worst. Even in the calmer atmosphere of the Imperial Legislative Council he introduced some of the heat which animated him and his chief during the fateful days of April and May. . . If a plebiscite were taken, we are absolutely certain that the whole of the educated Punjab, with the exception of the handful of notorious toadies, would with one voice ask that Mr. Thompson should no longer be associated with the Punjab administration. . . . We are particularly anxious that, the good work which Sir Edward Maclagan has so nobly begun, the work of pacifying and conciliating the Punjab, should not be spoiled by the association with him and his Government of an official who has made himself so highly unpopular among all sections of the Indian community. Next to Mr. Thompson is Mr. Ellis, the late Legal Remembrancer, who was to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in all matters of law what Mr. Thompson was in matters of general policy, and to whom not only the launching of prosecutions against many innocent men but not a few monstrous failures of justice in the martial law courts were in no small measure due. Mr. Ellis was, we know, very proud of his knowledge of constitutional law. Now that the Punjab has fully tasted the fruits of that knowledge, it is time that he should transfer them to some other region where they may be more in request. As both these officials have only gone on leave and are likely to return soon we sound this timely note of warning in the earnest hope that it will not go unheeded."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Punjab disturbances.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. (*a*) Writing about the observance of "the national week" at Lahore, the *Tribune* of the 10th April says:—"One noteworthy feature of the several speeches that were made was the restraint and moderation which characterised them. It is true Pandit Rambhaj Dutt spoke feelingly, but it was only when he dissociated himself from the remarks of the previous speaker, Dr. Naurang, who had said that to ask for the prosecution of a few guilty individuals was not worthy of a great nation. It appears to us that the question of India's greatness as a nation has nothing whatever to do with the justice or otherwise of the popular demand for the prosecution of those who were guilty of excesses under cover of martial law. The demand. . . . is based not on retribution for wrongs but on the inherent justice of the case. More. The interests of good government themselves imperatively demand the meting out of justice to those who took unfair advantage of their position and who, dressed in brief authority, dared to set at defiance the laws of man and God."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the commutation of the death sentences on Ratan Chand, Chaudhri Bagga Mal and Manohar Singh, the *Desh* of the 2nd April regrets that the reduction made in the punishment is very insignificant and does not satisfy the wishes of the public. We feel grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy for even this favour, still we must say that if the accused could not be released, it would have been adviseable to imprison them for the shortest term possible.

The Congress report on the disturbances.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

6. (*a*) In reviewing the Congress report on the Punjab disturbances, the *Liberal* of the 5th April writes:—"The report is comprehensive and exhaustive and eminently fair. We have no hesitation in saying that it will be in accord with the impartial verdict of history. . . . Nothing has been exaggerated and nought has been set down in malice. The report is charged throughout with a full sense of responsibility and it will be accepted by the whole country as an accurate presentation of facts and just comments on what occurred last year in our unfortunate province. The report should be scattered broadcast in England, so that it may be read by all classes of Englishmen and Englishwomen and they may learn that the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was not a solitary and isolated outrage. . . . [The commissioners] have endorsed the recommendation of the Amritsar Congress for the recall of Lord Chelmsford and they have stated their reasons. The Viceroy, though living at Delhi and Simla, never went to the Punjab even after the outrages and atrocities. 'The Viceroy never took the trouble of examining the people's case. . . . He expressed such a callous indifference to popular feelings and betrayed such criminal want of imagination that he would not postpone the death sentences pronounced by the martial law tribunals, except after he was forced to do so by the Secretary of State for India.' Strong words these but perfectly true, and they reflect the opinion of the whole country."

TIMES, (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Times* of the 2nd April says that every Indian agrees with the recommendations made in the report and desires that Government should accept these proposals. Indeed, British justice demands that this should be done.

The Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

7. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 2nd April publishes a communication from "IKSIR" of Sialkot, who translates the note which Mr. Gandhi recently contributed to *Young India*, urging the people to hold meetings and collect funds for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial during "the national week." Next he calls upon the young men of the Punjab to collect money for the proposed memorial.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 4th April the paper commends Lala Lajpat Rai's appeal for funds for the memorial. The project will form the centre of our political life and afford proof of our union—our brotherly treatment of one another. All Punjabis should make liberal contributions in aid of the memorial.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(*c*) The *Khuda Dost* of the 7th April says that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer ordered a general massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh with a view to crushing the spirit of independence among the people and suppressing opposition to the Rawlatt Act. God has, however, converted the slaughter into an instrument for the attainment of national liberty and national unity by the people of this country. The blood of martyrs is as necessary for the preservation of national life as cement and mortar are in the erection of a building. The foundation of the future religion of Indians is to be laid with the blood of the Jallianwala Bagh martyrs. This religion will not be that of the Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians or Parsis. It will be the Indian religion, and the whole Indian nation will worship in its temple. All patriotic Indians will, without distinctions of caste or creed, worship there. The pride of laying the foundation of this temple rests with General Dyer and the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The paper concludes by exhorting Indians to complete the sacred edifice of this national temple, every one of them making a liberal response to the appeal for funds.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*d*) Referring to the appeal made by the secretary, Jallianwala Bagh memorial committee, for funds, the *Desh* of the 7th April expresses the hope that the public will grudge no amount of money to perpetuate the memory of the martyrs killed at the Bagh.

"The national week."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. In criticizing Mr. Gandhi's instructions regarding the observance of "the national week" the *Tribune* of the 4th April writes:—"The collection of funds for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial is the supreme practical question of the moment, and we have no doubt that at every place where the national week may be celebrated this will form the first item in the programme. . . . . As regards the first resolution [draft by Mr. Gandhi . . . we are deliberately of opinion that the words 'there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlatt Act is repealed' should be modified, for the simple reason that, judging from outward signs, there is peace in many parts of the land, in spite of the existence of the Rowlatt Act, and where peace is non-existent it is not because of the mere existence of the Rowlatt Act, but because of other things . . . . We do regard the continued existence of the Rowlatt Act as being not only a standing insult to India's manhood but a potent source of possible danger to Indian rights and to the peace of India. And it is on these grounds and not on the ground stated in the draft resolution that we would have the country base its strong and emphatic demand for the repeal of the Act. . . . It is as regards the second resolution, [on the caliphate], however, that our differences with Mr. Gandhi are fundamental. . . Let us, therefore, tell him quite plainly that not only is the thing he advises utterly impracticable, but it is open to the gravest objection in theory, and is bound to do incalculable harm if attempted to be reduced to practice. The withdrawal of co-operation [from Government] on a national scale would be theoretically defensible in one case and only one. It is only if the British Government set its face definitely and deliberately against the realisation of India's equal nationhood, if there were clear and sure signs that the British democracy, the ultimate arbiter of India's destinies, were resolved to keep India for ever a subject country, a hewer of wood and drawer of water, that Indian patriots would, in our opinion, be justified in adopting all forms of passive resistance, including the withdrawal of co-operation from the Government as a part of their political creed. Any other case may justify individuals, groups of individuals, classes and even races, in taking such a step, but not the nation as a whole.

But the theoretical objection pales into insignificance compared to the objection based on practical grounds. The only effect of the withdrawal of co-operation, which is bound to be confined only to a few, would be to substitute a worse for a better set of men in the Legislative Councils, in municipal and district boards and other honorary offices, as well as in the civil and military services of the Government. We do not know that this would injure any one so much as ourselves, while the actual paralysis of Government.... would mean a state of anarchy pure and simple.... Strongly as we feel on the Turkish question, and profoundly as we sympathise with our Muslim fellow-countrymen, we are bound to say that [the withdrawal of co-operating] has not in it the elements that would alone justify so extreme a step on the part of the whole country."

The situation in the Punjab.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The *Tribune* of the 8th April writes :—"The short speech with which His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor brought the budget session of the Punjab Council to an end . . . . is in such striking contrast with the speeches of his predecessor, both in tone and in substance, that it is not without reluctance that we have to utter a word of criticism in regard to it. To begin with, we wish we could associate ourselves with His Honour's remark that the change that has taken place is a change to complete freedom. Only a few minutes before His Honour spoke, one of his Secretaries had in reply to a question had to admit that a number of newspapers, including so reputable a paper as the *Independent* of Allahabad, were still excluded from the province. Surely this would not be the case if there were complete freedom of speech in the province. Secondly, while no one is more anxious than overselves that the old time peace of the province should be completely restored, His Honour knows as well as we do that something more is needed for this restoration of peace than what has been done so far. . . . . On the one hand, it is necessary to carry His Honour's own policy to its logical consequence and, among other things, to release all or most of the remaining political prisoners and to repeal or suspend the operation of all repressive measures ; and, on the other, it is necessary to supplement that policy itself by its logical counterpart, that of meting out just punishment to those officials who made an oppressive and utterly unjustifiable use of their power. It is only when this two-fold balm has been applied to the lacerated heart of the Punjab that it will be possible for her to efface the memory of what is without a doubt the darkest and most painful episode in her own and in British Indian history."

Mr. Justice Shadi Lal.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 4th April writes :—The appointment of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, if, on the one hand, it marks the consummation of a career of singular brilliance, on the other marks the completion, in one most important sphere of administration, of the process of removing the bar sinister of racial inequality that has in the past been a prolific source of discontent and dissatisfaction in India. . . . . One other thing is clearly essential for this, and that is to remove the further bar that excludes Indian Vakils from the office."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th April says that it is a matter of great pleasure that the Hon'ble Mr. Shadi Lal has been appointed permanent Chief Justice, and that the united voice raised by the Hindus and Muhammadans on his behalf has not proved a cry in the wilderness. Mr. Montagu's name will ever remain memorable in the history of India for the generous spirits in which he concedes the rights of Indians. In future no Indian judge will be kept out of the post of Chief Justice on the score only of his nationality.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 5th April writes :—"The appointment of Mr. Justice Shadi Lal as Chief Justice of the Punjab will give wide and universal satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country. . . . We warmly congratulate our esteemed countryman on the great honour conferred upon him and the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan as well as the Government of India for having been able to recognise the justice of our claim."

The Jail Commission.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

11. Writing about the Jail Commission the *Jat Gazette* of the 7th April suggests that undertrial prisoners should not be required to do any work, and that effective steps should be taken to end the subjection of prisoners to tortures. The food

supplied to them, it adds, is often insufficient and unwholesome, which injuriously affects their health. There is, besides, no change, the same articles being supplied daily. Again, the clothes given them to wear are not only very ugly-looking but cannot also afford much protection against cold. Nor is this, all; prisoners have only hard ground to sleep on, while the latrines provided for them are fit for use by barbarians alone. The amount and nature of work exacted in rigorous imprisonment are also unbecoming of a civilised country. As to the difficulties of solitary confinement, they are unbearable for ordinary human beings. Corruption also prevails in jails, where prisoners are maltreated from greedy motives. Independent non-officials medical men should be appointed honorary jail visitors in every district. They should pay occasional visits to jails, have free talks with prisoners and record their opinions and suggestions in the visitor's book.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

12. Writing about the Hindu-Muhammadan unity the *Khuda Dost* of the 1st April says that the existing circumstances render it likely that Germany, Turkey and the Bolsheviks may join hands to accomplish certain things. It is not also unlikely that they may turn their attention to this country, in which event the Indian Muhammadans will never take up arms against the invaders, whom they would regard as their brethren in faith. The Khilafat agitation affords a peep into what the editor apprehends. The anxiety of the Indian Muhammadans in regard to Islamic kingdoms exceeds their love for this country. If what the editor fears comes to pass, they will not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of India at the altar of Islam. They will care only for the stability of the kingdoms referred to. Continuing, the paper asserts that if the Hindu-Muslim union ever stands in the way of the country's progress and liberty, the Hindus will never stick to it. The union is meant only for the betterment of India, and should be discarded if it proves injurious for the country.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Rampur.

13. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 3rd April refers to the arrest and imprisonment at Rampur of the nephews of the Ali brothers on the second Khilafat day, and says that the National Congress, the Muslim League and other political bodies would have raised a hue and cry if such a thing had happened in British India We are very sorry to see that no protest has as yet been made against the Nawab's disgraceful, shameful, inhuman and foolish act in question. It is the duty of *ulema* to display moral courage and issue *fatwas* in regard to such a hard-hearted, stupid and unjust ruler, who would convict and imprison an innocent person without framing a charge against him or hearing his defence.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 3rd April states that the men were, after their arrests, paraded through the bazars with handcuffs on, having been eventually sent to jail. Their fault was that they sent a telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the caliphate question after a meeting of the Muhammdans at the *juma* mosque. Has any action been taken, asks the paper, against the Muhammadans in British territory who have sent hundreds of similar telegrams to the Viceroy and still higher authorities ? The Rampur incident shows how self-government is being dragged through the mire in Native States. This is why the *Marhatta* has strongly opposed the suggestion regarding the rendition of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 10th April 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

1. (*a*) *Al-Munir* of the 1st April has an article in which it takes exception to the Premier's reply to the Khilafat deputation, making comment similar to those published by other Muhammadan newspapers. It concludes its remarks by saying that General Dyer, who fired on a defenceless crowd, has not been called to account, nay, his conduct is sought to be justified. The Turks, however, are condemned to death even if they punish the turbulent Armenians for taking up arms against their king. Look at this picture and at that !

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

(*b*) The *Sidaqat* of the 8th April takes exception to the policy of secrecy pursued by the Allies in regard to Greek atrocities on the Turks. The paper also asks on what principle Smyrna and Thrace are being wrested from Turkey and made over to Greece. Can any fair-minded European, it asks, justify this act of partiality ? Continuing, it says that one of the lame excuses for European powers to spit venom against Turkey is the question of the protection of minor states. But the power which holds India and Egypt and deliberately ignores the former's political demands and the latter's declaration of independence, has no right to put forth such a plea. Besides, why is not this principle applied to western Tripoli ? The Arabs there do not wish to live under Italy. Make them also free. Similarly, take Morocco out of French hands and hand it over to the local Arabs. Hand back Egypt to the Egyptians, India to the Indians, and Arabia to the Arabs. If, moreover, Europe is sincerely desirous of protecting smaller nations, it should first of all punish the Bolsheviks and protect dozens of such nations in Russia against their oppression.

SIDAQAT, (Lahore); Ghulam Haider, editor.

(*c*) Elsewhere the newspaper says that Government is fully cognizant of the various rumours current in India about the Allies' Muslim-offending attitude in regard to Mecca and Medina. It has contradicted these rumours and announced in clear terms that the holy places of Islam will remain under an independent Muslim power, and that no non-Muhammadan state has interfered with these places or the caliphate. Does it, however, think that its Indian subjects are so foolish and simple-minded enough that they do not know what the expression 'independent Muslim power' really signifies? Will Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues say whether this independent power is the same the reins of which are in the hands of Sharif Husain, who has rebelled against the Turkish Government; which helped the enemies of the Ottoman empire with two lakhs of Arab troops; which occupied Mecca and Medina and handed over the Jeddah harbour to England; the sons of the rebel ruler of which, *viz.*, Feisul and Abdulla, are about to administer Arabia under the Allied supervision; and the ruler of which gave a sumptuous feast in honour of Lord Allanby? Lord Chelmsford's Government may consider that of Sharif Husain an "independent Islamic power," but the Indian Muhammadans do not share this view. To express an opinion to the contrary is tantamount to throwing dust in the eyes of the followers of Islam. That power alone can be called truly independent which can maintain its freedom intact and pay back its enemies in their own coin. Will Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Chelmsford say whether Husain, the ruler of the Hedjaz, can ever venture to oppose Lord Allanby?

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*d*) **ZAFAR ALI KHAN** writing to the *Aftab* of the 10th April refers to the arrest of the Sheikh-ul-Islam and says that European bigotry, which is characterised by extreme hard-heartedness, has stooped to acts which we could not so much as expect from the civilization of the twentieth century. Those possessed with the fiery arms of material power have made a dangerous, nay, fatal mistake, the consequences of which should be patent to all. The arrest of the Sheikh-ul-Islam in the metropolis of Islam and his deportation to Malta have smitten the hearts of the Muhammadans of the world as is with lightning. It was sought to reassure us, simpletons, in fascinating word that whatever was being done was based on political grounds, and that nothing would be done to endanger the Islamic religion. But the secret has at last been exposed. Islam is now going to be openly insulted, *i.e.*, the Prophet's successors are being sent to jail on the sole charge of their being standard-bearers of monotheism. This is, however, no new thing. The calamities which are visiting us, the tyrannies which are being practised upon us, and the cruelties to which we are being subjected, were destined to be experienced by Islam in these troublous times. The evil day was foretold by the Prophet himself. The minor resurrection has come and the bigger one is now being awaited. If the Prophet were to rise from his holy grave, he would see to what straits his followers have been reduced. The east is on fire in very truth. The west, which rose to swamp it with the waters of the Thames and the Seine, is pouring on it oil obtained from the fields of Baku. The flames are leaping up to the sky. Instead of extinguishing this fire, Christendom is adding to it the fuel of bigotry, enmity, malice and revenge. It is not known what has come over the British ministers and why they are subordinating their best interests to their desire to oppress the Muhammadans. How long shall we have patience, which has its limits? We Indians wish to see this country peaceful and tranquil under the shadow of His Majesty King George V. But apparently our ministers do not wish to see our desire realized, seeing that they do not keep their promises. They say in the morning that the holy places of Islam will not be placed under any European power, but make a rush for these places with their armies before sunset. They promise in the forenoon that the Caliph will be allowed to retain possession of Constantinople, but in the afternoon they reach the Bosphorus and arrest the Sheikh-ul-Islam, planting their guns towards the royal palace. On the one hand, they call upon us to remain loyal; but, on the other, they pierce our loyalty with the point of the bayonet. Has British statesmanship gone bankrupt in India? Is there left no far-sighted Briton of sound views who would lay bare the Indian heart to the Cabinet and warn the ministers that they are pursuing a suicidal policy? We can say nothing of others with certainty, but surely Sir Edward Maclagan is not short-sighted. Let this good-natured and keen-witted Englishman rise to the occasion and perform the last duty he owes to Britain; for, otherwise, it is not known what may happen.

(*e*) The *Aftab* of the 15th April publishes the first instalment of an article headed "Critical time for Islam: Islamic Khilafat in danger," written by **SYED ALI** of Rajna, Jhang district. A great deal, says the writer, has been written on the caliphate question, but the present is the time for practical work. Maulvi Muhammad Ali of Lahore writes that the caliphate is a meaningless thing unless coupled with government over Arabia. This, he adds, suggests an important question, *viz.*, whether in the event of Arabia passing out of the hands of the Sultan into those of some other Muslim ruler the latter becomes entitled to the caliphate. The writer contends that the reply to this question is in the negative, saying in the course of his remarks that if Arabia had not been instigated by Britain, she would never have rebelled against Turkey. Continuing, he says that the decision of the fate of the caliphate rests with Muhammadans alone, and that England cannot transfer it to any one she likes. The entire Muslim population of the world fears British diplomacy and is apprehensive lest Arabia should share the fate of Egypt and Persia. The Prophet declared on his death bed that his successor should keep Arabia clear of all non-Muslims, while the Arabian peninsula includes Mesopotamia, Mosul, Allepo, Syria and Palestine. This being so, it would be no ignorance but sheer and intentional disregard of Muslim sentiments on the part of the Allies to partition these places, which would bring very serious consequences in its train. In conclusion, the correspondent says that even the temporary occupation of Mesopotamia is causing much pain to the local population. We hear that, as in Meshed, a number of persons in Mesopotamia have been sentenced to death by court martial. If the possession is made permanent, it cannot be said what will happen in the Islamic world. The Muhammadans can now repose no faith in any promise, several having already been trampled upon. If Britain respects her promises, she should act up to them at the peace conference.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla [illegible], editor.

(*f*) The *Vakil* of the 11th April says that the news does not state to what country the arrested Sheikh-ul-Islam belongs. Presumably, however, he is connected with Turkey. If we are right in our premise, the Allies have made a great mistake and the incident will produce a very bad effect in India and the east generally. We are sorry that the Allies should continue to act in a way calculated to accentuate feelings of anxiety and uneasiness among the Muhammadans. Will any one be justified after this to hold the latter responsible for the consequences? Is it then wise to inflame them like this? Government had better publish the reasons for the arrest in question.

RAILWAY (Lahore); M. A. Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Railway* of the 14th April says that silver shot [bribery] has been used in the case of Turkey, and that the new Turkish Government is prepared to sign the peace treaty proposed by the Allies. Troops also have been despatched and Constantinople and certain other places occupied in order to secure this object. This means that one hand holds the swords and the other a cup of poison, which is being forcibly administered to helpless and unfortunate Turkey.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

(*h*) The following is from the April number of the *Vedic Magazine*:— "Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the Khilafat deputation leaves the real issue untouched. The Prime Minister, like a clever dialectician, thought that he had scored a point when he said that Muslim Turkey would not be treated worse than Christian Germany and Austria.... Germany and Austria have no friends in the British Empire and their fate does not strike any special chord in the hearts of British citizens. The case of Turkey is different. The Sultan is the religious head of Islam and of seven millions of the King-Emperor's Indian subjects, who have spent their blood and treasure in defence of the Empire and who were given to understand before they successfully stood this unique strain upon their loyalty that the holy places would not be removed from Muslim control, which, by implication, meant Turkish control. In order to placate President Wilson, the question of Home Rule for India was revived during the war and the Government was anxious to pass a Home Rule Bill. Does then the opinion of the citizens of the Empire carry less weight than that of a foreign sovereign? It is useless to vaticanise the Khalif in Constantinople within range of the guns on the warships of the Allies anchored in the Bosphorus and to lay the flattering unction to one's soul that the discontent of the Muslim has been removed. The holy places of the Muslims are located in Arabia and Mesopotamia, and so long as these countries are not placed under Turkish hegemony, there can be nothing but continuous heart burning among the Muslims The question of self-determination has been raised by the Premier. It is a strange plea for the Premier of the British Empire to raise while India and Ireland are seeking admission to the privileges or rather to the birth-right of full citizenship within the Empire and have not got it. If Canada and New Zealand are, for all practical purposes, independent countries even though the Union Jack flies over them, why cannot Arabia and Mesopotamia be made self-governing countries within the Turkish empire ?"

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*i*) The *Vakil* of the 9th April publishes a communication from one BADR-US-SALAM, M.A., of Delhi. He refers to the renunciation of his title by Hakim Ajmal Khan and says that the nation does not now think of personal honour and dignity. The time of trial has arrived and will distinguish truth from falsehood, Islam from unbelief. It will now be seen who among us have hearts full of faith and will, renouncing their optional association with Great Britain, manifest their dissatisfaction and disgust with the present policy of Government. It will also be seen who are ready to sacrifice their faith for the sake of a short life and ephemeral honours.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider, editor.

(*j*) The *Sidaqat* of the 8th April congratulates Hakim Ajmal Khan and considers his action praiseworthy and commendable. After asking other Muhammadan title-holders to follow his example, it says that if faith or conscience is anything, they should decide whether personal distinction should be preferred to national honour. The Hakim renounced his title on realising that the bestower of it was insulting him and his religion by repeatedly breaking his promises. We can no longer honour our titled brethren owing simply to their being title-holders. The paper then goes on to say that Islam is being shorn of its grandeur and dignity. We invited Mr. Lloyd George's attention to the matter, but he has decided that the Allies will do what they think best. We hope that the Muhammadan gentlemen who truly love Islam will now have no hesitation in renouncing their honorific titles. The Muhammadans should have nothing to do with those of their co-religionists who, in their pride of titles, would pour ridicule on Islam.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*k*) One HAFIZ AHMAD KHAN of Delhi writing to the *Paisa Akhbar*, of the 8th April urges all title-holders to follow the example set by Hakim Ajmal Khan, as a protest against the British Government's policy in regard to the caliphate. The duty of Shams-ul-Ulemas in the matter, he adds, is thoroughly clear. It is their religious as well as moral duty to renounce their titles. Continuing, he says that if the individuals concerned care more for their titles than for truth, they will be lowering themselves in the popular estimation. Their silence will also strengthen the hands of Lord Bryce and the Archbishop of Canterbury in encompassing the ruin of the caliphate. Further, it will lend support to the contention by British statesmen that the caliphate question is not a religious one. It will also greatly injure Islam, besides misleading Government in judging of the situation.

VIKIL, (Amritsar) Abdullah Minhas, editor.

Egypt.

2. The *Vakil* of the 15th April states that the Constantinople correspondent of the *Wadi-i-Nil* reports that the Turkish Parliament has acknowledged the independence of Egypt. Commenting, the paper expresses the hope that England also will consider it proper to realise the Egyptians' aspirations for independence.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Bolshevism.

3. (*a*) The *Railway* of the 9th April says that the Russians were so grossly oppressed under the Czars that no accurate idea of this can be formed by those who have not studied the history of Russia. When the Bolshevists, who belong to the class of poor people, raised their voice against the tyrannies practised in Russia and announced that they wished to establish the rule of the poor—the agriculturists and labourers—the oppressed people instantly welcomed the cry and closed up their ranks. The movement appears to have achieved very great success in Russia in spite of Imperial opposition and the efforts of the nobility. It has rapidly spread in the country – from northern to southern Russia, and from its western part to the forests of China and Siberia — and its influence is so extensive that other countries also are coming under it. Continuing, the paper says that Government does not wish Bolshevism to make its appearance in India. We share this desire; but if Bolshevism means the problem connected with working men and other poor people, it exists as much in this country as it does in Europe. It is a serious mistake to spend crores of rupees on maintaining large forces on

the north-west frontier with a view to arresting the advance of Bolshevism. The same result can be achieved by spending this money in the country itself.

Khuda Dost (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(*b*) The *Khuda Dost* of the 16th April says that the treatment which the Bolsheviks accorded to their friends and foes in Europe is known to all. They treated Christian clergymen, as also the Czar, the nobles and the rich, the peasantry and traders in a cruel manner. Wherever they go, they make the life of the inhabitants a burden to the latter. It is said that they have a great liking for the Islamic religion. They were born in Christian families and still applied the knife to the throat of Christianity. It remains to be seen how they will treat Islam. Some time back Afghanistan sent a mission to Moscow and the Bolsheviks despatched their emissaries to Kabul. We are afraid that the friendship between the two is likely to resemble the entertainment of a wolf by a goat, when the latter had to feed the former with its kids. Just now India is passing through a critical stage. The Muhammadans are highly agitated over the caliphate question and the Hindus sympathise with them in the matter. If, however, the two communities fail to realise the gravity of the situation, they will not only be injuring their own interests, but will also place the coming generations at the mercy of the tyrannical Bolsheviks, who had no pity even on their co-religionists and fellow countrymen. In case of a Bolshevik invasion of India it will be our primary duty to forget our mutual disputes and complaints and oppose the enemy with all our might. We should be prepared to make every sacrifice in order to prevent our country from being trampled upon by the enemy. We should extend the fullest support to the Government of India in the matter. Those persons are fools or enemies of the country who keep silent at such critical times or mislead people by speaking well of the invaders. We should have absolutely no connection with such persons. India will get Home Rule not with the help of the Bolsheviks but by making a crushing reply to all foreign invaders. We would urge upon the Hindus and Muhammadans not to be misled by those who preach non-co-operation with Government at such a critical juncture.

Tribal raids.

Dharam (Lahore); Karm Chand, editor.

4. (*a*) A correspondent, writing to the *Dharm* of the 5th April reports that the Waziris have burnt down a Sikh *gurdawara* situated near Tonk. The fact of a place of worship having been thus treated and no effective steps having been taken to end such occurrences casts an ugly blot on Government. The life and property of the Hindus of the Frontier Province were already in danger, and now the safety of places of worship also has been jeopardised. How can, then, people continue to live there? Some Waziris recently went the length of carrying off the wife of a European Captain at Peshawar. If the Frontier Government does not teach the offending tribesmen a lesson, the life of Europeans also will no longar be safe.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 15th April writes:—"It appears from the official replies [to question in the Imperial Legislative Council] that the number of raids committed during the single year 1919 were no less than 507 and that 100 Hindus and 231 others were kidnapped. The reference to '231 others' is rather cryptic, for these '231 others' were presumably also Hindus, although they might include Hindu women and children, a number of whom were also kidnapped by the raiders. We further gather from the official reply that animals worth Rs. 3 lakhs and other property worth a similar sum were stolen during the year, and that only 57 persons, out of the aforesaid 381 kidnapped, appear to have been so far released. The record for a single year is a gruesome one, and throws a flood of light on the appalling nature of the insecurity of life and property in the Frontier Province and border districts. The fact that such raids continue to be committed at a time when punitive operations are being carried on against some of the offending tribes only serves to reveal the necessity of a more effective and drastic action than has yet been undertaken. The marauding tribes should be made to pay full compensation for the enormous damage done to person and property and no terms with them should be settled unless and until full reparation has been made for the wrongs suffered . . . . Such raids were practically unknown in the days of the Sikh rule when Sardar Hari Singh Nalva ruled over Peshawar and the adjoining districts with a strong band. It is difficult to believe that the long arm of the British Sirkar is unable to reach the offenders now, while effective protection was given to the people by Sardar Hari Singh."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

The reforms.

5. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 16th April :—" The fact that a few public men have been asked to sit in the [rules advisory] committee, men who have been carefully selected by Government from a party which is clearly in a minority in the country and has failed to win popular support for its policy and methods, does not help the authorities to declare that the draft rules have been made after popular consultation. As a matter of fact, we have reason to fear that the draft rules are of a reactionary character and are calculated to cause bitter disappointment in the country. As regards the holding of meetings of the Council, the non-official members will in future, as in the past, have no power to summon it under any circumstances—however important or urgent the interests of the country may be. There is no opportunity for them to draw attention to, and correct the mistakes of, the kind that Government made in the Punjab last year and they cannot raise their voice unless the Governor or the Governor-General gives them, of his own accord, an opportunity to do so. What is the good of having Councils of this kind which are to be emblems of responsible government in India ? Similarly as regards interpellations and resolutions and private bills. Unless the representatives of the people are given freedom, as fully as in other self-governing countries, without the previous censoring or vetoing of the Governor or Governor-General, the Government will only be perpetuating the restraints of the past and the reforms will be unreal."

PAISA AKHBAR Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Habeas corpus in India.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th April says that Indians should try to ensure that even the meanest among them is not in future arrested by order of an executive officer and without a judicial warrant. The Habeas Corpus Act should be introduced in this country also. Those who practised oppression on the people last year should be prosecuted and awarded exemplary punishments. Meanwhile meetings should be held in every town and village to urge Government to make the Act applicable to India as well. The agitation should be continued until a law is framed in conformity with the public demand.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

Government and the people.

7. The *Khuda Dost* of the 10th April says that there can be no denying the fact that during the last one hundred and fifty years the British officers in India have not treated Indians as a God-fearing nation should treat His creatures. Many acts of injustice have undoubtedly been perpetrated and the people subjected to numerous hardships during this period of time. Still if Indians continue to ponder over these happenings, the only result will be that they will come to entertain feelings of hatred and enmity for the English. And whenever these feelings are stirred up the outcome will probably be the same as was witnessed at Amritsar last year, for which all thoughtful leaders and other people in the country have to hang down their heads in shame. Indians can render absolutely no service to their country by abusing and cursing Government and its officials. The paper then goes on to say that if they imbibe all the virtues of their martyrs—such as self-restraint, fearlessness, manliness and the like—even the most powerful nations will be unable to keep them out of freedom for long. The Britons are watching whether the desire of Indians for freedom is genuine or not. In the former case the latter will not feel pressed down by rigour, or rejoice at leniency being shown to them. It rests with British statesmen either to convert thirty-two crores of Indians into their brothers and helpers by introducing in India laws based on freedom, justice and equality, or to flood the country with anarchists and extremists by pursuing a policy of rigour and oppression. It also rests with them to decide the caliphate question so wisely that Muslim powers throughout the world may become loyal and devoted friends of the English. If all this is done, Great Britain will have nothing to fear from the displeasure of France and Italy or from Russian Bolsheviks and German socialists.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

The Rowlatt Act.

8. (*a*) The ***Akhbar-i-Am*** of the 10th April says that Indians cannot bear the disgrace which the Rowlatt Act has entailed on them. Since co-operation with Government is invited in the new era why should this inauspicious law be kept on

the statute-book? When thirty-three crores of human beings do not want this measure, where is the use of Government pleading expediency? Lord Chelmsford's Government has not added to its popularity and good name by trampling public opinion under foot. Such self-conceit on its part is deplorable indeed. Mahatma Gandhi fully explained matters to the Viceroy at Delhi, but His Excellency is so flushed with the intoxication of rule that he spurned the sympathetic and friendly advice tendered to him. The country expressed its feelings of indignation by resorting to universal *hartal* on the 6th April, but Lord Chelmsford paid no heed to this. Twelve hundred living beings drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of General Dyer, but even this magnificent sacrifice failed to make his Lordship repent. He obtained His Imperial Majesty's approval of the Rowlatt Act. This is truly what is called the obstinacy of rulers. All this will be recorded in English history and will make the future historian shed tears of blood. The observance of the national week has afforded Government another opportunity of changing its attitude and entering into the feelings of the people. It should consider which is to its advantage,—to retain the Rowlatt Act or to repeal it. The latter event will be certain to exercise an unusually good influence on the country, while in the other case things will assume an unpleasant aspect.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 10th April says that the Rowlatt Act has not as yet been repealed. It is, therefore, necessary to carry on a strong agitation against it. It used to be argued that as the Act could not be enforced in any province without the sanction of the Government of India the people had no cause to feel apprehensive. The argument, which was a hollow one, has become hollower still in view of the lack of responsibility displayed by the Government of India in allowing Sir Michael O'Dwyer to introduce martial law in the Punjab. What can be expected of a Government which failed to be moved even by the general massacre executed by General Dyer and did not consider it necessary to proceed against him on its own initiative? The Government of India may say that in the matter of the administration of provinces it cannot but depend on the provincial Governments. But if this is so, the people cannot feel gratified at the words that the Rowlatt Act cannot be enforced in any province without the Viceroy's sanction. No Indian should, therefore, have rest until this inauspicious measure has been repealed. It is said to be a dead law, but experience shows that if dead measures in India are not properly buried, they stick to the people like ghosts. The Regulation of 1818 also was said to be a dead measure, still it was brought into play against the Natu brothers and Lala Lajpat Rai, while during the recent war a large number of Bengalis were interned under it. The dead Rowlatt Act also will not take long to rise from the grave if there is even the least necessity to make use of it. The reforms which are to be granted to Indians will be no better than toys to play with unless the Rowlatt Act is repealed. The people should start an extensive agitation to secure the repeal of this measure, which is a disgrace to "law." They should toil night and day until they have wiped this ugly blot off the beautiful face of the British *raj*.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*c*) The *Leader* of the 10th April says that we wish plainly to tell Government that the hardships of narrow and gloomy jail cells, the sufferings associated with the Andaman Islands and the hangman's rope have wrought no change in our intentions. So long as this barbarous law, the Rowlatt Act, is not repealed, we will neither rest ourselves nor let Government know any rest.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Repressive laws.

9. The *Tribune* of the 16th April thus concludes a note urging the repeal of repressive laws:—"What becomes of the value of the vote which you give to nearly five million people, both rural and urban, when there is no freedom of criticism or discussion of public men and measures and the press is often at the mercy, whims and caprices of the executive, and when public men are liable to be arrested and deported or interned without trial or inquiry in a properly constituted court? What India wants is a condition favourable to the successful carrying out of the intentions of His Majesty's Government to establish responsible government in India, and it is not difficult to realise that the present repressive laws, including the Press Act, are neither consistent with the inauguration of the new era, nor calculated to lead to its success.

What we want is a prompt repeal of these laws and the restoration of normal conditions of free countries, thereby inaugurating a policy of mutual trust and esteem between the rulers and the ruled."

FARZ (Amritsar); Dina Nath, editor.

The Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

10. (*a*) *Farz* of the 9th April says that the Jallianwala Bagh has the honour of being the greatest temple of the Indian nationality. Will then the Indians, who are endowed with a sense of shame, have any hesitation in maintaining its dignity? No, never.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th April publishes a letter the writer of which appeals to the paper's readers to give and collect money for the memorial. He also suggests that committees should be formed in every village and town to raise funds, and that there should be exhibitions at which the article received from the fair sex should be auctioned.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*c*) The *Leader* of the 10th April thus apostrophizes the Punjabis :—The martyrs of the Jallianwala Bagh have watered the plant of the freedom of India with their blood. Will not you, who are about to taste of the fruit of this sacred tree, value the blood of your beloved Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs who were killed by General Dyer's bullets ? Remember that if you display negligence and carelessness now, this tree will decay and you will always be kicked by foreign nations. The tree of freedom is ever reared with the blood of the innocent . . . Do you wish that the hope of achieving freedom, which has sprung up in your hearts, should prove a false hope ? If this is not so, you should do your duty at once. It is the duty of every Punjabi to give money for this national work even by suffering starvation. This is the time when we have to prove to the world that we are a living people.

EAST AND WEST (Simla); Jogendra Singh, editor.

(*d*) The April issue of *East and West* writes:—"[Mr. Gandhi's] proposal to commemorate the shooting at Jallianwala Bagh is not likely to promote concord. It is a tragic incident into which our Government was betrayed, but is the memory of its bitterness worth retaining? Can we not commemorate the event by raising a temple of peace, to help the widows and the orphans, to bless the souls of those who died without knowing why ? "

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

11. The *Desh* of the 11th April states that, according to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Montagu intends to take action on the Hunter Committee's report before it is made public. This, says the paper, is most objectionable. The Secretary of State should do nothing before the public has criticized the report, while he should consider this criticism before taking action. Continuing, the *Desh* remarks that the report is not a unanimous one, and it remains to be seen whether any importance will be attached to the opinion of the minority.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

A railway complaint.

12. The *Railway* of the 9th April says that it has learnt from a reliable source that the Controller of Stores [North-Western Railway] is dismissing his Hindu and Muhammadan subordinates and zealously recruiting Europeans and Indian Christians in their stead. Have the former, it asks, proved incapable of discharging the duties entrusted to them? It is not proper to apply the knife to the throats of poor and helpless Indians "under the cover of religion". Is the action of the Controller of Stores the first instalment of the reform scheme?

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIYASAT, (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Native States and the caliphate agitation.

13. The *Siyasat* of the 12th April says that the British Government has earned the gratitude of the Muhammadans by allowing them freely to express their views in regard to the caliphate question. Some Native States, however, are conducting themselves in a very improper manner in the matter. For instance, two young relatives of the Ali brothers urged the people of Rampur to observe *hartal* on the second Khilafat day. Upon this the cruel and oppressive Nawab, who is a source of shame to Islam and its followers, disgraced and humiliated these young men and imprisoned them for two years each without framing any charge against them or hearing their defence. A more glaring instance of oppression and tyranny, repression and high-handedness, injustice and shamelessnes can hardly be conceived.

The paper also refers to the restrictions imposed on Khilafat meetings in Hyderabad, as also to the imprisonment of some Hindus and Muhammadans in Patiala for observing *hartal* on the recent Khilafat day. A young Muhammadan in the Kashmir State, it adds, has been sent to jail for having called upon his co-religionists to celebrate the day referred to. A so-called Nawab [the reference is to Khan Bahadur Nawab Maula Bakhsh, the Home Minister] cursed this sincere Muslim and his true religion.

Insult to Sir Sivaswamy Iyer.

14. Commenting on the Burma Government's press *communiqué* in this case, the *Leader* of the 12th April says that Captain Childers should not have been let off with an apology and that exemplary punishment ought to have been inflicted on him.

LEADER, (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Aftab* of the 16th April publishes the second instalment of the article on the caliphate by SYED ALI of Rajna, Jhang district. In continuation of his previous remarks*, the correspondent says that Smyrna, which is an Islamic city and was under Muslim rule for several centuries, is being handed over to Christians because of the alleged Armenian atrocities. Did not the massacre perpetrated by the Greeks near Smyrna, he asks, move the hearts of Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Lloyd George? Will, moreover, the friends of the Armenians say whether no Government has ever taken strong steps to quell risings like those organized by the Armenians? And did General Dyer's action at Amritsar fall short of an atrocity, in view especially of the fact that there was then no rebellion in the Punjab and the crisis had passed? Nor is this all; since the Turks did not consent to the Greek occupation of Smyrna it was a breach of the armistice concluded with them. It is, therefore, idle to speak of the people of Smyrna having rebelled against the Greeks. Continuing, the writer asks who is responsible for the blood of the innocent killed in Smyrna, and lays the blame at the door of those who put the Greeks in possession of that place. If the Allies are not guilty, why is not Greece called upon, he enquires, to evacuate Smyrna, just as Armenia is being taken from the Turks on a similar charge? But the victims in Smyrna were Muhammadans and not Christians, while it is not intended to do justice to the Turks, whose empire is sought to be destroyed. The writer then goes on to say that it is idle to expect that Turkey will have a just peace. If the Turks are expelled from Europe and are also deprived of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Thrace and Smyrna, which are inseparable from the caliphate, the responsibility for the consequences will rest with the Allies or British statesmen. The Turks are a self-respecting nation. They will not sell their centuries-old property cheap. They will not expose themselves to a charge of cowardice. The Caliph's call will cause a tumult in the world. If European statesmen are prepared to meet the danger, let them persevere in their present course, although Muhammadans will appeal to them, in the name of justice and humanity, to avert the danger. In conclusion, the writer urges his co-religionists zealously to continue their agitation and do something practical. A deputation should forthwith be sent to Islamic countries, and efforts should also be made to push on the caliphate propaganda in the Punjab.

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* Paragraph 1 (a) of the *Punjab Press Abstract*, No. 16.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(b) The *Vakil* of the 12th April says that a new charge has been brought against Turkey, namely, that of having prolonged the war. She was undoubtedly instrumental in bringing about this result, but the question is whether she alone was responsible for it. Did not Italy also prolong the war by her failure to take a hand in it nine months earlier? Greece promised to land one hundred thousand soldiers in Gallipoli, but deceived the Allies in the nick of time. Did not this step on her part lengthen the duration of the war? Again, could not America have ended hostilities sooner by descending into the arena earlier than she did? Will Greece be punished for her treachery and will Russia be similarly treated for having left the Allies in the lurch by concluding a separate peace with Germany? Will Italy and the United States be even censured? Greece is, instead of being punished, receiving a portion of Turkish territory. Russia has been left to herself, while Italy and America are being praised. And the Premier says in face of all this that he is bent upon doing justice to Turkey!

(c) In its issue dated the 16th April the paper says that the question of the dismemberment of Turkey has some very interesting aspects. After remarking that the Muhammadans are told that the matter lies in the hands, not of England alone, but of all the Allies, the paper quotes the *Temps* and Signor Nitti to show that the French and Italians do not wish to expel the Turks from Constantinople. There remains only England, it adds, and the question arises what compels her to violate her promise to let the Turks remain in the city named. A careful examination of the matter shows that the reasons for her conduct consist in the greed of capitalists, who are averse to giving up Mesopotamia, and the religious bigotry of the clergy. Is the British Government, asks the paper, powerless against these two forces? In conclusion, it says that if Great Britain were to abandon her present attitude, the fate of Turkey could be decided quite differently.

(d) The *Vakil* of the 18th April says that it is urged by the Allies that since Turkey does not rule non-Muslim races in a spirit of justice she should be deprived of all provinces where the Christian population preponderates. With this object in view, they are trying to prove to the world that the Turks are not being treated unjustly, and that only their oppressed subjects, who have been in their iron grip for centuries, are being liberated. Continuing, the paper quotes statistics from the *Muslim Outlook* (London) to show that Muhammadans form the majority of the population in Smyrna, Adalia, Urfa, Dyar Bakr, Bitlis, Van, Erz [Roum], Constantinople, Adarna, Allepo, Palestine, etc. The Allies, it adds, have the conqueror's right to leave not one inch of land with the Turks, but they cannot say with justice that they are wresting from the latter only the provinces where Christians form the preponderating element.

(e) Elsewhere the paper quotes an extract from a letter written from England by Syed Suleman Nadvi, a member of the Khilafat deputation. After stating how Europeans place commerce above everything else the writer says that the Turks are to be expelled from Constantinople, because that city is the naval key of Europe and Asia. Smyrna also, he adds, should be taken from them, because it is the best commercial port in Asia Minor. Continuing, he reports:—Ahsan-ul-Bakr, an Egyptian, remarked in the course of a speech before the British Ottoman Society that some Indian Muhammadans had come to England to protect the caliphate, but that it was India who was responsible for the existing situation. It was Indian soldiers, he said, who conquered Egypt, the Soudan, Mesopotamia, Syria, Gallipoli and Constantinople, and that also not for themselves but for others. His words made every Indian present hang down his head in shame.

RAILWAY (Lahore); M. A. Khan, editor.

(f) The *Railway* of the 18th April states that it was remarked by the Prince of Wales in his speech in America on the Panama Canal that England was the champion of justice and liberty. Does the civilized world also endorse His Royal Highness' words? Poland, Germany and Armenia, which took a prominent part in disturbing the world's peace, have not suffered at the hands of the Allies. Turkey, however, which joined in the war under unavoidable circumstances is going to be dismembered. Syria, which was conquered by the Arabs, is being handed over to France. Arabia, who disgraced herself by rebelling against her ruler, aspires after independence. On the contrary, Albania, where Muslim population preponderates, is crying for freedom in vain, while Egypt is being forced to remain under subjection. Our future King-Emperor should translate his words into practice and uphold the old traditions of Great Britain.

ZAMINDAR, (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Zamindar* of the 21st April takes exception to Lord Sinha's view regarding the attitude which the moderates should adopt in case the caliphate question is not decided in conformity with the wishes of Indians, and says that his Lordship appears to be wholly ignorant of the real nature of the claims and sentiments of the Muhammadans of this country. The latter can remain loyal only if they are fully assured that their religion is safe. It is essential for the stability of British rule in India that they should look upon Government as protector of their religious and secular rights. If some members of Government disregard this view, the creation of dissatisfaction and discontent among the ruled will be the result.

(*h*) In its issue dated the 22nd April the paper publishes a communication from **GHULAM HAIDAR KHAN**, editor of the *Sidaqat*. The writer says that the caliphate question is assuming a serious shape, and that there has commenced such a grave struggle between His Majesty's Indian subjects and British statesmen as is likely seriously to strain the relations between India and Great Britain. If Government persists on its *zid* and spurns the demands and feelings of the Muhammadans, the responsibility for the consequences will rest exclusively with its ministers. We are prepared to co-operate with the rulers if they would trust us and respect our sentiments. Our past bitter experience shows, however, that Government prefers its own objects to the feelings of the people. This is evident from the passing of measures like the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act. We shall not wage war, but if, in spite of our entreaties, British statesmen take the decision of Turkey's fate into their own hands, we shall do our utmost to protect our faith against all possible danger. We are aware of Government's resources and our own weakness, but we possess the invulnerable strength begotten by faith. This is the time of our trial, and we should prove that we are prepared to make every sacrifice for the sake of our religion.

DARD (Amritsar); Dina Nath, editor.

(*i*) The *Dard* of the 23rd April says that one of the many arguments employed to justify the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire is that the Turks have massacred Armenians; that every small nation has the right to be independent; and that it is, therefore, absolutely just to free the Armenians from the Turkish yoke and make them independent. The argument is a reasonable one, but it prompts one to enquire from such members of the bureaucracy as had, directly or indirectly, a hand in the general massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh, whether those who follow such repressive methods of government should not leave India bag and baggage, and whether this country should not have complete Home Rule within the Empire.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Afghanistan.

2 (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 17th April says that every friend of India wishes success to the Afghan mission which has come here with the laudable object of restoring friendly relations between Afghanistan and this country. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will, in view of the advantages of an alliance with Kabul, avail itself of the opportunity to re-establish friendship with the Amir. The cordial reception accorded to the mission shows that the British authorities are willing to extend the hand of friendship to Afghanistan.

LEADER, (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 18th April says that Afghanistan is reported to be threatened with the Bolshevik danger. There was a time when Afghan emissaries used to visit Bolshevik leaders in Russia. Now, however, an Afghan mission has come to India to establish friendship between Kabul and this country. We wish that Afghanistan may preserve her freedom and, at the same time, remain an ally of Great Britain.

LEADER (Lahore; Sham Lal, editor.

Tribal raids.

3. (*a*) The *Leader* of the 21st April states that recently some tribesmen kidnapped a European lady. This led Government to despatch troops, aeroplanes, machine guns and the like with a view to secure her release. Frontier Hindus are daily plundered and killed: they and their women also are carried away. No heed is paid, however, to these raids by the Frontier Government. Indians have been so degraded in their own country that they are considered to be inferior

even to dogs. Hundreds and thousands of them may be killed, but Government remains indifferent. It acts differently, however, on the kidnapping of a European lady. Continuing, the paper writes :—" May a curse rest on Indians for leading such a life ! O Indians, chuck away the reforms. You should first see how far you are respected by Government. You should first secure honour for yourselves and your women, and attend to the reforms after that.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(b) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 20th April :—" It remains a patent fact that effective measures have not been up till now taken to make such outrages impossible for ever and that hopes of the miserable people, who suffer so many indignities, that the arm of the British Sarkar shall prove long enough to get these incorrigibles [tribesmen] under complete control, have not been realised to this day. Enormous expenditure is being incurred on the Derajat Columns and yet the 'Frontier troubles' occur as frequently and acutely as ever."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Indians abroad.

4 (a) The *Desh* of the 19th April states that, according to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Doctor Munni Lal, the well-known barrister of Fiji, has been ordered to leave that island within forty-eight hours. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will pay prompt attention to this important matter, and hasten to adopt measures with a view to reassuring Indians. The Doctor's sole offence is that he has been persistent in laying the demands of the Indians in Fiji before the Government there.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(b) The *Khuda Dost* of the 22nd April says that the days of religious persecution have gone by. Rigour and tyrannies are now practised for political purposes. If Indians wish that their political rights should remain intact and that their birth rights should not be trampled upon by the strong, they should always be ready to suffer martyrdom. It rests with themselves to solve the South African question, which signifies that the Indians there should either live like slaves or abandon their lands, houses and commercial rights and return to their country. Even the most powerful Government in the world will be unable to deprive Indians of their natural rights if they firmly resolve never to forego these rights even if hundreds, nay, thousands, of them are imprisoned or even hanged. If they can do so, we shall see how the colonists of South Africa will expel them from that part of the Dark Continent. Is it not the duty of Indians to oppose these Europeans ?

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms.

5 (a) The *Tribune* of the 18th April writes :—" The attitude of the Government of India [in regard to the framing of rules under the reform scheme] has. . . . not been either fair or friendly and their angle of vision does not appear to have changed for the better since the Reform Act was passed and the Royal Proclamation issued. They are still maintaining, for the most part, an attitude of disregard of public opinion and are carrying out things pertaining to the inauguration of the new era in their own oligarchic or bureaucratic manner. . . . The Government of India has slighted the Indian National Congress by excluding its spokesmen, from the [advisory] committee notwithstanding a most direct reminder. In England a glaring mistake of this kind, of preferring one party exclusively and ignoring another, would not have been tolerated for a single moment, but in India the bureaucracy has evidently no sound traditions to follow in this respect. The result is that the draft rules that it is about to submit to the Secretary of State will be defective and even injurious to the interests of the people and for the success of the Reform Act. . . . The officials of the Government of India do not seem to have changed and conformed to the genuine spirit of co-operation with the people in the light of the reform scheme."

(b) The paper also publishes a communication from **PROFESSOR RUCHI RAM SAHNI**, who says in the course of his remarks :—" I should like to say frankly that . . . . the King-Emperor's noble Proclamation is not being acted upon in the right spirit so far as this province is concerned. In the matter of the new reforms, little has been done to establish the condition necessary for mutual understanding between the intelligencia and the official classes. Indeed, so far as one can see, everything has been done to keep the political minded section of the people at a distance from the reformed Council. Doubtless . . . no reforms, let alone those that are to 'set our foot firmly upon the road to full responsible Government,' are worth much if they do not make it possible for a substantial number of educated, independent and informed persons to be associated with the work of Government. Can it be fairly claimed that this consideration has been kept in view in framing the reforms scheme for the Punjab? . . . It will be a great mistake, if Government takes no account of the pre-occupations of the leaders in the Punjab, and interprets the comparatively mild agitation against the Government's proposals—so far as they are known to the public—as practical acceptance of them."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) Continuing his remarks in the paper's issue dated 20th April the writer says:—"Is the scheme of reform as devised for our province, taken along with the proposals of the Punjab Government for its actual wokring, at all calculated to give an opportunity to the educated classes to give the lead as is and ought to be the case in all countries. . . . The speech of the Reforms Commissioner [in the Punjab Council] is an index to the frame of mind in which his proposals have been conceived and formulated. We have no means of knowing what shape the recommendations of the Reforms Commissioner finally assumed before they were forwarded to the Government of India. But apart from the little knowledge which we do possess of their illiberal character, the very fact that the Local Government is reluctant to confess its own child openly is far from reassuring. From the moment the Local Government was asked to formulate and submit its own proposals, the whole business has been conducted in an atmosphere of suspicion of the educated classes, and even when the Government has completed its labours and submitted its recommendations, the public are excluded from a knowledge of their exact nature. Is this the way in which the 'new era,' towards which the King-Emperor's gracious Proclamation beckons us to look with hope, going to dawn in this province? Is it for ushering in such an era that we are asked to co-operate with the officials of His Majesty's Government? . . . Whatever we do know of [the rules and regulations framed] from a skeleton sketch of Mr. Hallifax's proposals, does not show that co-operation with the educated classes is the end the officials have in view."

(d) In the paper's issue dated the 24th April the writer says:—"Mr. Hallifax has proposed 87 members as the total strength of the . . . . Council for the Punjab, of which 16 will be officials and 6 non-officials nominated by Government to represent special interests. There seems to be no valid reason why the Punjab should have a smaller Council than, say, the Bombay Presidency, which has about an equal population. It is true that Bombay is more advanced industrially and commercially than the Punjab, but even allowing for half a dozen seats which have been assigned to purely industrial and commercial electorates in the Bombay Presidency, they will have some 110 members against our 87 only. Apart from other reasons . . . . there is one special reason for raising the strength of the Punjab Council which may be mentioned at once. . . . A sense of grievance [exists] in the [Sikhs] community regarding the distribution of franchise and allotment of seats in the new council. . . . It will be easier to satisfy the aspirations of the Sikhs to a certain extent with a Council of 100 members than the one which is at present proposed to be constituted. Another important reason for raising the strength of the reformed Council arises from the fact that, the constitution of electorates, as at present recommended by the Local Government, provides very inadequate facilities for the return of members of the educated community to the new Council. . . . What by fixing a residential qualification, all but unknown in the constitution of any civilized country aspiring to full responsible government, by inflating the representation of the bigger landlords and at the same time by keeping the representation of the vocal classes within the narrowest limits, the constitution of the reformed Council has been made as unsatisfactory as possible."

Fiscal autonomy.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. Commenting on the report of the committee appointed in February last to consider the advisability of adopting a policy of Imperial preference in India the *Tribune* of the 24th April writes:—"The fiscal policy of India has not at all been considered. At such a time, therefore, to saddle India with Imperial

preference in any form seems to be extremely objectionable and fraught with harmful consequences. We are sorry the committee. . . . has made no mention of this position in its report. Though it has examined the trade figures in detail and based its conclusions on these statistics, there are many other points relating to the industrial and economic problems of India which are affected by Imperial preference and which have to be carefully considered before arriving at a definite conclusion. . . In regard to Imperial preference itself the committee concludes that 'India is neither likely to gain nor to lose appreciably in the balance by the adoption of a moderate preference in our import duties.' We are afraid this conclusion is hasty and is based on very imperfect materials. The committee has not framed its opinions on all the phases of Imperial preference. . . It has completely ignored the political aspect of the question which is as important as the economic and the effect it may have on foreign policy and relationship during the period when India has absolutely no power or influence over it. It would be a leap in the dark for India to give its consent to a policy of Imperial preference now, when even Lord Curzon's Government, which was ultra-Imperialistic in 1903, did not consider it wise to declare itself in favour of this policy. . . . The question should be dropped entirely for the present and should not be taken up until after the reform scheme has been in operation for some time and Indians have had sufficient time to examine for themselves the economic and fiscal position of the country."

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

Political prisoners in India.

7. The *Leader* of the 18th April says that considerate treatment is now accorded to political prisoners in all parts of the world. The shameful treatment meted out to them in India in this enlightened age under the British Government, which calls itself the champion of liberty and justice, should, however, enable one to form an idea of the oppression practised on them by our bureaucratic Government. The people also cannot be absolved of all responsibility in the matter. If they were to resolve not to allow those who suffer imprisonment for the sake of their country and nation to be treated in a barbarous manner, the policy of Government regarding political prisoners would at once undergo a change. Moral courage and a spirit of sacrifice are required for the attainment of the object in view.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

"The national week."

8. Writing about the observance of the "the national week," the *Jiwan Tat* of the 13th April endorses Mr. Gandhi's suggestion regarding the adoption of resolutions praying Government to repeal the Rowlatt Act. We consider it essential for Government, it says, to repeal the Act, the passing of which in the teeth of unanimous opposition from the non-official Indian members of the Imperial Council was an act of obstinacy on its part. As regards the Jallianwala Bagh memorial, it is most inadvisable to establish an institution which cannot but create feelings of hatred and enmity for the English. If a memorial must be erected it should be raised at Lucknow, where the foundation of the Hindu-Muslim unity was laid by the National Congress.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Amritsar convicts.

9. "A. N. S." writes to the *Tribune* of the 18th April :—"Ghulam Husain and Faqiria were, by a strange irony of fate—for I do not believe for a moment that it was deliberate—hanged on the 6th April, the opening day of the national week. . . . If death had indeed marked them out as their own, Lord Chelmsford could at least have given them the chance of being spared the gallows for a little longer, if not permanently, by gracefully acceding to the request of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to stay the execution of these doomed men pending the result of his appeal for mercy in England. The unfortunate men are now beyond human help or mercy, but Lord Chelmsford's refusal to intervene raises a question which to the lay mind is, to say the least, perplexing. Can the Viceroy order the execution of those who, though sentenced to death and refused clemency by himself, are naturally enough anxious to appeal to the Secretary of State or His Majesty? If yes, the prerogative of exercising clemency vested in the Secretary of State and even in the King-Emperor becomes illusory. If not, how is Lord Chelmsford's action justified?"

The Hunter Committee's report.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. Commenting on the cablegram which Mr. M. A. Jinnah has sent to Mr. Montagu protesting against the latter taking action on the Hunter Committee report before publishing it and ascertaining public opinion, the *Tribune* of the 20th April writes:—"The Hunter Committee's report, as we all know, is based on partial evidence, and it cannot reasonably be taken to represent the truest aspect of Punjab atrocities without being supplemented by the Congress committee's report. Secondly, so far as India is concerned, action before publication and popular criticism would only perpetuate the bureaucratic tradition of ignoring popular sentiment and is entirely inconsistent with the preparation for the new era in India. Moreover, the composition of the Hunter Committee did not include a single individual elected by the people of India and every one of them was nominated by the bureaucracy. Such a composition would have been impossible in England and this renders it all the more obligatory on the part of the Secretary of State to consult public opinion before taking action and also to take into consideration the report of the Congress sub-committee. The report that the Secretary of State purposes to take action before the publication of the report in India and England has caused the most painful surprise in India.... We hope that no such action will be taken before the public in this country have had their say in the matter."

Mr. Justice Shadi Lal.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 20th April:—"The appointment of Mr. Shadi Lal has more than a merely personal aspect. It is regarded throughout the country as an earnest of that spirit of co-operation and good will between the rulers and the ruled which, it is hoped, will be the key-note of the new era."

The Sikhs and higher posts.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

12. The *Desh* of the 17th April states that a Sikh correspondent has contributed a letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette* in which he complains that no higher appointments have fallen to the share of his co-religionists. Commenting, the paper fully approves of the political demands of the Sikhs, but points out that the fact of the community having so far received very few higher posts or memberships of Councils is attributable to its backwardness in education. The Sikhs used to eschew politics until only six months back, and it behoves them to join the National Congress. They should, besides, confine themselves to constitutional agitation. Threatening letters like the one in question can only prove injurious for them.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

America and Islam.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

13. (*a*) **Mehr Muhammad Khan**, an Ahmadi, writing to the *Vakil* of the 16th April reports that Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, who recently went to America to propagate Islam, was not allowed to land on the ground that he preached a religion which permitted polygamy. The fact that the Red Indians, who practise polygamy, are tolerated in America, shows that the ban placed on the Mufti argues animosity towards Islam. The event is not an ordinary one. In view of its far-reaching consequences, it is a very serious and important matter. The Muhammadans will be justified in viewing it with feeling of great alarm.

AL-FAZL (Kadian); Ghulam Nabi, editor.

(*b*) *Al-Fazl* of the 12th April deprecates the ill-treatment accorded to Mufti Muhammad Sadiq in the most freedom-loving country in the world. If obstacles are placed in the way of Islamic missionaries like this, it adds, the Muhammadans, who already believe that Christian states are engaged in undermining their political power, will be led to think that the latter wish, not only to usurp Islamic countries, but also to efface the Muslim religion. The birth of this idea among the Muhammadans would prove extremely dangerous. Government should attend to removing the obstacles placed in the way of the preaching of Islam in America. And if they cannot be removed, Christian missionaries from America should also be prohibited from working in India. The Muslim press should pay special attention to the matter.

AL-HAKAM (Kadian); Yaqub Ali and Mahmud Ahmad editors.

(*c*) *Al-Hakam* of the 7th (received on the 19th) April says that the pohibition means an insult to Islam, which no Muhammadan is prepared to tolerate. The paper also appeals to the whole press to write on the subject and concludes as follows:—Awake, Muhammadans! How long shall Islam suffer such insults? Bring pressure to bear on America through the British Government to allow liberty to Islamic missionaries. The treatment accorded to Muhammadan countries is still remembered by everyone. An insult has now been offered to Islam by America. No one who hears the news can keep quiet.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah editor.

Native States and the caliphate agitation.

14. In continuation of its previous remarks* on this subject the *Siyasat* of the 15th April asks why Native States should resort to high-handedness in connection with the caliphate agitation when nothing has been done in British India to interfere with the movement. The answer to this question is that the rulers of these States are in "the iron grip of the hard terms of their agreements" with the British Government. They are more afraid of the wrath of the latter than of that of God, and are under the thumb of Residents, at whose instance they do acts which they would perhaps never attempt of their own free will. Residents in Native States get spirited nationalists and patriots excluded and cause gagging orders to be issued. There exists no caliphate agitation in territories ruled by Indian Princes, while efforts are being made to suppress it even where it has been started. In these circumstances, it is the duty of the Indian Muhammadans to go to the help of their brethren in Native States, who cannot perform their religious duty owing to high-handednsss on the part of their rulers. Khilafat meetings should be organized in the States independently of their subjects and relevant literature distributed to them gratis. The central Khilafat committee should at once undertake this work, the provincial committees lending it their support. If such meetings are not allowed to be held, volunteers should go about lecturing in the streets, and if one speaker is imprisoned, he should be replaced by another. The proceeding should continue until Native States are compelled to grant full liberty of speech and writing to their subjects.

WATAN (Lahore); Insha Ullah, editor.

Berar.

15. The *Watan* of the 16th April publishes a letter from one SYED SHAH NAZIR HASHMI on the subject of the restoration of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam. The writer says in the course of his remarks that if on the successful termination of the great war England is not inclined to give an old friend even an inch of her vast territories by way of reward, will it not be an act of territorial aggrandizement on her part to hesitate to declare his ancestral property to be his own? If the services rendered by Native States are not going to be acknowledged now, when is the time for such recognition to arrive?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 24th April 1920

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) A correspondent writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd April says that two opposite forces are now working in Turkey. One of these is for upholding the Sultan's caliphate, while the other, headed by the Committee of Union and Progress, wishes to end monarchical government in Turkey. The latter has joined hands with the Bolsheviks and German militarists. Again, according to recent reports, Mustafa Kamel Pasha is trying to set up in Asia Minor a socialist Government like that of the Russian revolutionaries. As for Enver Pasha, he wishes to make himself Sultan with the help of German militarists. The British Government has occupied Constantinople in order to protect the Sultan against these revolutionary movements Mischievously-inclined people have placed a wrong interpretation on this step on its part. If the strong arm of the British Government had not held the opposing forces in check, very serious and dangerous events would have taken place in Constantinople and the solution of the caliphate question would have been rendered most difficult. Commenting, the *Paisa Akhbar* says that it is difficult for it to confirm or refute any of the above conclusions, seeing that very little information is available regarding the internal affairs of Turkey.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the Turkish question the *Khuda Dost* of the 23rd April refers to Amir Amanullah's speech on the subject, and says that the Afghans consider the caliphate question to be a religious one and are willing to sacrifice their lives in order to ensure a satisfactory solution of it. But what can or should the Indian Muhammadans and their fellow-countrymen do in order to have the matter settled according to their wishes? If the former have the necessary courage, they should act upon Mr. Gandhi's spiritual principle, *viz.*, *satyagraha*. But saints and sages alone can take the *satyagraha* vow, because it involves self-sacrifice. Continuing, the paper says that Mr. Gandhi's solution of the caliphate question is the true solution. Every Muhammadan and Hindu should take the vow that he will use only articles manufactured in this country. If Indians adhere to the vow the question will be satisfactorily settled in five years.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(c) The *Zamindar* of the 24th April says that the telegrams regarding the control of Turkish finances, etc., throw fresh light on the intentions of the high personages assembled at San Remo to decide the fate of Islam. We were already aware of the character of the philosophy of European morality, in whose code no promise is worth being kept. Nevertheless, we were under the impression that considerations of justice and fair play apart, European statesmen would, in view of their interests in Asia, so treat Turkey as to afford satisfaction to forty crore Muhammadans and twenty-five crores of Hindus. Apparently, however, they have decided to reject with scorn the united wishes of sixty-five crores of human beings. It was said up till yesterday that Constantinople had been occupied only temporarily, but to-day we are told that permanent units of the Allied forces will be located there. It was said until yesterday that Ottoman possessions having a purely Turkish population would continue under the Sultan's sway. But to-day we are told that, like other Turkish provinces, Anatolia also will be administered by Europe, and that any opposition by the Turks will be crushed with the help of military forces. We could have put up with one breach of promise by Europe ; but it breaks a pledge with the new sun. The paper then goes on to say that the proposed control of Turkish finances means that even the nominal independence of Turkey is to be extinguished. Europe has resolved to ring the death knell of Islam. Let us see what is the will of God.

(d) Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter from GHULAM HAIDAR KHAN, editor of the *Sidaqat*, who says that the Allies wanted Holland to extradite the ex-Kaiser, but that she declined to surrender him. They took no action, however, against Holland, who has been guilty of harbouring the arch enemy of Great Britain, although the last named is in a position to dictate terms to her. She dare not attack Holland, because Christendom is not prepared to support her in the matter. But when the British fleet enters the Dardanelles and upsets the Turkish Government, no power in the world protests against this act of high-handedness. The reason for this is that the Christian powers are resolved to wipe Islam off the earth's surface. Such is the civilization to preserve which Great Britain dyed her sword with blood. Does not her conduct show that she wishes to see the Cross triumph over the Crescent. This is also evident from the views held by Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Curzon, Mr. Bryce and the Archbishop of Canterbury. If the question is not between the Cross and the Crescent, why is the whole of Turkey being victimized for the alleged activities of a few nationalists ? In conclusion, the writer says that Great Britain's ministers and British statesmen have afforded clear proof of religious bigotry in their dealings with Turkey, which is most prejudicial to the Imperial interests of their country.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(e) " L. A. A." writes to the *Tribune* of the 30th April :—" Various reasons are being advanced by those who are not prepared to advocate non-coöperation with the Government even in the event of an adverse decision with regard to Khilafat. The *Tribune* does not think Mr. Gandhi to be consistent, because at the same time that he urges his Hindu and Muslim countrymen to be prepared for withdrawing coöperation from the Government, he . . . . declares that we have not yet had the necessary discipline for a conscious realization of our national state. But I would like to point out that the necessary discipline can only be gained in the actual process of nation-building. . . . Those of our Hindu and Muslim compatriots who are not prepared to support, even in theory, the withdrawal of coöperation, however, contend that only if the British Government were to set its face definitely and deliberately against the realization of our national manhood and were resolved to keep us for ever a subject nation, would we be justified in adopting all forms of passive resistance, including withdrawal of coöperation, on a national scale. Apparently these friends do not seem to consider the fact that should such an occasion arise, we can never be competent enough for the task and for the inauguration of a universal movement—until and unless we have already prepared ourselves and tested our strength in matters which bring less of self-aggrandisement and material profit to the nation, but have the same justice and righteousness behind them, and in which the most cherished religious sentiments—the very life and soul—of those whom we call our own —our brethren, countrymen, equal partners, equal sons of the same Mother India are involved. If the nation cannot rise high enough to show the self-sacrifice and practical sympathy demanded by the present case; if it cannot give a practical demonstration of the genuineness and sincerity of the nation's professions of the Hindu-Muslim, Sunni-Shia unity; if it cannot show the necessary requisites of a solid and compact nation; and if it is not prepared to acquire the discipline and the courage necessary for the existence and the advancement of a self-respecting, self-conscious nation, we may well dispair of it for ever."

SIDAQAT, (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

Bolshevism.

2. The *Sidaqat* of the 24th April says that the contradictory statements received from Europe regarding Bolshevist methods show that a special agency there is engaged in painting Bolshevism in the blackest colours. We cannot say that the Bolsheviks are a personification of human sympathy and the champions of true liberty; still we can form no definite opinion about them without seeing both sides of the picture. Besides, if they are really as mean, accursed and hard-hearted a lot as Mr. Lloyd George represents them to be and if their existence is actually a source of disgrace for the civilization of Europe, it should be the primary duty of the Allies to sweep them out of existence. Continuing, the paper says that their agents are doing their utmost to create feelings of discontent in the minds of the Indians. Government can, if it so wishes, nip the evil in the bud by respecting the sentiments of the people in the matter of the caliphate and the holy places of Islam and by fulfilling its promises to Indians.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

The Afghan mission.

3. Writing about the Afghan mission, the *Dard* of the 25th April says that it is generally believed that if the Amir's Government were desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, it would never have placed Mahmud Tarzi, who is known for his hostility to the British Government, at the head of the mission. Next the newspaper refers to the speech made by Amanullah Khan at Kabul on the caliphate question, as also to the one delivered by Mahmud Tarzi at Mussoorie. Commenting, it says that the two utterances go to show that the Amir has sent the mission, not to establish friendly relations with the British Government, but to demand that the holy places of Islam should not be under non-Muslim control, and that non-Muhammadans should not interfere with the caliphate. If Government treats these demands as it treats Indian public opinion, God alone knows what the result will be.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Tribal raids.

4. Writing about the recent kidnapping of a European lady by some tribesmen, the *Sikh* of the 25th April says:—"The lady was taken back and brought to Jamrud within thirty-six hours of her abduction. But we wonder if such prompt and expeditious steps have ever been taken to rescue an Indian subject of His Majesty carried off, under similar circumstances, by trans-border ruffians. If this were ever done, the thirty-three crores of Indian gods would in one united voice pray for the perpetuity of the British Raj, and those wolves in human frames would never dare to commit such inhuman deeds."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms.

5. (*a*) Writing about the Sikh demands in connection with the coming reforms, the *Tribune* of the 28th April says:—"We are entirely opposed, both as a matter of principle and expediency, to the appointment of a Hindu, a Muhammadan or a Sikh to the membership of any of the Executive Councils, provincial or Imperial, on the ground of his being a Hindu, a Muhammadan or a Sikh, or, indeed, on any other ground except that of his being a qualified Indian. Not only would such appointment be open to grave exception in theory, but in practice it would be fraught with incalculable injury not only to the country as a whole but to the communities themselves. We do not forget that in practice these appointments have in some cases been shared alternately by Hindus and Muhammadans, but everybody who knows anything knows how harmful the practice, even within this limited scope and within the short period of its trial, has been. It is bound to be far more harmful when it is further extended and made into something like a definite administrative rule. What the Sikhs should, in our opinion, insist upon is that their community must have exactly the same facilities and the same opportunities of service as any other community.... While we are in complete and wholehearted sympathy with the demand for a larger and more adequate Sikh representation

both in the provincial Council and in the Legislative Assembly, we would ask our friends to make it clear that they do not desire this at the cost of a further curtailment of the already attenuated general representation."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Continuing his criticism of the rules framed by the Hallifax committee for the Punjab under the Reform Act, **Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni** writes in the *Tribune* of the 29th April:—"In the proposals submitted by the local Government to the Government of India as many as four seats have been reserved for what are called big landholders . . . . In the book of the Punjab officialdom, a man who pays Rs. 500 a year as land revenue is a 'big landholder'! If the income from land be put at six times the land revenue, a big landholder will mean a man with an income of Rs. 3,000 a year. Even with a proportion of 1 to 20 between land revenue and the total income from the land—the latter amounts to Rs. 10,000 a year. Remember also that there are only about two thousand of 'big' landholders for whom it is proposed to reserve as many as four seats. Why not put 'big' income-tax payers also into a separate class and give them the right to elect half a dozen members. Surely the number of 'big' landholders is not larger than that of equally 'big' income-tax payers. The plain fact is, as every one knows, there is a class of landlords in other provinces, like the Maharaja of Durbhanga or the Raja of Mahmudabad, who stand by themselves for their influence and stake in the country, and a certain number of seats has been set apart to be contested by them. No such class exists in the Punjab. The erection of ordinary landlords into a separate constituency will simply mean a further dilution of urban representation in the Council chamber. Indefensible as the allotment of four seats, two for Hindus and two for Muhammadans, to 'big' landlords is, the proposal that one of the two Muhammadans seats be reserved for such a small, close constituency as the Tumandars of Dera Ghazi Khan is one which cannot be too strongly condemned. . . . The official representation, though within statutary limits, is higher in this province than anywhere else in India. The Government proposes to send 16 officials to a Council of 87 members, which gives a percentage of 18·4. It is not known how the number of official members has been fixed at 16, since there are only 13 heads of departments, Secretaries to Government and other high officers whose presence in the Council chamber is required for the proper representation of official interests in the various branches of administration."

(*c*) The following is taken from a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 1st May by **Chhotu Ram**, B.A., LL.B., a Vakil of Rohtak:—"The very object of the reforms which are to be introduced will be defeated if the only practical result of the introduction of these reforms is the transference of power from a foreign bureaucracy to an indigenous urban oligarchy. And yet unless some provision is made which will secure the representation of the rural classes through men who have a real and living interest in the welfare of these classes, men with urban interests and urban sympathies will swamp the future Councils of our country. So far as residential qualification serves to avert such a result it is a just and equitable device. But can it be pretended that the rules which are being framed for our province go only so far and no further? Certainly not. The rules which have been suggested for adoption go to an absurd length. They prevent not only men of urban residence from standing for a rural constituency but also exclude persons residing in one rural constituency from candidature in another rural constituency, even though the two constituencies may be quite contiguous. Such an unwarranted interference with the choice of an electorate can hardly be tolerated. There seems to be neither reason nor justice in such an arrangement. Can there be anything more atrocious than a proposal that a man residing in the rural area of the Hissar district should not be qualified to stand for a rural constituency in the Rohtak district? Can there be anything more arbitrary or more artificial than an arrangement which will exclude a qualified candidate residing in one rural part of the Lyallpur district from putting himself forward as a candidate for a constituency situated in another rural part of the same district? Yet this is the result which flows from the recommendations made in this behalf by the Hallifax committee. What a quintessence of wisdom and sanity? When provision had been made for the separate representation of rural areas the only restriction which need have been placed on the choice of rural electors was that the candidate should have a rural residence in any part of the province or in any part of the division in which the constituency for which he stands is situated.... The imposition of any inter-district restrictions on the score of residence will seriously imperil the chances of any real growth of political life in the country-side. Rural areas cannot boast of any excess of thoroughly competent candidates, and such a crude application of the principle of 'the residential qualification' as is proposed by the Hallifax committee will result in a political disaster of the first magnitude. It is difficult to view with equanimity the prospect of a Council swarming with mere dummies. And if the recommendations of the Hallifax committee are accepted, this will be exactly the result. Inefficiency, incompetence, incapacity and ignorance will be the only fruits which can be borne by the Hallifax committee's recommendations on the question of the application of 'the residential qualification,' and it is earnestly to be hoped that these reactionary, retrograde and artifical recommendations will not be accepted."

Government and the Congress.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

6. The *Liberal* of the 26th April thus concludes an article headed the "Government and the Congress":—"Whatever might have been the attitude of the Government towards the Congress in the past the present and future attitude of the Government should be guided by the terms and the spirit of the Royal Proclamation. We quote the following sentence from the Proclamation:—'I rely upon my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to My people.' Is there any evidence that the present Government is animated or guided by this spirit? On the contrary, is not there overwhelming evidence that the representatives of the people, that is, the leaders of the Congress, are treated with cold contempt? How have they fared in the Imperial Legislative Council and elsewhere? They are snubbed on every possible occasion and they are studiously ignored in the appointment of committees and other bodies. Even the mildest bureaucrat has no words of appreciation for the leaders of the Congress. Where then are we to look for coöperation and the fulfilment of the letter and the spirit of the Royal Proclamation."

Repression and revolution.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

7. The *Dard* of the 29th April asks under what conditions revolutions take place. The despotic policy of a Government, it replies, constitutes the primary cause of a rising. The present policy of the Government of India is of a very rigorous character. Probably no other civilised Government in the world has ever ventured to pass such oppressive laws as have been enacted by the Indian Government. After instancing the Regulation of 1818, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act, the paper remarks that the passing of such laws against the wishes of the people makes the public regard Government with feelings of distrust. This, in its turn, breeds unrest, which causes disorder leading to a revolution.

The colour distinction.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

8. The *Zamindar* of the 27th April reports that it was recently stated by Mr. Bonar Law that the American Government had refused to accept the League of Nation's suggestion that black troops should not be employed in Europe. The statement shows that the suggestion was made by England [and France]. We wonder whether it constitutes an acknowledgment of the bravery and devotion displayed by these soldiers or is an insult to them. They belong to India, Egypt, Tunis and Algeria, and in displaying their devoted loyalty to their respective Governments they wholly lost sight of the fact that by fighting against the forces of the Khalifat-ul-Muslmin they were uprooting Islam with their own hands. If their loyalty and devotion is being rewarded in this strange and unintelligible way, the world will come to know the underlying policy one of these days. If, however, the League of Nation's suggestion is intended to insult black troops, one can find no blacker instance of ingratitude in the world. France and Great Britain themselves admit that if these troops had not participated in the European war, the former would never have vanquished their dreadful enemy. How shameful it is that the term 'black' should be used for the soldiers with whose help

they humbled their enemy. The term is evidently a contemptuous one, and shows clearly enough how black troops are regarded by Europe. When they were fighting shoulder to shoulder with their British and French *confrères*, European statesmen and newspapers expressed joy and satisfaction over the union of the white and black. We thought, nay, believed that the war would end the mischievous colour question once for all. This has, however, proved to be an idle dream. The broaching of the question after the termination of the war has rendered matters still more complicated. It has come to assume a disgusting shape in the British colonies, while the British ministers, who are never tired of blowing the trumpet of civilization and enlightenment, seem helpless in improving the morals of their white subjects. It is to be wished that European statesmen would realise that, instead of proving instrumental in maintaining the world's peace, their present attitude is calculated to sow the seed of mischief and disorder.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Political prisoners in India.

9. Commenting on the announcement by His Majesty's Government that political prisoners in Ireland awaiting trial will henceforth be granted ameliorative treatment, the *Tribune* of the 28th April writes:—"Nowhere in the Empire are political prisoners properly so called treated so harshly and so unsympathetically as in India either during the under-trial period or after conviction. . . . . [They] have all the disabilities and practically none of the privileges of ordinary prisoners. . . . . Some months ago a small percentage of political prisoners were, as far as we are aware, for the first time in British Indian history, accorded a preferential treatment in one of our central jails. . . . If reason, commonsense and fairness are to have anything to do with the matter, the duty of the Government is perfectly plain. It is to carry the step already taken by them in this matter to its logical consequence, to make the special ward created by them in one single jail and for a temporary purpose and a limited period a permanent feature in all central jails, and in future never to send a political prisoner to any jail without such a ward and to no ward except this ward. Further, they should assimilate the treatment accorded to the inmates of this ward, as far as is humanly possible, to the treatment accorded to the same class of prisoners in England, not only in respect of food, clothing, etc, but in all respects."

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

The Indian Defence Force.

10. The *Dard* of the 25th April states that the Indians who joined the Defence Force complain that the alluring promises made to them by Government have not as yet been fulfilled. The paper cannot say why Government displays such indifference in the matter of its promises, but it would advise the Indian members of the Force to stick to their posts, as they enlisted with the object of defending their country. As to the promises of Government, when even British ministers never redeem their plegdes what reliance can be placed on the word of the bureaucracy.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

The disturbances.

11. (*a*) The *Leader* of the 22nd April strongly urges Mr. Montagu to take no action on the Hunter Committee report before its publication and without going through, even cursorily, the Congress sub-committee's report. The paper then refers to a number of allegations in the latter document, and asks the Secretary of State to judge for himself what shameful and insulting treatment was accorded to poor Indians during the martial law regime. To take action on the basis only of the Hunter Committee's report, and that also before its publication, will be to make an irremediable mistake.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 25th April the paper says that both young and old, males and females, were subjected to a horrid treatment during the administration of martial law in the Punjab. Young women were made to take off their trousers in public streets. Boys were tied to triangles and whipped until they lost consciousness. They were then untied and flogged again on their recovering their senses. The punishments proposed by the Congress sub-committee for the offending officials are, therefore, most inadequate. To take no action against the culprits will be to encourage other officials to behave in the same way. We would strongly urge the Secretary of State for India to take very severe action against the officials who practised oppression on the defenceless Indian population. Martial law atrocities constitute an ugly blot on the fair fame of Great Britain, and it is her duty to do the fullest justice in the matter.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) After referring to the collections made in certain cities and towns in the Punjab in aid of the Jallianwala Bagh memorial, the *Tribune* of the 1st May writes :—" But far more gratifying than the actual amount subscribed is the spirit and the manner in which the appeal has been received. One who has been in the thick of the fight throughout and who has more experience in this class of matters than most others tells us that never before has he seen an appeal made for a political or patriotic object so readily and so enthusiastically responded to, not only by those who have anything substantial to give, but by the common people, many of whom, judged by every accepted canon, are among the poorest in the country."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Kine-killing.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

12. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 27th April suggests that the forthcoming cow-conference should demand of Government to stop the killing of kine in all cities and cantonments. A resolution should also be moved in the new Councils that the meat required for the British soldiers in India should be imported from abroad. This will undoubtedly involve an extra expenditure, but Indians will not object to it. The protection of kine is becoming a question of life and death for them. The present dearness of *ghi* and milk has begun to tell on their physical and mental powers. It is the duty of Indians of all castes and creeds to request Government to stop the slaughter of kine in this country. We feel confident that if strenuous efforts are made in this behalf, Government will assuredly accede to our request. Cow-killing is prohibited in Native States, including several Muhammadan States, and there is no reason why Government should not put an end to it in British territory.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the prohibition of cow-sacrifice in Afghanistan, the *Desh* of the 29th April says that the *fatwa* has been issued only to conciliate the Hindus. We cannot find words sufficiently to praise and thank the Afghan *ulema* and the wide-awake Kabul authorities. The event is an extraordinary one in the history of Islam and may be relied upon to prove very auspicious and far-reaching in its effects.

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Secretaryship of the Lahore Municipality.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

13. The *Desh* of the 28th April suggests that an Indian should be selected to succeed Mr. Bull as Secretary of the Municipal Committee of Lahore. The post is not too high for a son of the soil, seeing that an Indian has already been appointed Under-Secretary of State for this country.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Lease of land to the Cotton Growers' Association.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

14. (*a*) The *Dard* of the 24th April says that it is with feelings of extreme pain that we have strongly to protest against an act of Government which, if carried into effect, will result in our starvation. The honour of the Punjab was taken away by martial law, while her so-called liberty fell a victim to the Defence of India Act, the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act and other repressive laws. Now Government has its eyes on our bread. The bureaucracy is averse even to our getting dry crusts by hard work. The cloth manufacturers of England established a society called the Cotton Growers' Association. This body is apprehended to inflict a serious loss on us, and if we do not carry on a most strenuous agitation against it, our nascent cotton industry will be destroyed and our cotton merchants will be involved in ruin. The Punjab Government has entered into a contract to lease 7,000 acres of land to the Association for a period of twenty years for the cultivation of cotton. After stating that the period can be extended, the paper remarks that we take the event to mean that henceforth the mill-owners of Manchester and Lancashire will be directly connected with land in India, and will export cotton at nominal prices. This will deal a severe blow to middlemen, *i. e., zamindars,* brokers and the like ; while the competition involved

will spell a serious difficulty for the Indian mills. We shall have to close down our mills, being unable to compete with British concerns in producing cheap goods. In short, our merchants, brokers, mill-owners, labourers, clerks, etc., will all be thrown out of employment. The robber merchants of other countries will live on our land, money and other resources. No amount of agitation against Government's action in question can be too much. The paper then goes on to say that the concession has not been granted to England alone, but that, as questions in the Imperial Council show, Japan also has been given land in several places in India. The Japanese, too, wish to drain away our wealth, simply because they are powerful and we are weak. To make matters worse, the contract has been signed without our mill-owners knowing anything about it. The Punjab Government seems bent upon ruining *zamindars* in spite of the existence of the Alienation of Land Act. They will now be reduced to the position of mere labourers. Their land is being given, not to Indian merchants, but to the latter's *confrères* in England and Japan with a view to injuring Indians in every way. We should know no rest till the contract has been cancelled. The question is an economic and not a political one.

RAILWAY (Lahore); M. A. Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Railway* of the 24th April publishes an article headed "A knife into the stomach of the Punjab: a sword on the neck of Indian mills: an unfair attempt to turn Indians into labourers and slaves". The paper strongly deprecates the contract entered into between the Punjab Government and the Cotton Growers' Association, and calls upon the Punjabis to enter an emphatic protest against this improper act on the part of the local Government.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Complaint against a military officer.

15 (*a*). The *Zamindar* of the 25th April translates a *Tribune* telegram about the alleged ill-treatment by a European military officer of certain female relations of Rai Bahadur Seth Chiranji Lal travelling in a second class compartment. Commenting, it says that if the allegations contained in the message are true, the officer in question has been guilty of shameful and despicable cowardice. It is the foremost duty of a soldier, be he British or Indian, to use his strength to defend the helpless. If, however, he employs it to assail weak and helpless women, he is no soldier and gentleman but a hooligan and a mean creature. He is no civilized being, but a savage and an animal; and the sooner humanity is rescued out of the clutches of such beastly wretches the better it will be for human civilization. Will His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief take the trouble of promptly calling for an explanation from Captain Butler and, in the event of the latter proving guilty, of stripping him of his uniform, proving thereby that Great Britain wishes to spread enlightenment in India and not to convert it into a place of ignorance and savagery?

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*b*) The *Leader* of the 26th April says that the incident is as deplorable as it is painful, and that Captain Butler's conduct cannot be condemned too much. The cowardice displayed by Rai Bahadur Seth Chiranji Lal is also to be deplored. He should have fought to the last for his legitimate rights. The ill-treatment accorded to Indians by Europeans on railways has passed all bounds. Steps must now be taken to put an end to it, so that the cup of the patience of Indians may not flow over.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Aftab* of the 29th April says that the present Turkish Government is a mere puppet in the hands of the Allies. It is, therefore, very easy for the latter to secure the signatures of the Turkish delegates to the proposed treaty with Turkey. This being so, the treaty is a meaningless thing.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The editor of the *Zamindar* states in the paper's issue dated the 30th April that when British forces threw to the winds Lord Hardinge's announcements regarding the holy places of Islam in Arabia and secured, with the aid of cannon and guns, the custody of the sacred mausoleum of Hazrat Ghaus, he made known to some of his friend his strong conviction that the British Government would be obliged, sooner or later, to evacuate Irak. After remarking that he still holds fast to his conviction, he refers to the Premier's reasons for the British occupation of Mesopotamia and goes on to say that to Mr. Lloyd George the freedom of nations is a meaningless phrase and political rights no better than a chimera. If a few gold coins be obtainable in a country, if there be oil-fields and gold mines in it, and if its lands be fertile, the greed of the Prime Minister of England will extend to it, even if this should cost him his life and faith. The war was not waged to extend British possession, but to-day he adduces reasons like the above for placing Mesopotamia under British rule. We are of opinion, however, that the British Government should not occupy Mesopotamia. It is not necessary for the defence of India that a policy of usurpation should be followed in regard to Mesopotamia, Persia and Turkey. India can be protected from external attacks only by the united loyalty of her people. If this loyalty were shaken, Great Britain would be unable to retain India even if she had the whole world under her sway.

(*c*) Elsewhere the paper states that Mr. Hamid Ahmad, who was required to furnish security in connection with his speeches on the caliphate question, has not done so, and has been imprisoned for one year in consequence. We consider him wholly innocent, seeing that impassioned speeches on the above question do not constitute an offence. Every subject of Great Britain is as much entitled to liberty of speech as Mr. Lloyd George or the Archbishop of Canterbury. If it is an unpardonable offence in the Muhammadans to make perfervid speeches and to say plain and straightforward things in advocating the cause of their religion, what order will the District Magistrate of Allahabad pass against Mr. Williams and the Bishop of London for their foul-mouthed remarks in connection with the Turkish question? If members of Parliament and English Bishops have the right to make venomous attacks on the Turks on the basis of imaginary tyrannies by the latter in Armenia, cannot the Indian subjects of the British Government open their lips in support of their co-religionists? If this is not so, as would appear from the attitude taken up by the District Magistrate of Allahabad, is it not a flagrant defiance of the proclamations issued by Queen Victoria and her illustrious successors that the British authorities should wish to deprive Great Britain's Muslim subjects of their religious freedom? Those who wish to suppress and crush the religious feelings of the Muhammadans are, however, grossly mistaken, seeing that the latter also hold their religion as dear as those of the British people who are knowingly throwing a veil over the dreadful Greek oppression in Smyrna and are engaged in raising a storm of anger, contempt and scorn against the Muhammadans among the Christians of Europe and America by narrating stories of supposed tyrannies in Armenia and spending millions of rupees on the display of films concerning these atrocities. In conclusion, the paper praises the courage displayed by Mr. Hamid Ahmad and calls on the Central Caliphate Committee to render pecuniary help to his family.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 30th April says that the Supreme Council has, after all, decided the fate of Turkey. It has settled that Smyrna will continue under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey for another five years, although virtually it will be in the hands of Greece. The settlement perhaps means that the Greeks might end the days even of the remaining Muhammadans in Smyrna during the above period. The Greek Parliament in Smyrna will then be in a position openly to vote for a union with Greece. Continuing, the paper inquires how the fact of France having been entrusted with the mandate for Syria can be reconciled with the appointment by the Syrians of Emir Feisul as their king. Again, the tribes inhabiting Mesopotamia were reported to be desirous of living under the rule of Emir Abdulla. These questions will not be settled by diplomacy alone: there is an apprehension that they will have to be submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. Why should a nation capable of managing its own affairs be forced to live in a state of subjection? The paper concludes by saying that the Ottoman empire has ceased to be a great power, while Islam and the caliphate have come to an end.

JHANG SIAL (Lahore); Banke Dial, editor.

(*e*) The *Jhang Sial* of the 30th April says that the question of the caliphate having been decided contrary to the wishes of the Muhammadans, that of migration has now assumed a very serious aspect. Maulana Abdul Bari's *fatwa*, coupled with the Amir's declaration to afford an asylum to intending emigrants, has rendered matters still worse. If Government places no obstacles in their way, thousands of Muhammadans will migrate from this country. In the other event, feelings of unrest will be created among the Muhammadans, which is likely to lead to unpleasant consequences. The Allies have decided the caliphate question. The Muhammadans should now be allowed to do what they like. The Government of India should in no way interfere with them.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(*f*) A correspondent writing to the *Dard* of the 2nd May says that in case it is unanimously decided to pursue a policy of non-coöperation with Government, hundreds of thousands of poor people will be thrown out of employment. Unemployment, he adds, breeds every kind of evil and may lead to disturbances in the eventuality in question. It is advisable, however, that the country should be at peace and tranquil at the present juncture. What arrangements have the politicians made to fill the stomachs of the men who will be thrown out of employment? The writer then suggests that societies should be formed in every city, town and village to collect funds in aid of these men.

(*g*) The *Dard* of the 3rd May states that the *Christian World* writes that "we" have admitted influence in Mesopotamia and Palestine; that a state subordinate to "us" has been established in the Hedjaz; that French aspirations in regard to Syria have been realised; that the demands of Italy have been accepted; and that Greece has obtained rights in Smyrna. Can any one deny after reading this, asks the paper, that the Cross is not at war with the Crescent, and that joy is not being expressed in Christian circles at the destruction of Islam? The people who give the title of Caliph to the rebel of Mecca should hang down their heads in shame. How did the Government of India venture to make the announcement that the holy places would remain in independent hands?

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(*h*) Elsewhere the paper has a note headed "Migration movement: Muhammadans should reflect", in the course of which it says:—The present is a critical time. Government has changed its attitude. The Delhi authorities are the first to inaugurate a policy of repression. Government has begun to show its sharp teeth. The Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act have for the present been brought into play to end the caliphate agitation. The question of migration also is now to the fore along with that of non-co-operation. It is more difficult than the latter question. Lakhs of Muhammadans may become prepared to migrate to where they may be able to act independently in order to protect the caliphate and the sacred places. Do they not know, however, that India has been converted into a large prison? No Indian can leave or enter the country without permission or a passport. Will Government tolerate that Muhammadans should migrate to northern countries to create difficulties for it abroad? Muhammadan brothers, think calmly and seriously how you can successfully withstand injustice and severities while suffering hardships in India. In conclusion, we wish to say again that the present time is a critical one and that nothing should be done which may prove barren of result.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*i*) The *Zamindar* of the 1st May refers to the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi and says that the authorities in India still place the same meaning on the word "sedition" as they used to do before the gracious proclamation recently issued by the King-Emperor. Anyone expressing his religious feelings in a rather loud key is a seditious person to them. Any one giving utterance to his genuine views in regard to the caliphate question is worthy of being sent to jail. Any person who cannot bear to see the honour of Islam assailed or to hear news about its degradation and who gives expression to his feelings of consequent uneasiness is deserving of being hanged and quartered. And still the Muhammadans are advised not to migrate from this country!

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*j*) The *Desh* of the 2nd May deprecates the conduct of the Delhi Government in having taken such a step. Nothing, it adds, has so far occurred at Delhi to necessitate a change of policy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*k*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd May says:—"While we are entirely opposed to the use of violent language for carrying on political or other agitation in India, we are deliberately of opinion that the Government is making a mistake in resorting to such a measure as the Seditious Meetings Act in dealing with the Khilafat agitation. Apart from the general and obvious unwisdom of adopting any policy in dealing with such a matter that has even the appearance of being repressive, the great objection to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act is that it is one of those measures which the country has never been able to look upon otherwise than with supreme disapproval..... If there are really persons whom the Government believes to be carrying on their propaganda work in a manner which, in its considered opinion, is prejudicial to the public interests, and which, it thinks, would do more harm if left unnoticed than if suitable notice were taken of it, let it, in the first instance, give a clear warning to these persons, and if the warning goes in vain, let it proceed against them under the ordinary law. The existance of a few such persons would, to our mind, afford no justification for what is neither better nor worse than an arbitary, though legalised, interference with the rights of the general public. Nor is another point of view to be overlooked. To resort to an exceptional weapon for dealing with the agitation, would, we very much fear, have the effect, in the present temper of the Mussalman community, of accentuating exactly those elements in the agitation which the Government is anxious to suppress. At the same time we do appeal to our Mussalman brethern themselves to remember the wise words of Mr. Gandhi that 'slightest violence done by us will not only return to us with mad fury, but will dash to pieces the present hope of Islam."

RAILWAY (Lahore); M. A. Khan, editor.

(*l*) The *Railway* of the 5th May publishes a poem written by Munshi Taj-ud-Din Ahmad, *Taj*, editor of defunct *Hunter* (Lahore). Some of the verses are as follows:—

We will never bow our heads before the Trinity ;
We will lay down our lives to maintain unitarianism.
He who loves life is no Musalman ;
We take our lives in our hands and place the shield over our breast for the sake of the caliphate.
It is not worthwhile to live when one's honour is assailed ;
We live only for our religion and nation.
The Muslim fears no one but God ;
He is born to display valour.
Who will lead a life of slavery ?
We have come into the world to rule.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

Bolshevism.

2. (*a*) The *Khuda Dost* of the 30th April states that Professor Good(?), who is a special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, has, on his return from a visit to Moscow, published a book on Lenin. Next the paper translates some passages from the book which state that every Russian child, whether his parents are rich or poor, receives education on modern lines and is brought up as a sturdy and industrious patriot, and that his mind is filled with feelings of universal equality. The Professor asks, adds the paper, whether any one will have the courage to condemn Bolshevism when millions of such children will, on attaining majority, take the reins of administration in their own hands. Proceeding, he says that the present condition of farmers compels one to call the Government of the Bolsheviks a highly civilised Government. Peasants unable to cultivate their lands are supplied with money, implements, machines, men and cattle by the Government. It also takes care that no one starves or is without clothes. Again, no beggar or prostitute is to be seen in Russia, while no one can remain unmarried there. There is also no army and police in the country. Commenting, the *Khuda Dost* asks whether in the event of the Professor's statements being true every child in the world will not envy the lot of Russian children, and whether there are parents who will not like their children to be educated according to the Bolshevik standard. The condition of Russian workmen and farmers is also enviable; and if what Mr. Good (?) says is true, is there any one who will not consider it an honour to follow the example of the Bolsheviks ?

(*b*) In its issue dated the 2nd May the paper asks whether the Bolsheviks act in contravention of Christ's teachings or in conformity with them ? The tenets of Bolshevism, it adds, appear to be that human beings should lead simple lives ; that they should not overwork themselves ; that labourers should obtain deliverance from slavery to capitalists ; and that human beings should be treated with love. After remarking that it is unnecessary to dwell on the similarity between the life of Christ and those of Lenin and his co-workers, the paper says that Bolshevism lays great stress on human rights and the equality of men, and that it lends considerable support to labourers (the poor)* as against capitalists (the rich),* regarding the latter and their wealth with feelings of detestation. Next it makes some quotations to show that the teachings of the Bible are similar to those of Bolshevism. In conclusion, it asks whether the Christians who hold up Bolshevism to opprobrium or the people who praise it are in the right.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians in East Africa.

3. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 5th May :—"There is no sadder chapter in the history of India's relations with the rest of the Empire than that relating to the present position of Indians in East Africa. . . . Utterly indefensible as is the treatment which has in the past been and is even now being accorded to Indians in several other parts of the Empire, not-

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* The brackets are the paper's.

ably in South Africa, the treatment that is being accorded to our countrymen in East Africa is even worse. Here is a case in which neither of the two usual pleas for the unequal and unsympathetic treatment of Indians will for a moment hold water. East Africa is in no sense a white man's country. The present European population of the territories is said to be approximately 6 thousand. The present Indian population of the territories, on the other hand, is certainly not less than 25 thousand, and it is estimated that it is between 30 and 35 thousand. Again, East Africa is not a self-governing colony, but only a Protectorate, and so the argument that the Imperial Government is powerless cannot bear a moment's scrutiny." Next the paper refers to the services of Indians to East Africa and to their demands on the Government there. In conclusion, it says :—" We can think of no ground either of justice or equity on which these demands can be resisted, and we have no hesitation in saying that if the European settlers cannot content themselves with equality of treatment with their Indian fellow-subjects, it is they who ought to be asked to go. In any case, the duty of the Imperial Government is perfectly plain, and they cannot fail to do that duty without laying themselves open to the severest condemnation at the bar of public opinion both in India itself and in the world at large."

Tribal raids.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore) ; Nand Gopal, editor.

4. (*a*) Referring to the rescue of the European lady who was recently carried away by some frontier dacoits, the *Khuda Dost* of the 1st May says that her return is ascribable to her nationality. If the officers on the frontier were to display similar zeal in protecting the person and property of the local Hindus and Muhammadans, it would become wholly impossible for the tribesmen to cause any harm to His Majesty's subjects. The happenings on the frontier for the past few years prove that strenuous efforts have not been made to save the lives and property of the people there.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi) ; Kishen Chand, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 4th reports that Mr. Montagu stated in the House of Commons in reply to a question that he had called for detailed information in connection with the kidnapping of the lady. Why should he not do so, seeing that she is a white-skinned European ? Poor Indians have cried themselves hoarse, but who listens to the voice of black men ?

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms and the Sikhs.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar) ; Mohan Singh, editor.

5. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 4th May :—" At Lahore and Amritsar chiefly resides the 'pick' of the Sikh educated public and if, as at present, the urban population gets no one to represent their huge business and civic interests, and the Government continues to demand the 'residential qualification,' then surely we may despair of having our half-a-dozen or so Sikh councillors from among the people who are sufficiently advanced and public-spirited and know and understand their rights, duties and responsibilities. In other words, even what we shall have under the new regime, shall, from the view-point of the best democratic and elective representation, be of no practical avail. The Sikh councillors themselves shall be an ineffectual dumb minority representing a dumb population. And this is not the whole story. Out of the four seats for the Punjab landlords, two will to go to Hindus and two Muhammadans and none to the Sikhs. Further, as things are at present managed in the University, on that score too one may well consider it a sheer impossibility for half a century more to get even the most liberal Sikh to represent graduates and fellows. Then, again, what should we say about the representation of the Sikh aristocracy and the Sikh army ?"

Repression in India.

LEADER (Lahore) ; Sham Lal, editor.

6. The *Leader* of the 2nd May refers to the situation in Ireland, which it ascribes to the British Government's policy towards that country. Continuing, it says that if Government fails to abandon its mistaken repressive policy in India, it is greatly to be feared lest, like Ireland, this country also should separate herself [from England]. Government should act in conformity with the changed order of things.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

Indian jails.

7. (*a*) The editor of the *Khuda Dost* in the paper's issue dated the 1st May requests Government to treat political prisoners in India as they are treated in Europe and America. He has considerable experience of jail life, and can assert that differential treatment is accorded to Indian and European prisoners in this country. The food supplied to a European murderer is as different from that given to an Indian guilty of murder as the meals of a rich person differ from those of a beggar. A European thief, dacoit or murderer has meat, cake, butter, milk, sugar, tea, cheese, vegetables, pulses, rice, etc., served to him. The condition of Indian prisoners is, however, unspeakable in every way. Are not Indians also His Majesty's subjects and can they not distinguish between comfort and trouble? Do not Indian prisoners, too, desire to get good food, as also time for rest, study and exercise?

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The editor of the *Partap* says in the paper's issue dated the 2nd May that while in jail he felt deeply pained at the difference between his condition and that of European prisoners. He would advise Government to put an end to the racial distinctions made in its jails. No prisoner should live in comfort owing simply to his being a European, while none should be treated in a degrading manner on the score only of being Indians. Those Indians in particular who are imprisoned for political offences should not be accorded the treatment which is meant for persons guilty of offences involving moral turpitude.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

The Jail Commission.

8. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 4th May writes:—"The treatment of political prisoners and the provision of facilities for the due performance of religious injunctions are the two most important points upon which it is imperative for the Jail Commission to collect first hand recommendation, evidence and information and to make adequate arrangements for them. Unless men of independent judgment and experience are heard as evidences and unless any conclusions are reached only on the basis of facts and are not in the least influenced by motives of 'policy and expediency,' commissions of this sort lose the greater part of their importance and utility, in the eyes of the public. Sikh public opinion has expressed itself unequivocally and unanimously on the subject of the head-dress, and we do hope that the Commission will have completely satisfied itself as to the express demand of Sikh religion in this matter."

RAILWAY, (Lahore); M. A. Khan, editor.

The North-Western Railway strike.

9 (*a*) The *Railway* of the 29th April throws the responsibility for the strike on the railway officials who disregarded all prayers from the strikers. After asking these officials to change their attitude, the newspaper urges the public to help the strikers in holding out, and appeals for funds in aid of the latter.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 7th May:—"From all that we have heard the strike is clearly spreading, and the number of strikers is getting larger every day. Even the traffic department has now been materially affected, and a large number of trains have been cancelled. This is a serious state of things, and the public has a right to expect that the Government will intervene and ask the railway authorities to adopt such measures as may put an immediate end to the growing inconvenience to which the people are being put. . . . . Let no consideration of prestige stand in the way."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 5th May says that an impartial and independent committee should be appointed to consider the whole question It should consist of men who are fully trusted by the labouring classes. The decision arrived at by it should be binding on both parties.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Moradabad collision.

10. Writing about the conflicting statements regarding the casualties caused by the collision at Moradabad, the *Tribune* of the 2nd May says:—"The discrepancies are serious enough, and it is not easy to account for them. If the number is really so low as 45, how were the earlier figures, one of which put the number of killed at more than thrice this figure, reached? Nor is the position improved when we compare the non-official with the more or less

official estimates. The *Pioneer* correspondent put the number of persons killed at 85 and the number injured at 53, while a correspondent of the *Independent* put the number of the killed alone at something like 500. In view of these discrepancies, it does seem to us that something more than a purely official and departmental inquiry should be made not only to find out the actual figures, and the causes of the disaster, but to fix the responsibility for it. The fact that the casualties were mostly confined to third class passengers will not, we hope, prevent a sifting enquiry being made both into the extent of the disaster and into the circumstances that led to it. . . . . This is precisely one of those cases where sympathy, to be of any use, must take a practical form, and we do hope that not only will steps be taken to prevent a recurrence of these dreadful tragedies by removing the cause or causes that lead to them, but that suitable step will be immediately taken to afford necessary relief to the victims of the present tragedy."

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Conflict between Islam and Christianity.

11. The *Zamindar* of the 4th May publishes the first instalment of an article headed "Conflict between Islam and Christianity" from the pen of MAULANA AKBAR SHAH KHAN of Najibabad. The writer says in the course of his remarks that the Christians may assert a thousand times that they are not waging a religious war against the Muhammadans, but that the facts declare as if with a tongue that Christianity has taken upon itself the task of ruining Islam, and is determined to destroy the temporal power of the Muhammadans. Christianity and its follower should, however, bear in mind that their efforts to wipe Islam out of existance can never prove successful. The Muhammadans remember what happened in Spain. They have not also forgotten the general massacre at Jerusalem. The atrocities perpetrated during the Balkan war are but a thing of yesterday. The tyrannies practised in Smyrna are still before their eyes. These things cannot, however, make Islam subservient to Christianity. The Christians may quench their thirst and water fields with the blood of the Muhammadans. They may shed streams and rivers of it and navigate their merchant ships in it. It is, however, absolutely impossible for them to reach the last drop of the Muhammadan blood.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Kine-killing.

12. The *Zamindar* of the 1st May says that the agricultural needs of their country compel the Muhammadans to pay special attention to the promotion of the breed of kine. What is still more important, however, is that their Hindu brothers look upon the cow as a sacred animal. The killing of kine by the Muhammadans is intolerable to them, and the former should reconsider their attitude in the matter for the sake of the Hindus. Next the paper refers to the prohibition of cow-killing in Afghanistan, which event it ascribes to the Hindus having coöperated with the Indian Muhammadans in certain most important matter. It concludes by tendering grateful thanks to the enlightened ruler of Afghanistan on behalf of united India.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Gujranwala municipality.

13. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 8th May :—" Our attention has been repeatedly drawn to the deplorable condition of things prevailing in the Gujranwala municipality. It is about a year ago that the municipality of this town was suppressed and there was created instead what may be called a notified area, inasmuch as the right of election was wrested from the people and the seats were filled by a handful of officials and nominated worthies. . . . The wrong inflicted on the unhappy people of Gujranwala . . . has now too long remained unredressed, and it is high time that the *status quo ante* the reign of terror be restored. The practical necessity of this demand is insistent and urgent. The condition of the town is so insanitary as to beggar description and the toll that is being exacted by plague can no longer be contemplated with unconcern. It is time now that some one should undertake to remedy this state of things and set at once about improving the health conditions of the town unless of course the forced continuance of existing conditions is intended

as a punishment with which the citizens must, in official dispensation, be visited. There is thorough mismanagement in all the departments that are under the control of nominated gentleman. . . . . Let us hope that Sir Edward Maclagan will immediately instruct the Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala, who, according to all reports, is a considerate officer to send up election papers and restore to the people their cherished right of electing their own representatives."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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The 8th May 1920.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Sidaqat* of the 1st May states that it was remarked by the Premier in the course of a conversation with Mr. Muhammad Ali on the subject of the alleged atrocities in Armenia that the vast territories of Asia Minor could not be allowed to be turned into a waste through misrule by the Turks. Commenting, the paper asks whether crores of Indians are not leading a life of semi-starvation, and whether famine and epidemics have not devastated India. Was not there, the paper further inquires, a general massacre of Indians at Amritsar and some other places in the Punjab? Do not European military officers disgrace and humiliate Indians every day? All these things constitute a patent proof of misrule by Great Britain in India. When such is the state of things in the British empire itself, with what face does Mr. Lloyd George level the change of misrule and incompetence against the Turks? If the fertility of Asia Minor makes his mouth water and he wishes to include that Turkish province in the new British possessions, where is the use of his bringing in civilization and human sympathy in order to secure his object? Continuing, the paper says that when the Premier saw that America was not inclined to participate in the carrying out of the League of Nations' programme, he ascended the pulpit to preach that peace could not be established in the world until Christianity had been propagated in it. His arrow hit the mark, and the self-same Wilson who was once considered to be a supporter of the Turks is now urging the expulsion of the Sultan from Constantinople.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 8th May the paper says that when the Muhammadans were afraid lest Great Britain should take possession of their holy places, the British Government hastened to announce that the great European war was only a political struggle. Again, it was declared by Mr. Lloyd George that no European power would interfere with Thrace or Constantinople. In spite of all this, however, the Premier, while congratulating General Allenby, spoke of the fighting in Mesopotamia as a crusade. Had he expressed this view during the course of the war, Great Britain would not have obtained a single Muslim soldier to fight for the Cross. He may be feeling proud of his statesmanship in having got the roots of Islam dug out by Muhammadans themselves. He should, however, bear in mind that a wooden pot can be placed on the fire only once [*i.e.*, Muhammadan soldiers will not fight against their co-religionists in future].

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 8th May publishes a poem written by the paper's assistant editor, Abu Rashid Abdul Majid Khan, *Salik*, who says among other things :—

Rise, O Muslim, and make some arrangement for a jehad :
Do what will bring triumph to the Prophet.

New Marhahs and Antars* have been born,*
Thou also shouldst now unsheathe the sword of Ali.

He alone is truly a man who longs for death :
Thus shouldst thou wish for eternal life.

Sacrifice thyself for Islam like Husain :
Emulate the courage of the great martyrs.

Thy life, heart, riches, wife, children and family
Lay at the feet of the Prophet by way of offering.

Elsewhere the newspaper publishes another poem from the pen of one Mukhtar Ahmad of Moradabad headed "The Muslim's cry." The following are some of the couplets contained in it :—

The caliphate has been torn to shreds, its greatness has been oblitered and its honour is gone :
All the holy places are in the hands of the Christians.

We hear that the banners of the Cross are about to fly over
The domes over which the flag of Islam used to wave.

How calamitous it is that the very home of the Prophet of Islam
Followers of Christianity have pitched their tents.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(*d*) The *Khuda Dost* of the 8th May reports that a well-informed correspondent writes from London that the Allies intend to arrest all the nationalists in Turkey and create a party of traitors there, using the last named as their agents and placing the Turkish Government in their hands. The object in view is to render it easy to secure acceptance of the proposed terms of peace and to crush the power of Mustfa Kamal Pasha. According to this correspondent, there will seemingly be a Turkish Government, but it will be easy for the Allies to achieve their objects. Orders regarding peace will be considered as emanating from the Government of Turkey, although in reality they will be issued by the Allies. This being so, the generality of the Muhammadans will be led into not opposing this Government, nor will Mustafa Kamal Pasha be able to accomplish anything.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*e*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 10th May :—"The conference at San Remo has finally decreed the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. . . . A cable has been received from the Indian Khilafat deputation in London that they still hope that this decision will be modified, but we do not share this hope. The conciliation of Turkey was necessary so long as Russia and Germany were powerful. Turkey was an indifferent state but a good buffer. She is no longer wanted, and she had the temerity to draw the sword against the Allies. Turkey offended, and Turkey must be punished. What will the earnest protests of the whole Islamic world and all India avail? Force is not baffled by constitutional agitation. The British Government will say they cannot be held entirely responsible for the decision of the conference and, after receiving the mandate, they cannot evacuate Mesopotamia and Palestine. The French are occupying Syria. Turkey will no longer count among even third class powers, and the Ottoman empire will vanish even as the Moorish empire of Spain."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Zamindar* of the 11th May refers the imprisonment of Maulvi Hamid Ahmad of Allahabad over his speeches on the caliphate question. Commenting, the paper says that it was reserved for the Government of the United Provinces, not only to imprison, but to exact hard labour from people raising their voice in support of the Prophet's caliph. The

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*Two notorious infidels opposed to Ali.

Maulvi should, however, remember that although the tortures with which he is threatened may mean degradation for him to Great Britain's representatives at Allahabad, still they are a source of honour for him in the eyes of the Prophet. It is no new thing for men learned in the faith to suffer imprisonment: it is their heritage to wear iron chains.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*g*) Writing about the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th May says that caliphate meetings are not seditious gatherings, and that it is an incitement to mischief to brand them as such. Government should calmly watch the course of events, and abstain from entertaining thoughts of treason and sedition in regard to the loyal and devoted Indians. The Muhammadans have clearly stated that if, from a religious standpoint, it becomes impossible for them to live in India, they will migrate to some other country. This being so, there appears to be no need for the promulgation of the orders in question. Government should rest satisfied that there is no likelihood of any trouble or disturbances arising in the country. If the authorities act in a sober and quiet manner and refrain from inflaming feelings for no reason, nothing untoward will be certain to happen.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

(*h*) *Al-Munir* of the 8th May says that the enforcement of the Act at Delhi means that the expression of their religious feelings by the Muhammadans has been declared to be an act of sedition. Can the orders, ask the paper, be said to be in conformity with the recent Proclamation of His Majesty?

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*i*) The *Sidaqat* of the 8th May writes that the Delhi Government knows full well that the caliphate question has upset all Indians irrespective of caste and creed. The enforcement of the Act in Delhi is, therefore, a short-sighted proceeding which can in no way have a pleasant effect on the relations between the rulers and the ruled. If the Delhi authorities have enforced the Act with the idea that the people should not give vent to their feelings of anxiety, which are disturbing the comfort of Government, this is an act of folly on their part. The prevailing unrest and uneasiness will now increase ten times, and the popular feeling will become still more agitated. Does it not constitute an open insult to Indians that they should be prevented, on pain of being charged with sedition, from voicing their legitimate complaints at a meeting without the District Magistrate's written permission obtained three days previously? Does not this mean that the heart, conscience and faith of Indians are now worthless things to be treated as the authorities may desire? We ask the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and other responsible authorities in the name of their conscience and faith whether it is not tantamount to depriving a person—of whatever position he may be—of his birth-right to force him to do anything against his conscience or beliefs? Does not such improper authority murder the liberty which is the natural right of every self-respecting person? And does not such oppression reduce him to the position of slavery, to uproot which Great Britain has strained her every nerve? Continuing, the paper says that their faith now demands of the Muhammadans that they should hold themselves in readiness to make the greatest sacrifice in order to preserve the caliphate.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*j*) The *Sikh* of the 9th May writes:—"The placing of the province of Delhi under the Seditious Meetings Act furnishes clear evidence of a change of attitude again in the authorities. We have always been for a constitutional agitation and would be the last person to approve of going to extreme. But does it not testify to nervousness on the part of Delhi Government to revert to the old repressive measures, being frightened by the Khilafat agitation there? Although we ourselves, too, take strong exceptions to the subject-matter of certain resolutions passed and the tone of speeches made in this connection, still there were no signs of actual violence. Warning would, in our opinion, have served the same purpose."

The Afghan mission.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st May says that it is a fact, of which the Afghans are cognisant, that the British Government has never desired to secure possession of Afghanistan. On the contrary, it has repeatedly sacrificed its interests in order to help in the maintenance of that country's freedom. British statesmen, adds the paper, wish to see Afghanistan on friendly terms with India. Continuing, it points out that since the former is now an absolutely independent power, the British Government cannot take upon itself the responsibility

of rendering her military help against her enemies. The only thing it can now do is to let British officers train the Afghan army and to supply warlike material to the Amir. The paper then goes on to say that the power and strength of Afghanistan depend on the payment of a subsidy to her by the British Government. But can her independence, it asks, remain intact in that case? She has established diplomatic relations with other countries, and should place a higher value on freedom and forego the subsidy as its price.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

Tribal raids.

3. The *Shanti* of the 2nd May says that thousands of Hindus and lakhs of their women, as also several Sikh and Muhammadan families have suffered at the hands of the tribesmen. What courage was, however, displayed by the late Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province in these cases? What severe punishment did he inflict on the dacoits and what arrangement did he make to afford protection to His Majesty's peace-loving subjects? He used money and not the sword to make the dacoits mend their ways, and the result has been that recently they carried away a European lady. Continuing, the paper says that this sensational incident made even the *Pioneer* recover its senses, and that the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Englishmen* also hastened to write on the subject. The editor wishes that these journals would adopt the same sympathetic attitude in the case of black people also.

II.- LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The reforms.

4. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 10th May writes under the heading "Give reforms a trial":—"There seems to be an earnest desire on the part of the head of this province to obtain the co-operation of Indians in the task of administration. It would be anything but wise on our part to repel this offer; indeed, it may be disastrous to the country if we do this. A fair, honest trial for, say, a couple of years will afford practical evidence of the fact whether the impending reforms are a snare and a delusion, as is alleged by some critics, or they really give the people a responsible share in the administration of the country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Commenting on the official proposals regarding the constitution of the Punjab Legislative Council under the Reform Act, the *Tribune* of the 9th May writes:—"None of the several important suggestions made in the independent section of the press or by the Congress Committee appear to have been accepted."

(*c*) In its issue dated the 12th May the paper says:—"We do not know what useful purpose [the publication of the draft constitution] at this stage is expected to serve. As a rule very few changes are made at this stage, and no one can say that it is easier to bring Punjab opinion to bear upon the Secretary of State and the Joint Committee than upon the local Government and the Government of India. We deeply regret that neither of these authorities has cared to profit by the considered opinion and judgment of the enlightened classes in the Punjab in a matter more vitally affecting the province than any other question in recent years. They could only have done so by publishing the draft for criticism before sending it to the Secretary of State and, indeed, before finally making up their own mind."

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 15th May writes:—"The three most crucial things regarding a Legislative Council in India at present doubtless are (1) the total strength of its members; (2) the proportion of the elected element, and (3) the proportion of the official element. As regards all three, the Punjab is in a worse position than any other province with which she can be compared. . . . . . . The total strength of the Punjab Council is miserably low and inadequate as compared with the total strength of the Bombay Council, and this inspite of the fact that the Punjab has the same population as Bombay. Let us apply the other two tests. Take, first, the elected element. In Bengal the elected element is to be 115 out of a total strength of 139 or 140; or more than 82 per cent. In the United Provinces, with which the Punjab has so much in common, the number of elected members is to be 100 out of a total strength of 123, or more than 81 per cent. What is to be the proportion in the Punjab? Out of a total strength of 87 members only 65 are to be elected, or less than 75 per cent. Similarly, while Bengal is to have 18 or 19 official members in a Council of 139 or 140, or less than 13 per cent. of the strength of the Council, and the United Provinces are to have the same number in a Council of 123, or a little over 14 per cent.; the Punjab is to have as many as 16 such members in a Council of 87, which gives a percentage of more than 18. Let us not be misunderstood. It is not to the number as such that we object, though, as the provincial Congress Committee pointed out, 13 would have been quite an adequate number. What we do urge is that if the number of official members cannot be less than 16, then surely it stands to reason that the number of elected members should be correspondingly increased."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Hunter Committee's report.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. (*a*) Commenting on Mr. Montagu's statement in the Commons that it is not proposed to publish the evidence taken by the Hunter Committee *in camera*, the *Tribune* of the 12th May writes :—"As practically the most important evidence concerning the policy of the civil Government and the circumstances under which that Government handed over its authority to the military was taken *in camera*, we have no hesitation in saying that this decision will be strongly and universally deprecated in this country. It will be remembered that both Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. Thompson gave their evidence *in camera*, and these were the most important witnesses on the civil side, the only witnesses who were competent to speak on the general situation as affecting the whole province. We hope public opinion in India as well as our friends in England will insist strongly on the publication of the evidence of both these witnesses."

(*b*) In its issue dated the 14th May the paper says :—" Mr. Duni Chand, the indefatigable Secretary to the Indian Association, voices the general feeling with absolute accurracy when he says in a cablegram to *India*, the Congress organ in England, that there is great dissatisfaction in this country at the non-publication of the Hunter report, and urges that the public should have an opportunity of discussing the findings and the recommendations of the Hunter Committee before action is taken against official wrong-doers. This is not only sound as a matter of democratic principle, but clearly the most expedient course as a matter of practice. So much depends upon the nature and extent of the action to be taken by Government in this matter, and so great is the risk involved in action that may be either incorrect or inadequate, that it is at least as much in the interests of the Government as of the people that no final step, no step that once taken might be difficult to alter or to modify, should be thought of until the public has had full opportunity of having its say and until the Government itself has had full opportunity of profiting by the public discussion. The only plausible reason for not publishing the report until action had been actually taken was that having waited long enough or rather too long already, the Government was anxious, if possible, to avoid further delay in taking the necessary action in this matter..... As a matter of fact, this was not the real reason. That reason is to be found in the anxiety of the authorities not only to forestall public criticism, but to bring the whole controversy to as speedy an end as they possibly could. If final action was announced simultaneously with the publication of the report, they said to themselves, the press and public bodies would exhaust all they might have to say at once, and would then speedily forget all about it and settle down to their work. Vain delusion! The Government in India and Mr. Montagu in England must have a wholly inadequate idea of the depth of public feeling in this matter if they imagine that public criticism of inadequate official measures, assuming for the sake of argument that the measures would be inadequate, could be killed on any such easy terms. Never in the history of British rule in India has any event stirred so intense, so profound, so universal a feeling in this country, and it is idle to hope that this feeling would die merely because the Government might choose to say 'the matter is now closed.' This is so perfectly patent that we are surprised that it did not occur to the author of the famous Mesopotamia speech."

Elsewhere the paper writes :—" Mr. Montagu stated that the papers he intended to publish in the course of a fortnight would include 'the resolution by the Government of India in regard to the matter.' Does this mean that any action that might be taken in this matter would be taken by the Government of India and not by the Secretary of Sate ? ... The supreme impropriety of the Government of India being constituted the final judge in this matter is perfectly patent.... In the case of the Punjab disturbances, though the policy that was followed was essentially Sir Michael O'Dwyer's and the Government of India throughout played second fiddle, so to say it is needless to point out that it was the consistent support given by the latter that alone made it possible for Sir Michael to have things all his own way as he had them. Therefore, if Sir Michael O'Dwyer is on his trial before the bar of public opinion, so is the Government of India. . . . The final orders in this matter should not be passed by an authority whose own share of responsibility in regard to the matters under inquiry has yet to be determined."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The N.-W. R. strike.

6. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th May praises the peaceful behaviour of the strikers and considers their demands to be legitimate. They are in the right, it adds, and among the most loyal subjects of Government. Continuing, the paper requests Sir Edward Maclagan and his Government to intervene without delay and compel the railway authorities to concede the legitimate demands of their loyal employees, whose patience should be subjected to no greater strain. The announcements made by the Agent, North-Western Railway, are not based on justice and prudence. The paper then goes on to say that the Railway Association was justified in undertaking the important duty it has shouldered. It also commends the society for remaining within the bounds of law and keeping in hand a crowd of fifteen or sixteen thousand men. It is at a loss to understand why the Agent does not recognise the Association.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*b*) DOCTOR SATYAPAL, B.A., M.B., of Amritsar, writing to the *Partap* of the 12th May expresses satisfaction at the awakening visible amongst the people of the classes to which the strikers belong. After remarking that they will know no rest till they have secured something, he says that it is improper on the part of the strikers not to consult political leaders. Continuing, he suggests that since the matter concerns as many as twenty thousand persons it is inadvisable for political workers to hold themselves aloof from it. In conclusion, he considers it necessary for the general public to hold meetings to support the demands of the strikers, as also to request Government promptly to intervene in order to end the oppression which is being practised on the poor labourers. It is also the duty of the people to give money in aid of the strikers in the days of the latter's unemployment.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The following is from a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 9th May by LALA LAJPAT RAI:—"I feel that the time has come when the public should intervene in the interests of both the strikers and themselves. The railway strikers are fighting for a principle—a principle which deserves the fullest sympathy of the public. The attitude of the Agent in demanding an unconditional surrender is unreasonable. It is a notorious fact that the conditions of service on the North-Western Railway are seriously hard which oftener than not endanger the safety of the public. While the officer class is more than well paid, the subordinate staff is very much dissatisfied with its wages. In this respect the traffic staff suffers even more than the skilled workmen in workshops. I beg to appeal to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to follow the example of the Governor of Bombay and intervene."

(*d*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 13th May:—"The dismissal of seven men may have been the immediate cause, but surely even the railway authorities do not expect any sensible man to believe that the mere fact that seven of their fellow-employees were dismissed, could have given rise to a feeling of universal discontent among twenty thousand railway men. The underlying causes of the strike are to be found in the economic strain which has affected more or less adversely all classes of society. If the strike is to be terminated and the old relations between the officials and the men are to be re-established, it is necessary that the railway authorities should at once make up their mind to meet the men in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation. We lay particular stress on this point, because we are convinced from a perusal of the recent notification containing the Agent's terms to the strikers that the railway authorities have not so far realised the necessity of meeting the men's demands in this spirit . . . We hope a board of arbitration will be appointed at once, and a decision satisfactory to both parties concerned arrived at at an early date."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Medical registration in the Punjab.

7. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 15th May:—"The medical practitioners in the Punjab holding diplomas or certificates from private medical institutions, and especially such of them as had been actually practising

medicine in the province before the 25th day of September 1915, appear to us to have a real grievance in the matter of registration under the Punjab Medical Registration Act, II of 1916. So far not a single one of them has been registered under the Act, and this in spite of the fact that the Act makes clear and distinct provision for the registration of this class of practitioners. It cannot. . . . be said that all or most of these men are without the necessary qualifications. Not only did many of them obtain their diplomas after completing a full course of medical training, but some of them have, we understand, actually worked and are working as Assistant Surgeons both in the Punjab States and elsewhere. To refuse registration to such men and others like them is, to our mind, not only a wrong but an utterly indefensible use of the discretion vested in the Council and in the local Government. Nor is the fact to be overlooked in this connection that medical practitioners with identical qualifications have as a class been registered under the Act in the United Provinces and a select number of them have also been registered in Bombay, while in Bengal a resolution asking that practitioners of this class should all of them be registered was carried in the local Council in the teeth of official opposition. Why should the Punjab alone be singular in this matter? Lest it might be thought that in acting as they have done the Medical Council have in any way correctly interpreted the wishes of the large majority of registered medical practitioners, whether in the province or the country, it is worthwhile pointing out that the Punjab Medical Union, consisting of all Assistant Surgeons in the province and of graduates in medicine of British Universities, strongly supported the cause of these practitioners, while the All-India Medical Conference held at Amritsar passed a resolution in their favour. This makes the exclusive policy of the Council as inexplicable as it is clearly void of justification."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

District Boards in the Punjab.

8. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 11th May:— "Much uphill work yet remains to be done in the District Boards of the backward Punjab. A majority of the Boards' members still retains its grievously unrepresentative character. The greatest needs of the districts continue unattended to. Nothing satisfactory has been done on a large scale in connection with village sanitation and compulsory primary education based on utilitarian methods. In fact the *ji hazoori* policy is first learnt by Indian leaders in these very Boards. . . . It is time that the elected element in these Boards were increased and the services of the educated community duly utilized by the Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE: }
The 15th May 1920. }

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 9th [received on the 17th] May says that Great Britain knew full well that if she told the Muhammadans during the course of the war that she wished to end the caliphate for good, the result would have proved most deterimental for the safety and stability of her empire. Consequently she began with the announcement that she had nothing to do with the caliphate. How could the foolish and simple-minded Muhammadans know that her announcement only signified that she could never tolerate the continuance of a caliphate exercising the fullest spiritual and temporal sway over the Islamic world or, in other words, possessing a great military force to protect Islam against its enemies. So far as military strength is concerned, Great Britain has reduced the Sultan of Turkey to a wholly helpless condition, and it can do her no harm if the Muhammadans acknowledge him as caliph even in his present destitute and helpless condition. Continuing, the paper says that hundreds of caliphs and thousands of *pirs* are to be found in India. Has Government ever interfered, it asks, in their affairs? A *pir* or caliph, however, who forms a powerful military organisation to relieve the holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab of British patronage and supervision will never be able to lead a life of peace and comfort. Mustafa Kamal Pasha and his party are declared to be worthy of being hanged and quartered, simply because they can never tolerate to see Great Britain occupying the places which belong to the Prophet's followers on historical and religious grounds. She offered the caliphate to Husain, the ruler of the Hedjaz, as a reward for his treachery to the Sultan of Turkey. She had, however, to take back her gift on his declaration that the caliphate would prove a crown of thorns for him. This led the British Ministers to announce again that the Muhammadans could settle the caliphate question in their own way. A new move is, nevertheless, being made now. Husain's younger son, Abdulla, has declared in the course of an interview that the Sultan of Turkey cannot be the caliph, not being a member of the Quraish tribe. After referring to a second objection raised by him, the paper concludes

by saying that Abdulla would never have ventured to raise the question if his father had not proved himself to be an ungrateful person by rebelling against his master.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(b) Writing about the Turkish peace terms, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th May says that Turkey's feathers and wings have been plucked, and her limbs cut asunder. Some consideration has undoubtedly been paid to representations from the Muhammadans; but, nevertheless, there have been made some very serious mistakes, which are bound to have evil consequences. The Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Berbers, Egyptians and all other self-respecting Muslims will not bear to see the Ottoman empire dismembered. Disregard of Islamic injunctions will bind together these conflicting races, as also the Muhammadans of Central Asia, and prompt them to have each and every term of peace withdrawn. Peace and tranquility will vanish and there will be a great commotion in the Muhammadan world. European statesmen should know that Muslim excitement and frenzy cannot be met with guns, swords, bombs and aeroplanes. The Arabs, Turks and Tartars are in a state of excitement. Mustafa Kamal Pasha and other Turkish leaders are working under Enver Pasha, and have already reached Chanak. And this is nothing compared with what is to be done in future, and that also in a true spirit of Islamic zeal! The power of action backed by blind enthusiasm will achieve a great deal. Continuing, the paper says that the Viceroy's message has ripped open the Muhammadans' wounds, which can never heal. As long, however, as the Muhammadans continue to live in India they will maintain their political connection with Government, although they will never come forward to help the latter.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(c) The *Vakil* of the 18th May says that the following is the advice given to the Muhammadans by Government and Anglo-Indians:—"Turkey is dead, but you should display resignation, courage and fortitude." Does the fatal decision by the Allies admit, however, of our acting in such a spirit? Those who tell us that Turkey has been punished only for having participated in the war are trying to involve us in misunderstanding. They deceive us who assert that the ruin of Turkey dates back from the time of Abdul Hamid's dethronement. European states had been trying to empower the ruin of the Ottoman empire for the last two centuries. The Government of India and the Secretary of State did their utmost for the Muhammadans, but their efforts have not been crowned with success. The Allies are intoxicated with their pride of strength and power. We would advise the Muhammadans to descend into the arena of action only after much thought and consideration.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajhat Husain, editor.

(d) The *Aftab* of the 21st May regrets that the British Government should have paid no regard to its promises. The Muhammadans have now two alternatives before them—to remain loyal to Government or place the commandments of their religion above loyalty. Just now they are under a fit of grief and indignation and have no intention to work in coöperation with Government.

SIYASAT. (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(e) The *Siyasat* of the 14th May says that evidently Turkey will feel compelled to sign the proposed peace treaty in howsoever objectionable a form it may be presented to her. The minimum demand of the Muhammadans is that the boundaries of the Turkish empire should be the same as they were before the war. Under the treaty referred to, however, Turkey will henceforth be a mere speck on the face of the earth. The time of trial has now come for those Muhammadans who have repeatedly declared their intention to sacrifice their families, lives and property for the caliphate. If the Muhammadans do not emerge successful from the ordeal, they will be reduced to a more degraded position than that of the Jews. Ruin will overtake them and they will lose all importance in the eyes of other nations, which will care nothing for their threats and will become ready to bring about their ruin. The paper then goes on to say that although the peace treaty is to be presented to the Turks on behalf of the Allies, the chief responsibility for its preparation rests on Great Britian. If the Muhammadans have the courage to adopt measures which will force her to amend this unjust treaty and if they care nothing for threats from Government, as also for internment and other hardships, they will be justified in expecting their Hindu fellow-countrymen to keep their word to them. If the last named are found wanting, the united Indian nationality will receive such a severe shock as to render Hindu-Muslim union an impossibility for hundreds of years to come, while the Muhammadans will come to realise that the Hindus had joined hands with them only as a matter of political expediency.

Siyasat (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*f*) In its issue dated the 17th May the paper says that it will not be sufficient for the Indian Muhammadans only to pass resolutions condemning the Trukish peace teams. It is the duty of every one of them to adopt such measures as may force Great Britain promptly to use her influence to have the terms withdrawn and get such a peace concluded with Turkey as may prove instrumental in restoring the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin's prestige and dignity and placing the holy places under him. It is his duty to make every possible effort to secure the preservation of the caliphate. He should not spare even his life and property in order to bring about this result. The paper then supports Hasrat Mohani's suggestion that the Muhammadans should not enter Government service in future, and asks them to turn their attention to trade now. The Khilafat committees, it adds, should have it preached in villages that it is a sin to enter any service. In conclusion, it endorses Hasrat Mohani's suggestion that the Muhammadans should pay no subscriptions to Government in future.

(*g*) The *Siyasat* of the 20th May says that the proposals to refuse to enter Government service and pay no subscriptions to Government should be acted upon. The suggestion to boycott British goods is, however, impracticable, and we should try to make the *swadeshi* movement a success.

Partap (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*h*) The *Partap* of the 19th May speaks of the proposed peace terms as the message of death for Turkey. It feels constrained to say that the Allies have paid no heed to the lamentations of the Indian Muhammadans. After remarking that their wishes concerning their holy places have been disregarded, it states that the Sultan has been allowed to remain in Constantinople. It would have been better, however, if he had not consented to live in that city under the existing conditions, seeing that his position there will be no better than that of the Pope. We are sorry at this sad end of Turkey, because it has shocked our Muslim brothers, and it is difficult to maintain peace in a country when sixty millions of its inhabitants are displeased with their Government. His Excellency the Viceroy's message to the Muhammadans is not likely to influence them in any way.

(*i*) In its issue dated the 21st May the paper says that it is idle for the Allies to expect the peace terms offered to Turkey to establish peace in the world. The Government of India and the Secretary of State missed no opportunity of laying Muslim sentiments before the Allies and securing the best terms for Turkey. All their efforts have, however, gone in vain. The Government of India have now tried to explain the peace terms, but this can serve no useful purpose. It may put on them what interpretation it likes and may paint them in whatever colours it chooses. The fact remains, however, that they are most painful, not only for the Indian Muhammadans, but for their co-religionists throughout the world. After remarking that the terms batray a spirit of vindictiveness, the *Partap* says that the Indian Muhammadans will submit to them in grief. How will the Allies, be able, however, to silence the Muslims of Middle Asia and Africa, who attach no importance to life? The Muhammadan races in the Middle East, which feel offended with the Allies, will join hands with the Bolsheviks. The Turkish peace terms lay the foundation of another war, which will spell ruin for the whole world.

Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*j*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 20th May says that the peace terms are nothing short of the message of death for Turkey. Indians have long been in the bonds of slavery. The Turks also have now been reduced to the same position, and the last standard of the East has fallen down. The Viceroy has advised the Muhammadans to exercise the utmost patience. It is, however, quite useless to sympathise with them in this way. Can our helpless Muslim brothers do anything except indulge in lamentations? They have now fully realised their position. Both the Hindus and Muhammadans have been overtaken by a night like the one which preceded the martyrdom of Husain, and they can pass it only in lamentations.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*k*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th May says that the peace terms offered to Turkey have not only ended the political power of Islam, but have also reduced Asia to a state of complete slavery to Europe. Japan is now the only Asiatic country which retains its independence. But her freedon also is in danger, and she can preserve it only by contracting an alliance with China. In the other event, her days, too, should be considered to be numbered. Continuing, the paper refers to the Government of India's sympathy with the Muhammadans, and denies that sufficient regard has been paid to their representations in deciding the fate of Turkey. Next it advises them to keep their anger under control and act with sense and reason. Those Muslim leaders, it adds, who have so far taken no part in the caliphate agitation ought now to descend into the arena and give wise advice to their co-religionists. The people who are asking the Muhammadans to keep silent are the enemies, not only of the latter, but of whole world as well. The same is true of those who are inciting the Prophet's followers to wage a *jehad*. If the Muhammadans do so, they will be encompassing their own ruin. The political and religious leaders should put their heads together and avoid personalities. The best way for them to do the latter thing consists in renouncing the honours conferred on them by Government and refusing to accept titles in future. They should then consider how far the rest of the programme framed by Mr. Gandhi can be carried out and with what advantage. The editor for one does not consider the whole of it to be of a practical character. The future of Islam will depend largely on what the Indian Muhammadans may do now. If they display wisdom, truthfulness and a spirit of self-sarcrifice, the barque of Islam can become seaworthy again. In case, however, they display cowardice, selfishness and haste, it will be impossible to restore it to its original condition. As for the Hindus, they should so help the Muhammadans as to convert the latter into staunch advocates of *swaraj* for India.

(*l*) Elsewhere the paper says that the Turkish administration was undoubtedly defective. The evil could not, however, be remedied by partitioning Turkey in such a way that no part of it should have even the semblance of freedom. It would have been better if the Turkish empire had been kept intact and self-government had been established in various parts of it. 'But Sa'di has a different object in view.'

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*m*) The *Leader* of the 19th May says that if the Turks accept the terms offered to them, they will lose their temporal as well as spiritual power. The conditions proposed by the Allies are of a most stringent character.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*n*) The *Tribune* of the 8th May writes :—"The solution that has been arrived at is one that is bound to cause profound dissatisfaction to the Mussalmans of India .... It is easy to see that not one of [the Muhammadan demands] is substantially conceded in the terms of the treaty as formulated and presented to the Turkish delegates at Paris. According to these terms the old Ottoman empire definitely disappears from the map of the world ; and the Sultan is neither to control the holy places of Islam, whether in Arabia or elsewhere, nor to have suzerainty over Jazirat-ul-Arab .... It seems to us to be too much to expect that the Mussalmans of India will find strength and comfort in the hope expressed by the Viceroy that 'a Turkey regenerate, full of hope and strength, will stand forth in the future as in the past a pillar of the Islamic faith,' or that Indian Mussalmans can fail to be deeply agitated over the dismemberment of Turkey, which is now virtually an accomplished fact. We can only hope—and we do hope with all the earnestness and fervour of which we are capable—that the agitation, which is bound to continue, will, by the exercise of due tact and forbearance on both sides, be confined to strictly peaceful and constitutional methods, and that nothing will be either said or done, either on the side of the Government or the Mussalmans themselves, that will make an exceedingly bad situation worse."

(*o*) In its issue dated the 21st May the paper says :—"That there is genuine, deep and all but universal neighbourly sympathy with the Muslims on the part of non-Muslims, and especially Hindus, even a casual observer cannot fail to see. There is even a readiness in many non-Muslim quarters to give this sympathy a practical form and render every assistance to the Mussalmans, whether pecuniary or otherwise, in their effort to obtain a revision of the peace terms, so long as this effort is confined within limits that do not either transgress the bounds of law and propriety or infringe the allegiance which the people of India owe to the British Throne. But there are no visible signs of a widespread desire on the part of any section of the non-Muslim community to make common cause with the Muslims in respect of any of the graver things of which we have been hearing during the last few months.... Non-coöperation .... especially in its last two stages, is far too drastic a remedy, a remedy which has no likelihood of being universally applied, and which, if applied on a large scale, is bound to do more harm than good. But to say, as Maulana Shaukat Ali does in effect, that even non-coöperation is not the whole of the programme is to definitely part company with the non-Muslims, who do not and cannot believe in divided allegiance and for whom, in present conditions and unless there is a radical alteration in the British policy in India as recently declared, allegiance to the King Emperor is a necessary element in allegiance to the Motherland."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*p*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd May comments as follows on Mr. Yakub Hasan's letter to Lord Willingdon resigning his seat on the Madras Legislative Council, etc. :—" Mr. Yakub Hasan says that the British Government has by its action in the matter [of the caliphate] ' forfeited its right to the good will of the Indian people and even their loyalty ' .... We cannot subscribe to the statement that because the British Government has in this matter acted as it has done, therefore all loyal relations between India and England must cease .... It is one thing to express our strong indignation and resentment at the violation of Mr. Lloyd George's pledged word : it is quite another to say or think that because this violation has taken place, all those considerations that have hitherto been regarded as making the continuance of India's relations with Great Britain eminently desirable have ceased to be of value or lost their force, and the time for a parting of company has come .... Mr. Yakub Hasan will excuse a little plain speaking on our part. In spite of all that he and others of his way of thinking may say by way of distinguishing their allegiance to India from their allegiance to the Government of India or the British Throne, there is a growing feeling in many non-Muslim quarters that the same considerations that have led them in the present case to contemplate the severance of their loyal connection with Great Britain might in altered circumstances and in an analogous case lead them to contemplate the severance of their loyal connection with India herself. How much passion has to do with the matter is shown by the fact that while only a few months ago two distinguished Muhammadan leaders both privately and publicly declared that if India were invaded by a Muslim power, they would shed their last drop of blood in defence of her, within the last few weeks one of them is reported to have said that if a Muhammadan power invaded India in order to rescue the holy places of Islam from the Christians then the Muhammadans of India would and should make common cause with it. The two positions are manifestly incompatible, but that is the least part of the matter. This definite subordination of the secular interests of Indian liberty to the spirtual interests of the Khilafat may be quite in accordance with the Islamic faith, but surely if this is the position, it is neither proper nor reasonable to expect the non-Muslims to make common cause with Muslims even in this matter of the Khilafat. Non-Muslims in India are prepared to go a long way with Muslims in this as in all other matters, but they cannot subordinate their civic and political liberty to any other earthly consideration, and to them the maintenance of the holy places of Islam is, after all, only an earthly consideration."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*q*) The *Siyasat* of the 21st May says that just as Muhammadan young men acted in haste in starting the migration movement, similarly they have adopted the wrong method in trying to give it a practical shape. We daily hear that so many Muhammadans have secretly migrated from this country. We cannot say what truth there is in these reports, but the true object of migration is being frustrated. It is the duty of every follower of Islam to have no hesitation in laying down even his life for the sake of his religion. It is, however, no use doing so and involving oneself in trouble by leaving one's home if one cannot thereby benefit Islam. The Muhammadans are in a state of suspense and it is necessary for the *ulema* to give a clear verdict as to whether it will be an act of virtue to leave the country which their ancestors conquered with great difficulty and where they hoisted the flag of Islam.

The deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

2. The *Khuda Dost* of the 15th May says that a Government *communiqué* states that the Sheikh-ul-Islam has been interned at Malta by order of the Turkish Government. He may have been arrested by

the Government named; but it is strange that he should have been removed to Malta, a British possession. Has the Turkish Government been reduced to such a condition that it cannot intern the offenders against it in its own territories?

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

New British 'possessions.'

3. The following is taken from the leader in the *Liberal* of the 17th May:—"England occupies Mesopotamia, Palestine, and a large portion of the German colonies in Africa... The British Government are not in a position to bear the greatly increased burden of huge additions of territory. The euphemism of the word 'mandate' misleads no one. The countries named are permanent additions to the Empire and are being treated as such. So long as the war continued no one protested against the employment of the resources of India in Mesopotamia, Palestine or Africa, but both England and India must energetically protest against their resources being used for the maintenance of additional territory. Both countries require all their resources for themselves, and have none to spare for other purposes."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Afghanistan.

4. The *Zamindar* of the 19th May says that just now England is favourably disposed towards Afghanistan, although she was very wrath with the latter when some Afghan delegates were sent to Moscow and Sivas. Afghanistan is advised in a most sympathetic way to give up her present mysterious and novel way of life, which savours of mistrust, coldness and estrangement, and to link her fate with Great Britain. Her future is said to be very bright, occupying as she does a peculiar position among the Islamic states in Middle Asia. Great Britain is prepared to extend a helping and sympathetic hand to her, provided she coöperates with the former. Very high hopes of increased income, etc., are held out to her on the condition that she reposes trust in Great Britain. Can, however, the latter quote a single instance in which she has helped any independent Muhammadan state to enable it to stand on its own legs? Take the case of Persia, who has, thanks to Great Britain, lost all her glory and grandeur. According even to fair-minded Englishmen, the new Anglo-Persian agreement is the death warrant of Persia. We do not mean to say that Afghanistan should not establish friendly relations with England. We desire permanent peace between these two powers. We cannot tolerate, however, that England should have over Afghanistan any influence which may culminate in the latter's degradation and extinction. Afghanistan should see that the help she may receive from England does not end her power and sense of self-respect. Should she stand in need of help and advice, there would be no harm in her asking for both from America, Japan and France.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms.

5. (*a*) Commenting on the rules framed by the Government of India for the conduct of legislative and other business in the Governor's Legislative Council, the *Tribune* of the 16th May writes:—"The first criticism to which these rules are open is the obvious one, that so much is left by them to the Governor that it will be possible for an unsympathetic or reactionary Governor to nullify in a very large measure the wishes and intentions both of the Secretary of State and of Parliament." Next the paper refers to some of the powers proposed to be vested in the Governor, and goes on to say:—"Even allowing for the fact that the present rules are intended only for the stage of transition, it must occur to every one that they vest too great a power in an official who is not in any way responsible to the people, and as such take away a very great deal not only from the usefulness of the important rights the [Reform] Act confers upon the people's representatives in the abstract, but from the character of the Council as a self-governing body... The powers vested in the President appear to us to be too great for one who is merely the appointed head of the House (as he will be for the first four years), and we should have been better pleased if provision had been made for the exercise of at least the more important of these powers in consultation with the House or after a reference had been made to it. And then we are not at all certain that it is either necessary or expedient to give exactly the same powers to the four nominated Chairmen as are to be enjoyed by the President."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 20th May:—"Whereas in the case of the Punjab, what is required of a candidate for a constituency is that he shall have, for the four years preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, continuously owned a residential house or a share in a residential house in that constituency, and that house shall not, during the twelve months preceding such date, have been let on rent either in whole or in part, in the case of both Bombay and the Central Provinces what is required of a candidate is that he shall have actually resided within the constituency for an aggregate period of not less than six months. Can any one tell us why the six months in the case of Bombay and the Central Provinces become twelve months in our case? Again, while in the case of all other provinces a person, in order to be a qualified voter in a constituency, must have a place or residence in that constituency, in the case of Bombay the would-be voter is given the option of residing in 'a contiguous constituency.' One is forced to the conclusion that the political views of the officials in the provinces mainly responsible for the draft rules have had much to do with the matter, and that the Government of India have not exercised their co-ordinating functions with the rigid impartiality that is naturally expected of them."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The situation in India.

6. The *Sikh* of the 16th May writes:—"The situation is again getting worse and worse, and we hold the Government and people both responsible for it. The wrongs done through the Rowlatt Act, the martial law and the autocratic acts preceding or connected with that, etc., could easily have been righted and forgotten if the Royal Proclamation had been carried out in its full meaning, and if the Hunter Committee had duly availed themselves of the assistance of the Congress Committee. But no, the Government of India has been anything but liberal in carrying out the Royal clemency, for though many of the political offenders have been released, many others are still rotting in jails, or suffering through internment or other restrictions placed on their movements, while there is absolutely no evidence that the release of anyone of them will jeopardise public safety." Next the paper refers to the official and non-official reports on the Punjab disturbances, and continues:—"The people call louder, and louder, as they read of the accounts of the Amritsar and Gujranwala tragedies, for action against General Dyer, etc., the chief perpetrators, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Co., the chief inspirer and approving authorities; but nothing so far seems to have been done in this direction." The *Sikh* then passes on to a consideration of the Turkish question, and writes:—"That Turkey has received her deserts, none can deny. She abundantly deserved this treatment for her folly in joining the enemies of Great Britain and her allies; for have not Germany, Austria and Bulgaria suffered in the same way? . . . Is it not the height of folly to expect Hindus to sever their 'connection of loyalty' with the British Crown, for the sake of Turkey? Will they accompany the Muslims to Kabul and Khurasan, in their *hijrat*, if the Muslim demands about the caliphate are not conceded? Will they and can they divorce their wives, like the Moslems, if the occasion requires this? Will they desert their beloved Bharat Mata, now that a ray of hope about her future appears visible in the near horizon? No, they will not, for Indians have none beyond the border of their motherland to look to. They know that they can expect little hospitality and little comfort from a ruler, whose ancestors always plundered and killed them, and a territory whose inhabitants are so many fierce beasts and cannibals. They know that these Turks, Arabs, and Beduins, who do not let their own co-religionists go scotfree, would not leave a piece of cloth on their bodies if they ever came across them. . . . They are sure that the *swaraj* or self-government or Home Rule or whatever else they want to have, would be far better under the British Crown than anything of the sort under the ferocious Afghan, the arrogant Turk or the revolutionary Bolshevik. . . Admitted that the Afghans with Amanullah as their ruler are their co-religionists; but history has not so far been able to record even one episode in proof of their sympathy with the Indian Muhammadans, and, fierce and comparatively very uncivilised as they are, those habituated to live under British civilisation should not expect a better treatment in that savage country. . . We have also to say a word to the Government. If the mischievous article in the *Civil and Military Gazette* dated the 1st May correctly betrays the future intention of our rulers, then we plainly say that the same blundering course is under contemplation as has already caused such a slur upon the Government. The *C. & M. G.* in a way

approves of the introduction of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi and seems to threaten the Punjab, nay, the whole of India, with the same repressive measures as preceded the martial law regime, and with which are associated the Jallianwala and Gujranwala tragedies."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The new era.

7 (*a*). The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th May says that a few days back one Hamid Ahmad was thrown into jail over some of his speeches on the caliphate. Again, the police raided the Muhammadi Press, Calcutta, immediately after the conclusion of the Bengal Khilafat conference. Nor is this all; the editor of the *Hurriat* (Delhi) has been required to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000. The same action has been taken in regard to the *Zamana*, an Urdu daily proposed to be started at Calcutta. After remarking that the Seditious Meetings Act has been enforced in Delhi, the paper asks where the new era is which was to be ushered in with the promulgation of the Royal Proclamation. Money is demanded in return for the exercise of one's natural right of the liberty of speech and writing, on pain of one being sent to jail. Indian merchants are fined and imprisoned if they do not stand up to show respect to a *Mem Sahib*. A *Sahib Bahadur* is fined only Rs. 35 for branding an Indian coolie with a red-hot iron. How excellent are this spirit of equality and this new era!

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*b*) The *Liberal* of the 17th May writes:—"What is the justification for the promulgation of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi? There was no disturbance of any kind there, nothing to which exception could be taken by any reasonable person. The fact remains that the Royal Proclamation has made no difference so far as the officials of the country are concerned, and it is extremely difficult to wean them from their old ways of repression and high-handedness. There is the same impatience of criticism, the same overbearing ways, the same contempt for public opinion, and so long as there are weapons of oppression in the armoury of the law they will be used whether there may be any justification or not."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Punjab disturbances.

8. The *Liberal* of the 17th May writes under the heading "The martial law heroes of the Punjab":—"Rather tardily Nemesis has overtaken General Dyer, though we do not think his punishment will be very severe. But will justice and retribution be satisfied by this one officer being compelled to resign his command? The Indemnity Act cannot and ought not to be permitted to protect men who have outraged humanity and committed abuses for which there was no occasion and no justification. To this category belong Colonel Johnson, Colonel MacRae, Captain Doveton, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud. Are they to remain where they are or will the fair fame of British justice be vindicated by their removal?"

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The N.-W. R. strike.

9. (*a*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 17th May:—"The highest railway officials are paid men and their salaries are safe, strike or no strike. We are not surprised to hear, therefore, that the railway authorities are indifferent. The real losers are the public and the Government, and it is absolutely necessary that the Government should intervene and put an end to the strike before it assumes very large proportions."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 21st May writes:—"The strikers have now definitely formulated their demands, and the railway has laid down its own policy in the matter. If each goes its own way they are never likely to meet. Yet meet they must; otherwise the consequences, already serious, would be disastrous. The only possible way out of the *impasse* that we can think of is for some outside authority to intervene. . . . We are convinced that if Sir Edward Maclagan were to call a conference consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the railway, of the strikers and of the general public, and were himself to preside over the conference, it would not be difficult to arrive at an early and satisfactory settlement."

Railway collisions.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The *Tribune* of the 21st May writes: "—Closely following the railway disaster near Moradabad, in which many people were burned to death and others injured, comes the report of another near Viramgaum on the B. B. C. I. Railway, in which 23 passengers are reported to have been killed and 27 injured. Whether these official estimates are correct is another matter, but the frequency and the appalling character of the collisions, more or less due to negligence or mistakes of petty and poorly-paid staff at small stations, call for urgent remedial measures. Generally speaking, disasters of the kind occur at small stations staffed by men who are paid starvation wages, and we strongly suspect that the low pay and inferior qualifications of these men have a great deal to do with the disastrous accidents. The fact that it is mostly third class passengers, who are poor and voiceless, that form the victims, explains the indifference of the railway authorities in the matter of adopting a better scale of pay and recruiting a better and more capable class of men. The whole of the railway service in India is in a most unsatisfactory condition, and the Railway Board has done little or nothing to improve it."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

VEDIC MAGAZINE, (Lahore); Ram Deva, editor.

11. The following occurs in the course of an article contributed to the May number of the *Vedic Magazine* by MR. BRAJ NATH MITHAL, B.SC., LL.B.—"In the name of the Hindu-Muslim unity it is demanded, on the one hand, that Muslims should give up cow-sacrifice : on the other, Hindus are asked to accede to the extension of the pernicious principle of separate communal representation even in the sacred precincts of the goddess of learning. . . . There is a lurking fear in the mind of many a thoughtful Hindu—it may be entirely unfounded for aught I know, but it is still there—that this unity is but a passing phase, and that they will have to yield yet some other ground, as they have been doing so long to the detriment of their own interests, to foster and keep it up. Unity is always good and particularly amongst people who have to share common disabilities and common grievances, but it must be unity on terms of equality and not based on the supposed or real political superiority or importance of the one and the inferiority of the other."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Lease of land to the Cotton Growers' Association.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

12. Adverting to the leasing of land to the Cotton Growers' Association, the *Punjab Darpan* of the 5th [received on the 15th] May says that the grant of such leases to Europeans is likely to place many an obstacle in the way of the growth of indigenous industries. If land in India begins to be leased to America, Japan, Germany, France and England in the name of free trade and if traders from these countries begin to use their holdings to grow something else than grain, Indians will be left the work only of attending on these merchants. This bodes danger, and the landlords in the country should pay prompt attention to the matter and enter a protest against Government's action in question. The event is frought with danger for the Sikhs in particular, who are generally illiterate and live solely on cultivation. Strenuous effort should be made to remedy the evil, and Government should be urged to declare that land in India will not be leased to foreigners.

Lady clerks.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

13. The *Tribune* of the 18th May has the following :—"There is an important question of principle involved in the suggestion that was made to the Postal Committee by a Simla witness the other day, that lady clerks should be given a higher pay and a special grade rising from 100 to 250 and thereafter up to 400. Even at present they are entertained on special rates of pay and given special promotions much to the discontent of the men clerks and subordinates. It has not been so far clear to the public why these lady clerks are entertained and given special treatment and fancy pay in public departments, and it has never been explained on what ground of public necessity or administrative principle this extra demand on public funds is justified . . . . We can understand a recommendation of special pay and grade for lady workers in departments where their services are absolutely necessary and where the usual scale

of pay does not attract a sufficient number of them—as for instance, women's hospitals and schools and colleges. But in departments where they are not so required they must, it is reasonable to say, take their chance with the men on equal terms. . . . We have never heard of this special pleading for ladies in England or in any other country where women certainly enjoy greater privileges than in India."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 22nd May 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Aftab* of the 20th May states that the Turkish settlement has not been viewed with approval even in Constantinople. The decision will specially affect Muhammadans throughout the world, and they will adopt effective measures to regain and maintain their past greatness and glory. The present Turkish Government is wholly under the influence of the Allies, and the ratification by it of the proposed peace treaty will not solve the Turkish problem. On the contrary, the question will become still more complicated.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 23rd May the paper says that it has to some extent been admitted even by the authorities that certain of the peace terms are likely to cause feelings of grief and anxiety among the Muhammadans. If the latter, it adds, keep themselves within the bounds of law in giving expression to these feelings, Government should bring no sort of pressure to bear on them. It is evident that the non-coöperation movement can injure only the Muhammadans. What harm can it do to Government if they decide to suffer by renouncing titles, service, etc? Up to the present no Muhammadans have taken any step likely to disturb the peace in any way. The authorities, at Allahabad, Sind and some other places have, however, adopted measures which constitute a sort of repression and have thus caused great uneasiness and disappointment among the Muhammadans. Continuing, the editor advises his co-religionists to display the greatest patience and calmness of mind at this most critical juncture, not even entertaining the thought of causing the least breach of the peace.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*c*) The *Vakil* of the 20th May says that the Ottoman empire has been so reduced in dimensions that the hope held out by the Viceroy about Turkey regaining her previous glory is an idle dream. Again, the demand of the Muhammadans regarding the sacred places of Islam has been totally ignored. The grant of independence to the Hedjaz means that these places and Jazirat-ul-Arab have been taken out of Turkey's hands for good. Nevertheless, we entertain the hope that the Muhammadans will act with the greatest restraint.

7 JUL 1920

KASHMIRI MAGAZINE (Lahore); Muhammad Din, editor.

(*d*) The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 21st May says that after Turkey has been crushed and her wings and feathers have been torn off, His Excellency the Viceroy sends a message of sympathy to the Indian Muhammadans. What can we say to the Government of India, it adds, about the knives thrust into the poor Muhammadans and the salt sprinkled on their wounds in this lip sympathy with them? We can only advise our Muslim brethren not to despair of God's mercy at this time of dire calamity.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*e*) The *Zamindar* of the 21st May says that the lightning of injustice and oppression, which had for years been flashing on the dark horizon of the West, has now struck Islam. The last vestige of the power of Islam, with which the honour and greatness of the Muhammadans were bound up, has been annihilated. His Excellency the Viceroy has sent a sympathetic message to the Muhammadans, but can such childish sympathy help to deceive the nation which has been totally ruined, from which the Imperial Crown has been wrested, the greatness of which has been mixed in the dust, and the deepest religious susceptibilities of which have been treated with utter contempt? Lord Chelmsford's humour deserves appreciation: he communicates the sentence of death to us and assures us at the same time that it is not death but life that is being given us. He has, in his extraordinary message, tried to justify the conditions proposed by the Allies by using arguments so absurd and worthless that we feel surprised how the head of an important and responsible Government could employ logic feebler even than a cobweb. Besides, are the Indian Defence Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act so little effective in forcing his arguments down our throats that he has had to have recourse to history?

(*f*) Continuing its remarks in its issue dated the 22nd May the paper observes that His Excellency the Viceroy says that it is only out of regard for Indian Muhammadans that Constantinople has not been wrested from the Turks. His mocking words have sprinkled salt on the wounds in our poor hearts, seeing that he knows full well what position the Caliph is henceforth to occupy in Constantinople. After describing how shadowy the Sultan's authority over that city will be, the paper remarks that it would have been better if the views of Mr. Gladstone, Canon McColl and their present successors—Lord Curzon, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Bryce and the Archbishop of Canterbury—had been acted upon, the whole of Constantinople had been occupied, the Caliph had been removed from it, and we had not been placed under obligation for his stay there. Those who are devoted to the caliphate are not prepared to lie under this obligation.

(*g*) In its issue dated the 23rd May the paper says that Lord Chelmsford sees flashes of disinterested British friendship in the old relations between the Governments of Turkey and Great Britain. It would appear that he is too much occupied with the passing and enforcing of repressive laws in India to admit of his turning the pages of history; for, otherwise, he would have never asserted that there is no truth in the charge that Great Britain has been following an anti-Turkish policy for a very long time past. Proceeding, the *Zamindar* states that Professor William Miller says in his book called the *Ottoman Empire* that England was among the European powers which were determined in the nineteenth century to expel the Turks from Europe and to partition Turkey. He further remarks that if the European Governments ever evinced interest in Turkish affairs, it was not with the object of benefitting Turkey. On the contrary, these Governments had personal advantages and interests in view. England has supported Turkey now and then, still the Professor's dictum holds good. Even when England had to maintain friendly relations with Turkey in pursuance of her personal interests she did not hesitate to stab the latter in the back. Again, the fatal clauses of the Kochak Kanarji (?) treaty are sufficient to expose the hollowness of her traditionally friendly relations with Turkey. These clauses were approved by Lord Chatham, the greatest British statesman of his age.

(*h*) Continuing in its issue dated the 26th May the *Zamindar* says that there is only one proof of England's friendship for Turkey which Lord Chelmsford can produce from history, namely, that during the Crimean war she sided with Turkey against Russia. But those who have carefully studied history know well that the reasons which then impelled England to help the Turks were not such as she can regard with feelings of pride. Lord Stratford deRatcliffe, the then British Ambassador at Constantinople, once failed to secure an audience with Czar Nicholas I. He was greatly offended at this and on a favourable opportunity resolved to wreak his vengeance. Professor Miller writes in his book that he is said to have proudly and openly declared on several occasions that the Crimean war was meant to avenge the Czar's refusal to grant him an audience.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(i) The *Sikh* of the 23rd May writes:—"All the solemn promises remaining unfulfilled. . . . . Poor Turky has been smashed into pieces, most of which have been wrenched from her for ever . . . . . Every true well-wisher of [the Muhammadans] and the country will advise them to bear the loss with equanimity and forbearance, and to keep their agitation within constitutional and moderate bounds."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(j) The following is taken from the *Liberal* of the 24th May:—"[The proposed peace treaty] means the disruption of the Ottoman empire, and the disappearance of Turkey as a unit in the political history of Europe and the Near East. . . . . Consideration for the fallen foe is not to be found in the history of war, but the punishment of Turkey has been far heavier than that of Germany, the arch offender. Germany has been deprived of her colonial possessions and Alsace-Loraine has been restored to France, but the federated states of Germany remain intact, and there will be nothing to prevent the Germans becoming again a great nation; but Turkey has been reduced to the status of a petty kingdom like Servia or Rumania, and her emasculation is complete. . . . . Muhammadan leaders with the coöperation of Hindu leaders have done everything humanly possible to preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire. Now their immediate duty is to exercise a controlling and soothing influence on their co-religionists in India."

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(k) The *Bande Matram* of the 21st May publishes an article from the pen of its editor, who says that the Hindus and Muhammadans do not possess moral courage enough to act on the policy of non-coöperation. Mr. Gandhi's present advice to them in the matter is only of educational value. It is right to give publicity to the idea of non-coöperation with Government. It will be a step in the right direction if even a few persons act upon the idea. It is idle to expect, however, that the movement will immediately work any marked change in the policy of Government. The Muhammadans have received a shock; and if they begin to traverse the easy stages of non-coöperation, the time is bound to come when their community will take the movement to such a pass that Government will acknowledge their strength and fulfil their desires. Again, until the Hindus begin to persue a policy of non-coöperation for the acquisition of their own rights, it is idle to expect them to do so by way of sympathy for a sister community.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah editor.

(l) Writing on the question of non-coöperation, the *Siyasat* of the 22nd May says that no nation can govern a country for a single day without the help of its inhabitants. The present condition of Ireland bears testimony to this truth. The adoption by the Muhammadans of a policy of non-coöperation, will have the effect of bringing Great Britain to her senses. The Irish are using grenades, shells, rifles and pistols against the British Government, but Indians will desist from such impious and unworthy acts. They will simply cease helping Government, and will force no one to join them. Nor will they injure any state property owing to their being displeased with Government.

INTIKHAB (Gujranwala); Wali Ullah, editor.

(m) In its combined issue dated the 10th and 20th May the *Intikhab* refers to the imprisonment of Maulvi Hamid Ahmad of Allahabad owing to some of his speeches on the caliphate question, and also to the rejection of the appeal filed by him in the High Court. Continuing, the paper asks the Muhammadans to see how liberty is being snatched from them. We are not allowed even to make a mention of the hardships to which we are subjected in broad daylight. Where are the people who assert that Indians enjoy freedom of every sort. Every town in India should enter a protest against this decision of the Allahabad High Court.

The Irish situation.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, Lahore.

2. Writing about the Irish situation the *Liberal* of the 24th May says:—"We seriously ask the British Government whether they feel themselves justified

in assuming the mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine and the sovereignty of the German colonies in Africa, while they are admittedly unable to deal with the very grave situation in Ireland."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms and the Sikhs.

3. One MAHINDAR SINGH writing to the *Tribune* of the 28th May says:—"I being a Sikh cannot let anything go unchallanged which is unfair. . . . I have been closely studying the pleas and the demands of the Sikhs in the matter of representation. . . . The general tendency, as I observe, is to wring out more seats or at least to claim some more seats, somehow or other. . . . My Sikh brothers have argued that the Sikhs form 20 per cent. of the standing army in India, and from this and like reasons have demanded proportional or more than their due number of seats. May I ask whether [they] will be ready to discharge proportionately as much in other branches as they wish to receive in one. . . . Will the Sikhs be prepared to bear one-fifth of the financial burden, etc., throughout India? . . . Moreover, soldiers have their representation through quite another channel. Above all, the Sikh population is only about three and a half millions and the total population of the Punjab is about 21 millions, that is, Sikhs form about one seventh of the population. Accordingly, the Sikhs should have 8 seats out of 58 seats. Concession is demanded, it is given, more seats have been recommended. Government did not fall short of its word. It recommended 10 seats, which means, in other words, more seats than the [Joint] Committee recommended. Is it not concession? The Sikhs are not going to be virtually unrepresented, if representation does not mean outvoting. Concession does not mean extraordinary encroachment upon the rights of others. . . . Certainly without seriously injuring the rights and interests of other communities, Sikhs are difficult to be pleased."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Repressive laws.

4. Writing on the situation in Ireland, the *Tribune* of the 23rd May says:—If the British Government is forced, at a time when there is actual rebellion in Ireland and when the forces of disorders have gone nearly as far as they could possibly have gone, to recognise the utter futility and the supreme inexpediency of D. O. R. A. procedures and the absolute necessity of restoring legal processes, what is one to think of the continued existence of the Defence of India Act at a time of universal peace in India, and the placing on the statute book of a measure like the Rowlatt Act to take the place of this Act after it has run its course? We confess we can think of no stronger, more emphatic or more conclusive condemnation of the policy underlying the Rowlatt Act than what the action of His Majesty's Government in this case constitutes. It is unbelievable that in the future agitation against the Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures, this action of His Majesty's Government will not figure as prominently as it ought to!"

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

5. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 28th May:—"At last the report of Lord Hunter's Committee, the despatch of the Government of India thereon, and the reply of His Majesty's Government are published. . . We have no hesitation in saying that those who expected the outcome of Lord Hunter's enquiry to be at all proportionate to the gravity of the occurrences to which it related will rise from a perusal of these documents with a feeling of the profoundest disappointment. Verily has the mountain in labour produced a mouse. The report itself—we mean, of course, the majority report; for, in these cases it is the report of the majority which is apt to be treated by official authority as the report of the Committee—is an absolutely whitewashing document. It is a laborious attempt to whitewash almost everything that was dark in this darkest of all chapters in the history of England's relations with India, and almost every one who had anything to do with the disgraceful transactions of the period. The Government of India and the Secretary of State speaking generally endorse the verdict of the majority. This being the position in a nutshell, we are constrained to say that so far as the supreme object of the enquiry is concerned—the conciliation of public opinion and the restoration of the lost confidence of the people in the sense of justice of the authorities immediately responsible for the

Government of India—it might just as well not have been held. Far from achieving this object in any manner or degree, a perusal of the three papers will leave in the public mind of India a rankling sense of injustice, a strong feeling that it is impossible for Englishmen in official or semi-official position, no matter how honest and conscientious they may be, to realise the point of view of, or do justice to, the people of India in these grave matters. This racial aspect of the matter is most painful, but no honest man can pretend to ignore it. The very fact that the division of the Committee into a majority and a minority has followed the racial line emphasises this aspect, and so does the equally important circumstance that on some of the most crucial points arising out of the report, the only Indian member of the Government of India has accepted the conclusions of the minority and not of the majority. The moral authority of findings so obviously dominated, no matter whether consciously or not, by the racial view-point cannot be appreciable and neither the Government of India nor His Majesty's Government have added to their reputation for statesmanship by accepting these findings to the very large extent that they have done." Next the the paper refers to some of the main findings, and continues as follows:—"[His Majesty's Government] expresses strong disapproval of certain orders and punishments under martial law. Where we think His Majesty's Government distinctly errs is in leaving to the Government of India the duty of seeing that this disapproval shall be unmistakably marked by censure or other action which seems to them necessary upon those who were responsible for them. In a matter of this kind, the Government of India, to quote their own words in another connection, cannot be expected to take a detached view and the Secretary of State would have acted more wisely in directing the punishment of the officers himself." The *Tribune* then presses on to the case of General Dyer and says:—"The punishment which has been meted out to him, namely, compulsory resignation and removal from the service of the Crown in India, is manifestly inadequate. We can only hope that the Army Council, to whom the case has been further referred, will display a greater sense of proportion than the other authorities have done." Continuing, it refers to the finding in regard to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and goes on to say: "Even [the] mild censure [passed on him] loses all its value in the light of the fact that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State 'pay a tribute to the great energy, decision and courage which Sir Michael O'Dwyer brought to his task through a period of exceptional difficulty and express their appreciation of his services.' This public appreciation of the services of a man who has been condemned by all sections of Indian opinion with unequalled strength and emphasis and who has done the greatest injury to British Rule in India that any Lieutenant-Governor has ever done is something more than an insult to the people of India; it is in the highest degree impolitic and inexpedient."

The Jallianwala Bagh incident.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

6. The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 27th May says that the spirits of the twelve hundred Jallianwala Bagh martyrs are crying from heaven that these men were killed for no reason, that their poor and unfortunate survivors are in great distress and that Government should render prompt help to the latter. It would be an act of still greatest injustice to starve their survivors to death after having killed them in a most tyrannical manner. The angelic Sir Edward Maclagan should pay special attention to the matter and go to the rescue of the helpless and oppressed people in question.

The Frontier Province.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. "PRO BONO PUBLICO" contends in the *Tribune* of the 23rd May that Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and formed the Frontier Province in order to create two Muhammadan states, the object in view being to widen the gulf between the Hindus and Muhammadans. Continuing, the writer says:—"The partition of Bengal was fortunately reversed,—in spite of its being a settled fact—by His Majesty the King-Emperor himself. The last relic of the Curzonian policy, *viz.*, the partition of the Punjab, yet remains to be annulled. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales may do it if the question is brought to the forefront with sufficient vigour. The Frontier Province was sanctioned by the Secretary of State as an experiment and in some respects the proposals appeared to him unusual.... Whether the experiment has failed or succeeded during the last 18 years is writ large in the history of the Frontier Province, and anyone may read it. The 'forward policy.' . . . has

landed the Government at present in an unfortunate position, whereas to quote the *Bengalee*, 'the frequent raids in the Frontier regions resulting in British subjects being kidnapped, ill-treated, mulcted and plundered, have in a great measure cut away the basis of the British vaunt, that the first and foremost duty of its Government is to make life and property absolutely safe.'"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Lahore High Court.

8. Writing about the law's delays in the Lahore High Court, the *Tribune* of the 25th May says :—"The real solution of the difficulty lies in an addition to the strength of the new High Court, as it is at present fearfully undermanned. The vacancy caused by the lamented death of Sir Henry Rattigan has not yet been filled. We are, however, bound to point out that even with the filling of the vacancy, the strength of the High Court will remain less than what it should be. Within the last few weeks, no less than three new judges have been appointed to the bench of the Allahabad High Court, Mr. Justice Sulaiman, Mr. Ryves and R. B. Moonshi Gokal Prasad—all of them from the bar—in addition to R. B. Pandit Kanhya Lal Cannot the same thing be done in the case of the High Court at Lahore? Of course, the matter is in the hands of the Government. We see no reason, however, why the Government should be less generous in the case of the Lahore High Court than it has been in the case of Allahabad."

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Transportation to the Andamans.

9. The *Bande Matram* of the 22nd May has a note over the signature of Lajpat Rai, who says that the practice of transporting prisoners to the Andaman Islands should be totally discontinued. To keep prisoners sentenced to transportation confined in such a distant and lonely place constitutes a foul blot on the fair fame of Government. After remarking that the stain should be most promptly removed, the editor request the people, the press and all public bodies to take the matter in hand at once and carry on a strong agitation throughout the country for the closure of "this graveyard".

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The N.-W. R. strike.

10. Writing about the public meeting recently held at Lahore in connection with the strike, the *Tribune* of the 26th May says :—"The resolutions passed at the meeting were all of a highly practical nature. The proposal regarding the constitution of a conciliation or rather an arbitration board is eminently reasonable and fair to both parties. . . . The appointment of such a body is absolutely necessary if an amicable settlement satisfactory to both parties is to be reached. The chairman should be an impartial gentleman, not necessarily a non-official . . . . Another proposal which deserves the cordial support of the public is the one regarding the collection of funds for the strikers. It is an open secret that the prolonged struggle has resulted in very real hardship to the bulk of the strikers who live, practically speaking, from hand to mouth. If the public feels, as one of the resolutions says it feels, that the struggle on the part of the men is based on just grounds, it is its duty to support the strikers not only with lip sympathy but in a more substantial way by contributing liberally to the Strikers' Fund." Continuing, the paper writes :—"Apart . . . . from the hardship caused to the public in a general way by the reduction of train services, there is one specific grievance under which Indian passengers of all classes have, we are told, had to labour ever since the system of permits was introduced as a result of curtailment of the number of trains." Next it describes how a racial discrimination is made between Europeans and Indians at the Lahore railway station in the matter of issuing tickets.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Kine-killing.

11. The *Bande Matram* of the 21st May says that the Amir of Kabul the number of whose Hindu subjects is exceedingly small, has stopped cow-sacrifice in his country in order to please the latter? Will the Government of India, which has twenty-three crores of Hindus under it, imitate His Majesty's example? Since it is solicitous for the well-being of its subjects, there is no reason why it should not stop the sacrifice of kine in India, especially when a very large section of the Muhammadans is prepared to abandon the sacrifice out of regard for the feelings of their Hindu neighbours. Continuing, the paper says that it will not be sufficient to prohibit merely the sacrifice of cows, because it takes place only once a year. Government should issue orders prohibiting the killing of kine throughout the year.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

12. The *Sikh* of the 23rd May writes:—"The report that His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has subscribed Rs. 20,000 to Sir Michael O'Dwyer Memorial Fund, will certainly cause much disappointment to the community, who are told by the Chief Khalsa Dewan that His Highness is their leader. Now this munificent donation will contribute to the institution and maintenance of a memorial to the regime in which hundreds of Sikhs were shot dead, imprisoned, transported for life and hanged, and towards whose fag end this proverbially loyal community was the greatest loser through the martial law atrocities perpetrated in Amritsar, Kasur, Gujranwala (Chuharkana, Mananwala, etc.,) and Sheikhupura, under the definite approval and sanction of the self-same Sir Michael O'Dwyer! We remember how this 'leader' of the Sikh community exhorted them on the 4th of August 1916 at a grand gathering invited by His Highness at Patiala, to place all they could (men, money and mind) at the disposal of the Empire. Now how munificently has he subscribed to the memory of O'Dwyer-*shahi rule*, during which no pains have been spared to crush the Sikh community, proves how faithful he is to his august position of the 'leader' of a great community."

"The Independent."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

13. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 25th May:—"May we ask the Punjab Government how long the *Independent* is to continue to be proscribed in the Punjab? Apart from the general undesirability and unfairness of proscribing a journal in this province that commands a free circulation in all other provinces, there is the fact that the *Independent* is now under the same editor as the *Democrat*, and the Government owes it to itself and to the public to explain why of two papers edited by one and the same individual one is to have and the other is not to have access to the Punjab. Further, judging from the extracts one finds now and then in other newspapers from the *Independent* it cannot be said with any pretence to truth that the views of the *Independent* stand on a substantially different footing to those of journals that are permitted to circulate in the Punjab."

Registration of births in the Punjab.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushab Chand, editor.

14. One BRIJ LAL SHARMA writing to the *Arya Gazette* of the 20th May says that, according to the Hindu *Shastras*, a newly born child should be named ten days after its birth. It has, however, been made obligatory for the Hindus to have the name of a child recorded in the register of births on the very day on which it is born. The Punjab Government should put an end to the practice.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

AR-RAI (Lahore); Fateh Mohammad, editor.

1. (*a*) In its combined issue dated the 15th and the 22nd May *Ar-Rai* says that the Turkish peace terms are calculated to overthrow and humiliate the Islamic kingdom concerned. Let alone the Muhammadans, it adds, no fair-minded non-Muslim can scarcely call them just and lenient. Continuing, it says that both the Hindus and Muhammadans are shedding tears of blood over the Viceroy's message of sympathy to the latter.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 27th May is very sorry that Lord Chelmsford should have considered it necessary to jest with the Muhammadans. It is said that a man charged with stealing a *chapati* was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment by an English magistrate. He was about to protest his innocence, when his counsel stopped him saying, "Salaam the Sahib. He has the power to pass sentences of hanging also." Lord Chelmsford, too, advises the Muhammadans to salaam [the British Government], in that they still live, although they are leading a life of humiliation. The wording of, and the ideas contained in, the message issued by him with the Turkish peace terms are painful in the extreme. In other words, he has made the absurd attempt to justify these tyrannical terms, saying that they are in complete accord with the Premier's pledge. If His Excellency holds this belief, why does he admit their shortcomings and say that they must be painful to the Muhammadans? He has ridiculed the Muhammadans by asking them to accept the terms in a spirit of resignation and fortitude. The selfishness underlying the message is clearly to be seen through the veil of the Viceroy's lip sympathy. Nor is this all; His Excellency has lacerated the hearts of the Muhammadans by saying that the Prophet's followers alone will decide the question of the caliphate, and that Government has no desire to interfere with their right in the matter. But have not the Allies been most cruel to dividing among themselves the territories of the Khalifat-ul-Mussalmin? Has not the Caliph been deprived of the wardenship of the holy places of Islam? Have not the Allies wrested his capital from him and interned him in his palace? If the reply to these questions is in the affirmative, what is then left of the caliphate for the Muhammadans to dispose of? It is not known what led Lord Chelmsford to wound the hearts of the Muslims by issuing his encouraging and sympathatic message? Is it encouraging for them that although they rendered help to the Government during the war, the kingdom of the Caliph is being ruined to-day? Again, how can they regard as being based on truth his Lordship's statement that the principles of justice and humanity have triumphed, seeing that the pledge given to the only remaining Islamic state constitutes a disgraceful instance of human fickleness and arrogance? To ruin a kingdom owing to its defeat in war is the worst instance of tyranny in the world. It is the height of callousness on the Viceroy's part to say that Turkey was a friend of Britain, that she will become so again, and that the idea should encourage the Muhammadans. Undoubtedly! The Muhammadans fully remember the advantages which accrued to Turkey from England's former friendship for her, and can look for no better treatment in the future? Government has left nothing undone to undermine their loyalty: it is another thing if they continue loyal. Although the Turkish peace terms have wounded the hearts of the Muhammadans and the Viceroy's so-called message of sympathy has sprinkled salt on their wounds, still the editor would ask his brethren not to give way to despair. They and the Hindus should not coöperate with Government; for, otherwise they will be guilty of being a party to the oppression practised by the Allies on Turkey.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajhat Husain, editor.

(c) The *Aftab* of the 28th May publishes a communication from HAKIM ABU TURAB, editor and proprietor of the *Ahl-i-Sunnat-wul-Jamait* (Amritsar), who says that the Muhammadans should migrate from this country. In case Government refuses them the necessary permission and does not listen to their demands regarding the caliphate, he would ask them to renounce their titles and honorary posts.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

Indians abroad.

2. (a) The *Arya Gazette* of the 20th May publishes a letter from a Fiji correspondent, who reports that thousands of Indians there have given in their names for migration to Damrara or return to India. Many of them have already disposed of their lands, houses, and cattle, while a still larger number have had their household goods sold in the bazars. Continuing, the writer says:—Oh unfortunate India, thy children can nowhere live in peace. All other people in the world can go wherever they like, but Indians can find no place where to hide their heads.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) Writing to the *Tribune* of the 1st June about the ill-treatment of Indians in Fiji, MR. C. F. ANDREWS says:—"If one quarter of such treatment had been administered to the Japanese, who are living in Fiji, there would have been a fleet of ships of war, cruising about the Islands, within a few days of the occurrence. . . . I once explained to a New Zealander, in the barest way, the terms and conditions of the indenture agreement, which the Government of India had fully sanctioned. The person, with whom I was conversing, was a Labour Union Secretary. . . . He said to me, 'My God! Do you mean to say that the Indian Government lets its working men go out from India on terms like that?' I said, 'Yes.' He said to me,—'But, what have the Indian people got to say in the matter?' . . . That is the pertinent question at the present moment, when the story of this treatment of their own countrymen in Fiji becomes known to them? What will the Indian people have to say about the women who have been arrested and locked up? What will the Indian people have to say about the sugar companies and planters, living in luxury, while their own Indian labourers are starving? What will the Indian people have to say about the Fiji Government legislating against their personal freedom and placing on them a badge of inferiority in the eyes of the Fijians themselves, grossly subjecting them to insult? The people of India will surely not be satisfied with a hushing up policy and a general conspiracy of silence."

(c) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 2nd June:—"The news that the South African Commission has recommended that those Indians that are desirous of returning to India for good should be given facilities by the Union Government shows, at any rate, that the authorities would be glad to get rid of Indians as far as possible rather than make it possible for those who have settled down there to remain on equal terms with the rest of the British subjects. This may be one way of ending the present painful situation, but it gives a rude shock to Indians to find that they cannot be treated as equal British subjects in other parts of the Empire, and cannot be treated in the Colonies as the Colonials themselves are treated in India."

II.- LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

3. The *Tribune* of the 3rd June writes:—"A careful perusal of the rules for the election of members to the Legislative Assembly discloses many discrepancies as between the qualifications of electors in one province and in another. One of the most glaring of these is as regards the income-tax qualification. While in Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Burma the mere assessment to income-tax in the case of a person is enough to qualify him to vote in a general constituency, regardless of the actual amount of the tax he pays, in the other provinces, including our own, a minimum limit of income is laid down for the would-be voter. In Bengal and the Punjab this minimum is as high as Rs. 5,000 a year, while in Behar and Orissa it is Rs. 3,840 and in Assam Rs. 3,600. We confess we see no reason why a higher qualification should be demanded in the case of the would-be voter in the Punjab than is insisted on in all other provinces with the exception of Bengal. Nor can we for the life of us see why what is good enough for the neighbouring provinces, with which the Punjab has so much in common, should not be thought good enough for her."

Empire Day.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

4. The *Bande Matram* of the 26th May publishes a signed article in which writer—Lajpat Rai—says that the British officers who ask us to celebrate Empire Day, do violence to our nature and thereby prove instrumental in infusing a spirit of deceitfulness in us. Indian Headmasters and Inspectors of schools may take part in the celebrations in order to please their official superiors and win favours. Let title holders and Government contractors and officials also celebrate the Day. To no self-respecting Indian outside these circles can it, however, be a source of honour to do so. What is our position in the Empire? Ask for a reply from our countrymen who have ever resided or are now residing in Canada, Australia, or East and South Africa. General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer also should be asked to answer this question. There is no hope for a nation and community which can so soon forget the incidents of last year. It is nothing short of boasting for such a nation or community to say that it deserves to receive self-government. The first step towards national freedom is the acquisition of a spirit of honesty and self-respect. A nation which deceives itself, its rulers and other peoples can never be fit for self-government. Whenever I see Indians act like this I am led to think that either the Indian political leaders who always complain that their countrymen are being tyrannized tell lies, or that the persons celebrating Empire Day are liars, in that they suppress their real sentiments and thus deceive Government. To teach such hypocrisy in schools is to defile the very fountain head of the Indian nationality.

Loyalty.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

5. The *Bande Matram* of the 30th May publishes an article from the pen of its editor, who says that in India the price of loyalty is considered to consist in honorific titles, Government posts, squares of land, *jagirs* and contracts. It should be remembered, however, that the loyalty which can thus be bought is a most unreliable thing. The practice of so buying loyalty has been in vogue in the Punjab for several years past. Grants of land and *jagirs* have turned many virtuous and educated men into sycophants, liars, weaklings and cowards. After remarking that the habit of committing all sorts of mean acts is bred in young college students by holding out to them the bait of Government posts, the writer says that a nation, which acknowledges such men as its leaders and honours them and in which there is an abundance of them, can never be fit for freedom or *swaraj*. Government practises oppression on its subjects by making grants of lands and *jagirs* to such men. Besides, it is highly objectionable to confer *jagirs* on men who are already very rich. Land is national property, while there are millions of poor *zamindars* in the Punjab who have not land enough to maintain themselves and their families. Government ought to grant land to such men at concession rates: it is highly improper to give it to title-holders, money-lenders and highly placed officers. The latter proceeding is an improper use of authority. Continuing, the writer asks Government to adopt certain measures to make the people truly loyal. One of his suggestion is that the British officers' spirit of haughtiness should be subdued, so as to make them treat Indians like human beings. The best way, he adds, to promote feelings of loyalty among Indians is to assure them in a practical way that the English do not wish to plunder

them. In conclusion, he says that Government's new method of gaining this object through the Publicity Committee is very objectionable.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

6. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 28th May remarks that the report and its reviews by the Government of India and the Secretary of State bring into prominent relief the principle that it is considered essential for the stability of Government to sacrifice the legitimate demands of thirty-two crore Indians at the alter of prestige and authority. Another truth, inscribed in characters of blood and fire, is also visible in the decision arrived at by Mr. Montagu, namely, that henceforth all matters affecting the political life of India will have two aspects, *viz.*, English and Indian. Before the publication of the report it was possible for the leading Indians to think that the members of the British Government can view a question from the standpoint of Indians and thus share the latter's opinions. This has, however, become an impossibility now. The signatories to the report are divided into two racial groups,—English and Indian. The two hold different views on some fundamental questions, and not a single Englishman could bring himself to agree with the views of the Indian commissioners. The same is the case with the members of the Viceregal Council, all English members of which are on one side and their Indian colleague, Mr. Shafi, is on the other. After remarking that, as is the case in Simla, in London also occidentals and orientals stand widely apart from each other. In spite of his deep sympathy with Indians, it adds, Mr. Montagu has paid not the least regard to the views of the Indian members of the Committee and Lord Chelmsford's Council. He has accepted the opinion of their British colleague as a divine revelation and has given his decision accordingly. And what is this decision? It is nothing short of murdering the aspirations of the Indian people. The Secretary of State admits the terrible crimes committed by General Dyer. The latter's honesty of motives, however, leads him to think that it is sufficient punishment for the General not to remain in India. Again, while Sir Michael O'Dwyer's conduct also does not appear to him above criticism, he has penned a long panegyric in praise of the former. A perusal of the report and the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State can only make our countrymen exclaim that India is no longer a country fit to live in.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 28th May says that Mr. Muhammad Shafi was bound to disagree with his colleagues in the matter of the Jallianwala Bagh incident, etc. How can it be possible for Indians, it asks, whom these happenings moved more than Englishmen and whose knowledge of the Indian the public is more accurate than the latter's, to hold the contrary view? Mr. Shafi has displayed the greatest honesty and moral courage in supporting the truth. Next the paper refers to the punishment inflicted on General Dyer, and considers it very inadequate in view of the extreme excesses perpetrated, and the deplorable loss of life caused, by him. Generally speaking, it adds, Indians will regard the report with feelings of deep disappointment, seeing that those who committed gross excesses and oppression have not been adequately punished and many a shortcoming has been whitewashed.

LEADER (Lahore); Sham Lal, editor.

(*c*) The *Leader* of the 29th May says that British justice of the twentieth century has been revealed to the world in its true colours. The report and the despatches have murdered, not only the hopes of Indians, but also the brilliant traditions of British justice. The decision arrived at, which is wholly unexpected and unsatisfactory, cannot be accepted by Indians.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Matram* of the 29th May says that poor General Dyer has been made a scapegoat in the report. The real author of all the cruel acts committed, namely, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, has not only been acquitted on all counts, but has also been granted a certificate. The majority report is very unsatisfactory, but it would have been absurd to expect the British members of the Committee to consider every question from the Indian standpoint. Partiality to one's blood relations, race and fellow countrymen is natural, and even the most civilised human being cannot be above it. Besides, no Government can hold the acts of its officers, on whom it relies for support, to be wholly blameworthy. We are not prepared, however, to attach the least importance to the opinion expressed by the Government of India on the report. That Government was as much responsible for last year's happenings as Sir Michael D'Dwyer, and the certificate granted by it to the latter is, in fact, a verdict in its own favour. As for the orders of the Home Government, they are disappointing, although Indians knew beforehand that this would be so. What could poor Montagu accomplish in opposition to statesmen like Lord Milner and Lord Curzon? Continuing, the paper says that it is now for the Punjab public to do its duty. We request our fellow-countrymen to give the matter a most serious and patient consideration, keeping their minds free from feelings of anger and revenge. It is impossible for Indians quietly to accept the verdict of the Hunter Committee. They cannot, however, institute cases against the offending officials], seeing that the law does not admit of this. In our opinion our sense of self-respect demands that we should make it clear to the Home Government and the British public that the former's orders have only sprinkled salt on our wounds. Indians should prove by their attitude that some spirit of independence is still left in them, and that they are not prepared quietly to pocket the insult offered to their nation.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(e) The *Siyasat* of the 30th May says that Indians have come to realise that in matters like those dealt with in the report the authorities are apt to place racial prejudices above justice. The latter's conduct shows clearly enough that they are not only unwilling to punish tyrannical officials, but are disposed to regard the sins of these officials as virtuous acts meriting a reward.

KHUDA DOST (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(f) The *Khuda Dost* of the 30th May says that the report has disappointed Indians. Indeed, it was anticipated on the basis of the conditions under which Lord Hunter made his inquiries that the report would be what it has turned out to be. His Lordship deprived our national leaders of the rights which are enjoyed even by the worst criminals, which was an insult, not only to them, but to the whole of our nation, which is under the yoke of a foreign Government. It was futile to look for full justice from a committee presided over by him. Indeed, in a dispute between Indians and the bureaucracy it is absurd to expect full justice from judges connected with the latter.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(g) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 30th May:—"The Hunter report is out at last. . . . The be all and end all, of all this, is that the perpetrators of the Punjab atrocities will not meet with their deserts. Sir Michael receives, on the other hand, an encomium from the Government of India and a little bit stifled 'shahbash' from the Secretary of State. Lord Chelmsford also earns a glowing tribute from His Majesty's Government. Well done!"

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(h) The *Partap* of the 30th May says that the report is disappointing in the extreme. It has condoned the cruel deeds of O'Dwyer, Dyer and all other oppressive and stone-hearted officers who brought the British Government into disgrace. There is not a single passage in the report in which European members of the Hunter Committee express indignation at the acts of oppression committed. A perusal of the report has pained us, not because O'Dwyer, Dyer, Bosworth Smith, Siri Ram and others go unpunished, but because the confidence of Indian in British justice has been shaken beyond reparation. The report will fall on the people like a thunderbolt, and henceforth they will consider it foolish to expect anything from such commissions. Continuing, the paper expresses satisfaction at all the Indian members of the Committee having come to a unanimous decision in regard to the declaration and administration of martial law. We are also glad to find, it adds, that Mr. Muhammad Shafi has not liked to kill his conscience by agreeing with the English members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. After remarking that he has saved the honour of his country, it says that the minority's decision is supported by him and Sir Sankaran Nair, and that not one of these five Indians is an extremist. This, coupled with the finding of the Congress sub-committee constitute a moral victory for Indians. The whole of India has condemned martial law with one voice.

(i) In its issue dated the 31st May the paper says that the report has dashed all the hopes of Indians to the ground and greatly shaken their confidence in their King. It would have been better if no such committee had been appointed, because in that case the impression would have continued to prevail that a royal commission or a commission appointed by the Cabinet would have done justice. As it is, now the people will conclude that they can get justice nowhere, and that a European, be he a Lord Hunter or a Mr. Montagu, is a European after all, and can never see from the Indian point of view. The way in which Mr. Montagu has expressed confidence in Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer is meant to show that he attaches no weight to public opinion. Again, no punishment has been inflicted on any one for the murder of thousands of innocent Indians at the Jallianwala Bagh and other places.

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(j) Elsewhere the paper says that in 1872, a British officer was dismissed by the Government of India for his action in regard to the Kukas who had attacked Maler Kotla, but that in 1919 a man who put hundred of innocent Indians to death has been punished only with transfer from one country to another. What marvellous progress the Government of India has achieved in half a century!

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(k) The *Vakil* of the 31st May says that the report and the despatches thereon afford proof of unfairness and partiality on the part of the Committee's [European] members. In accepting the majority's findings the Government of India and the Secretary of State have trampled upon all the hopes entertained by the people on the score of the British Government's traditions of justice. The European members of the Committee have made a serious mistake in failing to realize the position of Indians, and have unconsciously dealt a severe blow to the latter's confidence in the British nation. It is still more regrettable that such racial distinctions as we all wish to obliterate should have been made in respect of a most important matter affecting the relations between England and India.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(l) The *Akali* of the 31st May says that the 27th May will be a black day in the histories of India and England, because on that date the Hunter Committee approved of the principle that "white complexion far outweighs truth and justice." The Committee has blasted the hope of coöperation [between the rulers and the ruled] held out to us by the King-Emperor. Unless the officers who were responsible for the oppression practised on the people are adequately punished by Government, there can be no hope of the old state of affairs being restored. We appeal to His Majesty and Parliament to overstep the colour line and do justice to the people; for, otherwise, British justice will cease to command respect.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(m) The *Dard* of the 31st May publishes in black borders an article headed "Veil torn off British justice: firing on innocent and unarmed persons held lawful: bombing loyal citizens applauded." After asking God whether He is no longer feared and whether justice has been banished from the world, the paper writes as follows:— O British nation, although the truth about thy justice had long been exposed and people had had a glimpse of thy real self, still it is the Hunter Committee which has lifted the veil off this picture. O British nation, with what face dost thou recount the tyrannies of the Turks? With what face dost thou claim to be the supporter of smaller nations? This is all tall talk on thy part. Thou hast fallen from thy sacred object in very truth. Indelible stains have been cast on thy old traditions to-day... How long wilt thou go on throwing dust in the eyes of others in this way? How long wilt thou and thy statesmen connive at the black deeds of thy officers? God is alive after all.... He will do justice... Cannon and aeroplanes will prove of no avail against Him. Thou will be brought into infamy in the world. He who permits oppressions and holds it to be lawful, cannot escape punishment for this.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(n) The *Tribune* of the 29th May writes:—"If there is one thing rather than another by which the public will judge both the report of the Hunter Committee and the review of that report by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, it is the manner in which they deal with the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The reason is not far to seek. That tragedy was undoubtedly only a part of the darkest and most dismal episode in British Indian history. It did not, even form a part of the martial law administration, for the actual declaration of martial law was yet to be made. Nor can it be denied that from the point of view of the principles involved, the declaration of martial law, its continuance for so long a period and long after all traces of disorder had disappeared, the indiscriminate arrests made under martial law, the treatment to which many of the arrested persons were subjected, both outside and in the jail, the farcical trials that were held resulting in many cases in the wholesale convictions of innocent persons and in most cases in monstrously disproportionate sentences, and last but not least the outrageous orders and fancy punishments enforced under martial law .... were at least as important as, and in some cases even more important than, the tragedy at Jallianwala Bagh. . . But none of these proceedings symbolised to so great an extent and in so marked a manner the spirit of the whole affair, or presented so vivid a picture at once of the utter helplessness of the King's subjects in India, and of the complete freedom from all direct and immediate restraint, except such as is imposed by their own conscience, which the instruments of Government, civil and military, between themselves enjoy . . . For [this] same reason we propose to take up this subject before we take up any other, in our own review of the Committee's report and of the Government's conclusions on it. Taking the majority report first, we find that it considers General Dyer's action open to exception only on two grounds, (1) that he opened fire without warning, and (2) that he went on firing after the crowd had begun to disperse. Even this finding, manifestly inadequate in itself, is sought to be further whittled down by the process, so largely adopted in the report, of finding an excuse for almost every bad action condemned in it. Thus as regards the first part of the finding we are told that the only person who can judge whether notice should properly be given on such an occasion is the military officer concerned, and the impression is left on one's mind that if only General Dyer had himself suggested the existence of an emergency justifying his decision to open fire without warning, the majority would have been only too glad to exonerate him on this score. The length to which the majority are prepared to go in this palliating process is shown by their observation that it is 'distinctly improbable that the crowd gathered in Jallianwala Bagh would have dispersed upon notice being made that they should disperse, and much more likely that recourse to firing would have been necessary to secure obedience to his proclamation'. This is not only whitewashing with a vengeance, but actually out-heroding Herod, because the General himself said that it was quite possible that he could have dispersed the crowd without firing. Again as regards the second part of the verdict, the majority seek to modify its effect by saying that ' the General honestly believed on the information then before him and his appreciation of the existing military situation that he was called upon to take this step in the discharge of his duty. They find further that it was his intention to create a moral effect throughout the Punjab, though they condemn this as a mistaken conception of his duty.' It is quite of a piece with the verdict that not only have the majority not a word of condemnation for the General's failure to attend to the wounded, but they seem actually to justify him. After this we should be prepared for almost anything from the majority." Next the paper details the verdict of the minority and continues:—"Turning now to the official review of the two reports, we find that the Government of India, while they accept the views of the minority on certain points, are generally disposed to agree with the majority . . . [Their] attempts at extenuation not only take much from the force and the value of the conclusion, but are a proof positive of the failure of the Government of India even at this distance of time to adequately realise the enormity of General Dyer's misdeed" The verdict of the Government of India is practically summed up in one single sentence. 'General Dyer,' they say, ' exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case, and showed a misconception of his duty which resulted in a lamentable and unnecessary loss of life.' In a later passage they slightly modify this opinion by adding that he did not act with as much humanity as the case permitted. This, in essence and in substance, is also the verdict of the majority and, for our part, we can think of no more absurdly inadequate verdict on a transaction which was disgraceful from beginning to end ... The most astounding part of the thing, however, is that, in spite of the stronger language in which the views of the Secretary of State are couched, even those views, except on one or two points, are practically identical with the verdict of the Government of India. . . We have the same stress laid upon the General's honesty of purpose and his adherence to his conception of his duty, a conception of which Mr. Montagu says in the same breath that it is fundamentally at variance with that which His Majesty's Government have a right to expect from and a duty to enforce upon officers who hold His Majesty's Commission. Continuing ' the *Tribune* refers to the punishment inflicted upon General Dyer, and concludes:—"If this is all the punishment which a civilised and humane Government like ours could think adequate for a man who is guilty of the ruthless massacre of at least 379 persumably innocent and certainly unarmed and peaceful persons, in circumstances which did not afford the smallest justification for the opening of the fire upon them, and which, if it had not been for a couple of physical limitations, would have resulted in immensely greater loss of life, then all we can say is that one might well despair of civilisation and of humanity. The least that the Government in our opinion can and ought to do is not only to deprive General Dyer of his Commission but to vigorously prosecute him in an ordinary court of law on a charge of cool and calculated massacre."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*o*) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The Government of India say in their despatch:—'The Government of India consider that the arrest and detention for long periods of so many persons, and particularly of Dr. Kedar Nath, Mr. Gurdyal Singh, Mr. Manohar Lal and six lawyers of Gurdaspur were a serious error, and while they do not overlook the difficulties of the situation they are constrained to express their disapproval of the action taken in these cases.' 'A serious error' is scarcely the appropriate phrase to employ in such a case; nor is mere 'disapproval' of such action enough either as a deterrent or as a consolation to the victims of official high-handedness. But let that pass. The question we desire to ask is, why does not the Government of India fix the responsibility for this 'serious error'? It would be entirely wrong to suppose that that responsibility in all these cases is attributable either to the military authorities or even to the subordinate civil authorities. In at least one of these cases it can be proved by incontestable evidence that the responsibility rested solely with the head of the Government. We refer, of course, to the case of Mr. Manohar Lal. In this case it was the ex-Lieutenant-Governor who wrote with his own hand on a letter addressed by Mr. Manohar Lal to the Chief Secretary in connection with the disturbances:—

"'This rather belated offer on behalf of the *Tribune* which has so steadily worked to create a spirit of opposition to authority and contempt of Government advice appears to have been an act of *peshbandi*. The writer and the editor of the *Tribune* have been arrested,

M. F. O'DWYER.'

"This note can leave no room for doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that, so far at least as Mr. Manohar Lal is concerned, he owed his persecution solely to the love which the late Lieutenant-Governor had for the *Tribune*".

(*p*) In its issue dated the 30th May the *Tribune* writes:—"Nothing in the majority report or in the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State will cause greater disappointment, more energetic disapproval or more intense dissatisfaction among the people of India than the manner in which they deal with Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The majority, as far as we have been able to see, pass no adverse verdict upon him at all. The Government of India not only pass no adverse verdict. . . . but actually give him a gushing certificate. . . . The Secretary of State follows much the same line, though he goes just a little further in his criticism of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. . . . But the effect of this criticism, so absurdly mild and inadequate in itself, is entirely marred, partly by the apologetic reference that accompanies it to the difficulties that are said to have surrounded Sir Michael O'Dwyer throughout the term of his office, and more largely by the certificate, even more gushing than that of the Government of India, which Mr. Montagu gives to the late Lieutenant-Governor. . . Knowing all the facts as he does—for we cannot believe that with a man like Sir Sankaran Nair in his Council, and with the opportunity he had, only a year ago and about the very time when the Punjab was passing through the most terrible ordeal in her history, of seeing Indian leaders like Mr. Shastri, Mr. Banerjea, Dr. Sapru, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Chintamani, leaders none of whom can be dismissed as irresponsible or even impatient idealists, Mr. Montaga can be ignorant of these facts—we are constrained to say to him: 'Sir, you not only abet but add to the insult and humiliation which Sir Michael inflicted upon us, Indians, and your action is the less defensible and more offensive because it comes from an avowed friend, not an avowed enemy.' Mr. Montagu's *regime* as Secretary of State has not been free from blunders. But the present blunder easily surpasses all the preceding ones. . . . It is a marvel to us how with the true facts of the case before them, either the Government of India or the Secretary of State could have arrived at the astounding verdict which they have seen fit to pass upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration generally and the part he took in connection with the tragedy of last April in particular. . . . There was conclusive evidence, both before the Committee and the Government of India and the Secretary of State that not only was Sir Michael O'Dwyer the directing mind throughout the period, but he was particularly responsible for most of the things that they themselves condemn." Next the paper endeavours to fasten on Sir Michael the blame for all the excesses in connection with the administration of martial law condemned in the Hunter Committee's report and by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. In conclusion it says :—"To condemn the excesses of the martial law administration, as both the Government of India and the Secretary of State do, and yet to praise the 'decision courage and vigour' of the one man who more than any other was responsible for these excesses, is to take up a manifestly absurd and untenable position."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*q*) The *Tribune* of the 1st June writes:—"Will the Imperial Legislative Council have opportunity of discussing the Hunter report? We raise the question thus early, because it appears to us to be of the greatest importance that the highest Legislative Council of the country should have an opportunity not only of focussing the scattered elements of public opinion in this vitally important matter, but of expressing its own considered judgment in regard to it. We can well anticipate the official plea for shutting out a general discussion on the ground that the matter has passed out of the hands of the Government of India and has been taken cognisance of by the Secretary of State and the Imperial Parliament. But the plea will not avail the Government. There are certain matters still left to the Government of India, and a discussion may be raised with special reference to them, even if a general discussion were considered *ultra vires*."

(*r*) Elsewhere the paper says:—"Now that the Secretary of State has left the matter to the Government of India, public opinion all over the country will insist with the utmost strength and emphasis in its power that nothing short of condign punishment shall be inflicted upon the authors of the martial law atrocities, and that this punishment shall not be confined only to the officers mentioned by the Government of India, but shall extend to all who had anything to do with the outrageous orders and fancy punishments so justly condemned by the minority. In many of these cases dismissal from the service of the Crown is the least severe punishment that the Government can justly inflict and that can at all meet the requirements of the case, while there is none in which a censure or anything so mild as that can serve the purpose."

(*s*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd June writes:—"Although the exploits of General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh have very naturally overshadowed the proceedings of Lt.-Col. Johnson at Lahore, it must not for a moment be imagined that there was any essential difference between principles followed in the two cases or the mentality of the two officers. . . . . . It was only to be expected that both the majority and the minority would have something to say about the exploits of this brave General." Next the paper refers to the majority's findings in regard to the Colonel and says:—"Did any one ever hear of a tamer or more insipid criticism of orders which were designed to punish thousands for the faults, whether imaginary or real, of a handful, which were shocking in their cruelty, which were certainly an outrage upon commonsense, and of which the only effect was to create a feeling of bitterness which in the words of the Government of India in another connection, will take long to pass away?" Continuing, it summarises what the minority says about him and writes:—"[His orders] were one and all dictated by a common purpose, that of punshing the people, teaching them a lesson which they would not soon forget, and in some cases humiliating the Indians as a race. . . . It must be obvious to all unprejudiced persons that it is positively unsafe to have such a man in the King's service. Yet strangely enough neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State says anything specific about this officer. If this means that unlike Dyer this officer is going to be retained in the King's service in India, all we can say is that we can think of no graver blunder and no more deliberate affront to Indian opinion."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(t) In its issue dated the 2nd June the paper says:—"If the Government could make up their mind to inflict upon these officers the punishment they so richly deserve, they would be doing something to restore the mutual confidence between themselves and the public. We say "something," because with the astounding attitude they have seen fit to assume towards the prime offender, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, it is almost hoping against hope that anything done by them in the case of others would go far enough in this direction.... The very fact that in this matter each authority seems to be anxious to delegate its function to the authority below him shows how things stand. The Secretary of State delegates his function to the Governor-General in Council, and the Governor-General in Council to the Local Governments. Now take, for instance, the case of Colonel Frank Johnson. Here the Local Government can presumably do nothing. And even if it could do anything, how are we to get over the fact that the Local Government—of course, we mean the late and not the present Government—was itself a party to much that this officer did?... In the circumstances we can think of no more indefensible step than the decision of the Government of India to delegate its function to the Local Government in this matter of punishment.... And if it is unwise to delegate this power to the Local Government in any case, it would be still more unwise to delegate it to the Local Government without first ensuring that Mr. Thompson, who, according to all evidence, was the right hand man of Sir Michael O'Dwyer throughout and was intimately associated with the martial law administration, should not come back to the Punjab, at any rate, in his old capacity as Chief Secretary. A Chief Secretary is no figure head. He exercises no small part of the real functions and authority of the Government, and in this case Mr. Thompson is obviously the least fitted man in the service of the Crown to deal with the delinquents. On his own admission he was consulted in regard to the doings at Lahore. Similarly we have it in evidence that it was he from whom one of the censured officers, at any rate, got a sort of *carte blanche*, a general promise of support. In other cases also he must have been pretty frequently consulted both by the Lieutenant-Governor as well as by the officers below him. To leave it to such a man, however, partially, to deal with the offending officers is practically to let them go off as scot-free as does Sir Michael O'Dwyer."

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(u) The *Bande Matram* of the 1st June publishes a communication from LALA GOBIND RAM, KHANNA, M.A., LL.B., Honorary Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. He contends that the Indemnity Act cannot protect General Dyer and that an impartial court will certainly find him guilty. The strictures passed on him by the Government of India and the Secretary of State are sufficient for his conviction. The writer concludes by urging that a prosecution should be launched against the General, no thought being paid to the result. The case will constitute another test of British justice.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Jallianwala memorial.

7. The *Tribune* of the 3rd June has the following:—"[The] Jallianwala Bagh has been finally purchased. . . . More money is, however, required and we hope the requisite amount will not be long in coming. The duty of subscribing, according to one's means, to the Jallianwala Bagh memorial fund is as sacred as it is imperative. Let the poor pay out of their poverty and the rich out of their abundance, thereby making it possible for the organisers to build a memorial on that sacred spot worthy alike of those who fell victims to Dyer's unholy wrath and of the people in whose hearts the former have secured an abiding place."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh' editor.

The Jail Commission.

8. The following is taken from the *Sikh* of the 30th May:—"As a commission to enquire into all about the Indian jails and suggest desirable improvements are busy engaged in their work in these days, we consider it our duty to draw their attention to the grievances of the Sikh community in this connection..... [The] 'Five K's' are as essential for a Sikh as his own body. Without them he no longer remains a true follower of his Guru.... If a short knife, called the 'kirpan,' which a Sikh has to keep in his head just as he does a comb, is open to objection under the jail rules, they must needs be amended so far as the Sikh religion is concerned, for a religion must not be interfered with. Our complaint against the Mogul rule was that it insulted our religion, so we wish that the same or a similar complaint should not arise against the humane and conscientious British rule, for the preser-

vation of which in India and elsewhere in the world we have made 'signal sacrifices.' .... We deliberately avoid giving here the details of the trouble the Sikh prisoners are subjected to in connection with the 'Five K's'; and leave it to the conscientious members of the Jail Commission to make enquiries from individual Sikh prisoners or those who have been in jail and were actually beaten and caned for their conscientious refusal to part with their religious symbols..... Suffice it to say that the Sikh religion requires its followers to keep them, and we appeal to Government to stick to its declaration and avoid interfering with our religious observances in any way."

Land revenue.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

9. The *Panch* of the 19th [received on the 31st] May says that Government's policy of enhancing the land revenue after a certain number of years is more terrible for the poor *zamindars* than even death. Unless the revenue is permanently settled in the Punjab, the troubles of agriculturists cannot be removed, nor is their financial condition likely to improve.

The North-Western Railway strike.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

10. The *Sikh* of the 30th May writes:—"Now that neither of the two parties seems inclined to give way, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor would do well to intervene and thus save the province from a further loss through the strike. .... Things have come to such a pass that the strikers have now been turned out of the Railway quarters, which has offended them further, while the strike continues."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The *kirpan*.

PANTH SEWAK (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

11. Referring to the court-martial of sepoy Mangal Singh of the 4th Pioneers, Sialkot, for refusing to doff a *kirpan* he was wearing, the *Panth Sewak* of the 26th May says that if Government is not opposed to the Sikhs wearing the *kirpan*, it should issue a circular on the subject for the guidance of its officers and should also reinstate Mangal Singh and the four dismissed Roorkee naiks. In the other event, it should cancel its previous orders allowing the Sikhs to keep the *kirpan*, so that our brothers may not be put to avoidable trouble.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 5th June 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Sidaqat* of the 1st June says that the statement issued by the Government of India with the Turkish peace terms has added insult to injury. The Viceroy would have been very wise if he had published these terms without adding to them an explanation calculated to cause pain. The Muhammadans knew beforehand that the Allies were bent upon dismembering the Ottoman empire. The disgraceful treatment accorded to the Government of the Caliph at Constantinople, which is opposed to all international and moral principles, and the cruelty with which martial law orders have been issued in the city named, indicate clearly that Great Britain does not care a straw for the feelings of ten crores of her Muslim subjects. If this had not been so, she would have adopted the same attitude regarding Constantinople as she did concerning Berlin. In spite of her having defeated Germany, not even the most haughty British soldier dare set foot in Berlin. On the other hand, Constantinople is the object of special favours on her part—favours which have plunged the whole of the Islamic world into mourning. Such is the regard for the sentiments of the Indian Muhammadans which is being so loudly proclaimed in British official circles. Is there no end to this farce? Continuing, the paper asks how England can accuse Turkey of having taken the initiative in terminating friendly relations with her. If she was really a friend of Turkey, why did she not allow Turkish forces to pass through Egypt on the occasion of the Tripolitan war? Again, she helped the opponents of Turkey in the Balkan war, thereby making a sorry exhibition of her friendship for Turkey. The Turks had to link their fate with Germany on their being disappointed by England.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 2nd June publishes an Urdu poem composed by one HABIB of Hazara. The writer says among other things that there can now be no hope of Mr. Llyod George's promise being kept. How should one, he asks live in India? The country is now ruled by promise breakers.. Proceeding, the writer says that the Caliph has been involved in trouble by infidels, who are bent upon wiping Islam out of existance.

PAIGHAM-I-SULAH (Lahore); Murtaza Khan, editor.

(*c*) Writing to the *Paigham-i-Sulah* of the 2nd June one **SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN SHAH** says that the caliphate, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Turks, is now, owing to wrong doings on their parts, going to a rebel and a traitor, who is under the influence of Christian nations. It is now the duty of the Muhammadans to sink their differences and apply themselves, heart and soul, to the task of saving the caliphate from destruction.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*d*) The *Vakil* of the 3rd June says that His Excellency the Viceroy asserts that the Turkish peace treaty has redeemed the Premier's pledge. Constantinople is, however, within range of the Allied guns, while the Allies control the finances of Turkey. Again, Thrace has been made over to Greece, and Smyrna also is about to pass into her hands. The land, sea and ærial forces of Turkey have, moreover, been greatly reduced. Nor is this all; the boundaries of Constantinople have been similarly dealt with. His Excellency the Viceroy sings the song of equality and justice, and says that the Allies occupied Constantinople to prevent the Turks massacring Christians. But even if it is granted that Turkey violated the terms of the armistice, no proof of which is forthcoming, does this constitute sufficient reason for the occupation of Constantinople? Did the Allies occupy Berlin owing to the disturbances in Ruhr territory? Did they take possession of Warsaw in consequence of Poland having violated the terms of the armistice? Did they punish Roumania for the same offence? Did they threaten Rome for delivering an attack on Fiume? If all this has not been done, where are the reasons for the occupation of Constantinople? Is this equality and justice? Lord Chelmsford says that Constantinople has been left with Turkey out of regard for the wishes of Indian Muhammadans. In other words, but for these wishes even this part of the Premier's promise would not have been fulfilled. It will be impossible for the Turkish representatives to accept the proposed terms, provided they are not forced to do so by show of guns. It is His Lordship's duty to urge the British Government to make the necessary changes in these terms. In case this is impracticable, he ought to tender his resignation rather than be a party to a treaty which will be certain to banish peace from the East.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*e*) In its issue dated the 7th June the *Vakil* states that it has received a long communication from **MAULVI HAKIM ABU TURAB MUHAMMAD ABDUL HAQ**, [editor of the *Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat*] of Amritsar, who contends that India is *dar-ul-harb* (land of war), and says that this being so, the Muhammadans should migrate from it. He suggests that permission should be obtained from the authorities for this purpose, and that in case of their withholding it recourse should be had to non-coöperation with Government. He concludes by stating that he is ready to migrate, provided Government permits migration. Commenting the *Vakil* asks whether there is any necessity for a person regarding India as *dar-ul-harb* to obtain the permission referred to. When one is resolved to migrate, it adds, why should one think of passage difficulties? Three parties of emigrants have already reached Afghanistan: the Government of India raised no objection to their leaving this country. There is consequently nothing to prevent the writer from migrating.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*f*) The *Bande Matram* of the 9th June publishes a signed article, in which the writer—Lajpat Rai—endorses the decision of the Allahabad Khilafat conference that the Hindus should, as far as possible, coöperate with the Muhammadans. Our Hindu brethren, he adds, argue that the caliphate question being a religious one they need not interfere with it. A question, however, that concerns seven crores of our Muslim fellow-countrymen has a national significance for us. If we have to work with them for the advancement of the country and the nation, it is our duty to respect their religious feelings. Again, the democratic, human or international aspect of the matter also is not devoid of interest for us. As a subject people, it is our duty to sympathise with all the nations which are struggling to maintain their political independence. The projected dismemberment of the Turkish empire is an act of gross injustice intended to rob Islam of its power. If we ourselves are in slavery, it does not follow that we should feel pleased at the downfall of other nations. So long as slavery exists even in one country in the world, the independence of others will be at stake.

Tribal raids.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. The *Tribune* of the 4th June publishes a letter from "PRO BONO PUBLICO," who says in writing about tribal raids into British territory :—"The kidnapping of one European lady from the Cantonment of Peshawar was, to quote the *Englishman*, 'a crime without parallel for impudence and daring in the annals of Frontier'; but what of the frequent cases in which Hindus are victims, who had to pay large sums for the ransom of their wives and daughters, and their appeals have not been of any effect so far? For the release of the European lady all the military paraphernalia at the disposal of the Government was set in motion, and the lady was restored within 24 hours; but what of those 274 persons, including men, women and children, who are still rotting in the tribal territory, out of 331 kidnapped last year? For the kidnapping of one European lady, the Secretary of State has been questioned recently in Parliament, but no patriotic-minded person has thought it worth while to draw the attention of the Secretary of State to the present serious state of affairs, although nearly three months have passed since interpellations were made in the Imperial Council."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The rulers and the ruled.

SAT JUG, (Lahore); Nirankar Singh, editor.

3. The *Sat Jug* of the 2nd June says that Dyer perpetrated a general massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh in the name of justice and peace. He also made people crawl on their bellies and had them flogged in a state of nudity in the presence of prostitutes. They were also made to stand in the sun for whole days to *salaam* [military officers]. Extra military and punitive police forces were posted in different places, and the people made to pay the cost. The Viceroy's Legislative Council then passed the Indemnity Act in support of the officers entrusted with the administration of martial law. This is the sort of justice that nations of slaves can obtain from those ruling over them. Slaves have not the right to speak the truth; and if they do so, they make themselves liable to be dealt with under the Seditious Meetings Act. They have also no right to write what is true; and if they do so, the Press Act is always at hand for their punishment. Thirty crores of Indians are writhing in the net of the Defence of India Act and the Arms Act. Anyone raising his voice against these laws is held to be a seditionary and a rebel. The present vast difference between the masters and slaves can be removed only if the latter do not look upon themselves as such, nay, consider themselves to be masters and take the administration of their country in their own hands They should avoid going to courts established for slaves, and should set up their own tribunals in every city and village. They should not get their boys educated at Government Schools, and should start their own schools to teach them arts and letters. This will obviate the necessity for sons of the country to apply for a slave's position [*lit.* slavery,—Government service].

England and India.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

4. The *Zamindar* of the 8th June writes that the attitude of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in the matter of the Punjab disturbances leads one to think that the reform scheme is nothing more than a toy intended to please the obstinate children of India for the time being. Great Britain has been ruling over India for more than a century past, but facts go to show that it is an ordinary thing for the responsible British authorities to trample on the feelings and sentiments of Indians. The Government of Lord Chelmsford has disregarded with scorn the sanctity of Great Britian's Indian trust. The time has come when Indians should relieve her of this trust and thereby show to the world that they are capable of building up their future. England asserts that she considers it her chief duty to relieve weak and oppressed nations of the tyranny of oppressors. This being so, no [Sir] Michael can rule India in future.

India and Parliament.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. The *Tribune* of the 11th June reproduces Mr. Swan's recent question in the Commons regarding the exclusion of nationalists members of the Imperial Legislative Council from select committees on Government Bills, as also the Secretary of State's reply to it, which concludes as follows :—'I would deprecate discussions in this House as to the personnel of the Committees of the Legislative Council in India.' Commenting the paper says :—" Mr. Montagu's reply is deeply

disappointing. Here as elsewhere he seems to forget that these questions are raised in the British Parliament just because India has no Parliament of her own. The Indian Legislative Council with its standing official majority and its Viceroy-President, and with the large and comprehensive powers vested in the President to disallow almost any question and any resolution that is not palatable to him affords no adequate opportunity for the discussion of this or any other question in which the policy of the Government is involved."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

6. (*a*) The *Sidaqat* of the 1st June is extremely surprised to see that Dyer's action at the Jallianwala Bagh has been attributed to good faith. The report has brought home to Indians that it is idle for them to expect justice and fair play from Great Britain. Can they feel satisfied at the punishment which has been awarded to the murderer of their fellow-countrymen? Does it not mean that he can still be appointed to a high post in England or any of her colonies? We used to think that justice was above colour considerations, but the Hunter Committee's report has shown that the twentieth century justice has two aspects, *viz.*, white and black. If Dyer had fired 1,600 shots at Hyde Park and piled up a heap of white corpses there, Lord Hunter would have come to a different finding. The paper then goes on to say that strictly speaking Dyer was only a tool in the hands of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and that the real murderer is the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. From the Indian point of view, it adds, there are very serious charges against Sir Michael, and if the Cabinet had not connived at his crimes from considerations of expediency, the British nation would certainly have demanded that he should be treated like Warren Hastings.

SHAKTI, (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Shakti* of the 2nd June says that great injustice has been done to Indians. It will be a mistake in them to expect justice at the hands of the Britons in future also. The findings of the Committee show clearly enough that the leading men in England also are doing their utmost to screen those who shot thousands of Indians dead, who hold these men to have been in the right in practising the tyrannies they did, and who are even praising them.

PAISA AKHBAR, (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd June says that the Government of India acknowledge that the administration of martial law was marked by the misuse of power, irregularities and improper and irresponsible acts. The paper hopes, therefore, that the Punjab Government will inflict deterrent punishments on those who were guilty of harassing the people at a critical time. Next it refers to the punishment inflicted on General Dyer, and says that Anglo-Indian newspapers and the majority of Englishmen regard it as severe. These journals and Englishmen should, however, consider the matter in an impartial spirit and say whether the punishment is sufficient for the serious offence of shooting hundreds of unarmed and innocent Indians to death and not sparing even people who were running away. A higher value has been placed on the services of General Dyer than the lives of hundreds of Indians. Is this the way to keep up the British Government's honour and its reputation for justice in this country? The complaint will long rankle in the minds of Indians and ever remind them of their helpless condition. There was only one way to make them forget the Jallianwala Bagh incident, namely, to mete out justice to those who committed excesses.

KHUDA DOST, (Lahore); Nand Gopal, editor.

(*d*) The *Khuda Dost* of the 3rd June says that if Mr. Montagu has in his fear of the world's criticism and in order to maintain the prestige of the British Government, made a scapegoat of General Dyer and let off, with a tribute, the Viceroy and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who were equally responsible for the disturbances, he should know that the general massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh has already lowered Great Britain in the estimation of the world and that his decision has only confirmed it in its opinion.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan, editor.

(*e*) The *Shanti* of the 4th June says that the hopes entertained by the down-trodden Indians and the [surviving] victims of the Jallianwala Bagh incident have not been realized, and the report has produced feelings of deep despondency. The tyrannies practised by Dyer and O'Dwyer were so horrible that they would remain dark blots on Great Britain's fair fame for all time to come. The Government of India and the Secretary of State have attached little or no importance to the opinions of the Indian members of the Hunter

Committee. They have thought fit to endorse the report of the European members, who deemed it sufficient only to censure an ogre like Dyer for his heinous crime and have done their utmost to defend Sir Michael, the bloodthirsty ruler of the Punjab. It is grossly unjust to defend a man who openly shed the blood of two thousand innocent persons, who had no mercy even for innocent children, who massacred a helpless and unarmed crowd of Indians, and who took pleasure in witnessing the death-throes of these unfortunate people. This is nothing short of oppression on loyal Indians, who are ever ready to shed their blood to preserve the honour of Great Britain. This is tantamount to murdering justice. How can it be just to attribute honest motives to murderers and to speak of the killed as rebels ?

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(f) The *Sikh* of the 6th June writes :—" The majority part of the Hunter Committee's report (signed by British members) is different in various important points, from the minority part signed by the three Indian members, which certainly makes the difference an ethnological one. . . . One can easily remark that Government has differed from the people and therefore the culprits have been let off scotfree. And the remark is justified, inasmuch as the Hunter enquiry and report are based on nothing beyond official evidence—statements of the officials concerned and their proteges. . . . All the gods concerned—from Sir Michael down to Bosworth Smith—are saved, with the exception of General Dyer, who, while he ought to have been duly arraigned for the murder of hundreds of unarmed and innocent people, has only been removed from India. . . . A censure or something like that may mark the association of Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien (who got aeroplanes to bomb His Majesty's subjects at Gujranwala) and Bosworth Smith (who went so far as to insult, abuse, cane and *kanpakroo* females and others. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, on the other hand, has been extolled to the skies by the Government of India and the Secretary of State both, though the latter admits that his actions in approving General Dyer's conduct, etc, were not 'immune from criticism.' And this much alone has been considered sufficient for the *fans et origo* of the whole evil and its fatal results, the arch abetter of the Amritsar and Gujranwala massacres. . . . If they [Sir Michael and General Dyer] had happened to be Indians, the only proposal, particularly by the Anglo-Indian Press, would have been that they should be blown away from the guns or at least hanged till their souls left their bodies."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(g) The *Liberal* of the 7th June writes :—" The Indian members [of the Committee] were selected and nominated by the Government of India, not because they have the confidence of their countrymen, but because they have the confidence of the Government. This is eminently true of Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, who is in high favour with the Government, while Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan is Member for Appeals, Gwalior State, and officials in Native States are rarely fearless critics of the British Government. The Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan alone has a reputation for independence . . . All the three Indian members have signed a separate report, and there is a wide difference between the conclusions of the two reports. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Indian public will accept the minority report as being more in consonance with the established and undisputed facts."

(h) Elsewhere the paper says :—" They [the Government of India] . . . state that the evidence published by the Congress [sub-]committee has not been subjected to examination by an impartial tribunal. . . However, the evidence is there and there is nothing to prevent the Government from making a fresh inquiry. We refer particularly to the doings of Mr. Bosworth Smith at Manianwala and the insult offered to innocent women. There is not a word about it in the report of the Hunter Committee, because no evidence on this subject was tendered, but is the enormity of Mr. Bosworth Smith's conduct to be overlooked on that account ? "

(i) In yet another place the paper writes :—" As the prime mover of all the trouble in the Punjab, the late Lieutenant-Governor of this province should have been singled out for the most searching criticism, but as a matter of fact he has been treated with singular consideration by His Majesty's Government. . . . For an explanation of this appreciation we have to take into account the services rendered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer during the war. . . It has also to be remembered that after the occurrences in the Punjab in the spring of 1919, and before the report of the Hunter Committee had been published Sir Michael O'Dwyer was appointed Vice-President of the Army Commission and came out again to India in that capacity. That was a practical appreciation of his term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and His Majesty's Government would have stultified themselves if they had criticised Sir Michael O'Dwyer severely in connection with the report of the Hunter Committee."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(j) In its issues dated the 3rd and 4th June the *Tribune* endeavours to demolish the majority's finding in the matter of "open rebellion" and concludes as follows:—"The plain fact of the matter is that the majority reserves all its charity for the officials, taken both collectively and individually, and in the case of the people does not even follow the ordinary rule of our courts of law and, indeed, of all competent and unbiased judges of men and things, that of not putting a worse construction on the acts of a person, whose conduct is under enquiry, when a better construction is at least equally possible. In the present case every person whose judgment is not warped will, while strongly condemning the excesses of the mob, readily agree with the minority that those excesses were in no way either due to 'any intention of putting an end to the British Government or calculated to effect that,' but that they were produced by a momentary spirit of resentment, however unjustifiable, caused by the firing on the mob at various places. Condemn these excesses as strongly as you like; punish their perpetrators, if and when you have evidence to guide you. But do not for heaven's sake tax men's credulity so far as to ask them to believe that men who were loyal and law-abiding until 10 o'clock in the morning can suddenly become rebels at 12 noon or having become rebels can refrain, as the mobs did in this case, from taking the only step [providing themselves with arms] that could promise even partial and momentary success to their mad design."

(k) Writing in its issues dated the 6th and 9th June under the heading "Was martial law necessary?", the *Tribune* says:—"The majority seems, here as elsewhere, to have started with certain preconceived ideas and all that it says has the appearance of a laborious attempt to find arguments for a foregone conclusion.... After describing the various events that had taken place it writes:—'In our opinion the situation which had arisen in the Punjab was one of extreme gravity, and the authorities were justified in declaring martial law and partially superseding the ordinary tribunals in the different districts to which martial law was applied.' It does not apparently occur to the majority that 'even a situation of extreme gravity' does not necessarily justify resort to martial law.... On the other hand, facts are clearly relied upon to support the Punjab Government in its action which either do not support that action, or make the failure of the same Government to take the same action much oftener and with far less ceremony than it did in this case almost criminal. These are (1) the Punjab is practically the recruiting ground for India; (2) the people are of a more martial temperament than those in other parts of the country and more readily influenced by agitation to take action; (3) the violent agitation against the Rowlatt legislation, accompanied by *hartals* and the teaching of disobedience to laws among such people, was fraught with great danger; (4) within the last few years there had been two revolutionary movements in the Punjab; (5) the unrest in the Muhammadan world over the fate of Turkey, the threatened strike on the railways and difficulties with the army. Of these factors, the first two are clearly general, and if they could justify martial law, martial law would have to be the order of the day. The agitation against the Rowlatt legislation never assumed a violent form in the Punjab, and in not a single case did it lead to disturbances. Nor did the *hartals* by themselves lead to disturbances at any place, as the evidence before the Hunter Committee itself indisputably showed. The teaching of civil disobedience to laws had made no progress in the Punjab, and if there was anything in the *satyagraha* movement itself to lead to trouble, there would have been far greater trouble now, after Mr. Gandhi has visited the Punjab and talked to thousands of men with the frankness and candour that are among his unfailing characteristics, than there could possibly have been 14 months ago when *satyagraha* to the people of the Punjab was scarcely better than a name. The memory of the revolutionary movements, such as they were, is to-day alive exactly in the same sense in which it was alive last year. The unrest in the Muhammadan world is much greater to-day than it ever was in the past. The threatened strike on the railways has since become an accomplished fact, and for over a month more than twenty thousand men have been out, which could not possibly have been dreamed of by the most sanguine advocate of strikes a year ago. Lastly the evidence before the Committee showed that the difficulties with the army were never anything more than imaginary. Yet these are the facts on which the majority complacently relies for its verdict in favour of the declaration of martial law! No wonder the whole country has condemned the verdict as nothing better than special pleading which lacks even the element of plausibility." Next, the paper refers to the authorities quoted by the minority to show under what circumstances martial law is either necessary or justified and continues:—"There never was a case in which either the declaration or the continuance of martial law was more unjustifiable than in this case. . . . The only question that was present in the vindictive mind of the ex Lieutenant-Governor was that of punishing not merely the alleged rioters, but the political agitator who had always been his chief *bete noire*, and for whose special benefit he was anxious to spread the net as widely as human ingenuity could spread it and thus to kill the political movement itself. That this was the thing that was predominant in his mind is shown by the fact that when the Government of India issued Ordinance III of 1919, limiting trials by the martial law tribunals to offences actually connected with the disturbances, Sir Michael immediately caused a telegram to be sent to them, which said among other things:—'His Honour is strongly of opinion that we cannot effectively attack and break up the organisation behind the disturbances unless the organisation can be dealt with under martial law. Apart from this, fixing the date at 13th makes it very difficult to deal appropriately with the local leaders whose speeches during the preceding fortnight did so much to inflame the classes who have joined in the disturbances.' Here was the keynote of the whole situation. Sir Michael knew as well as any one else that there was no organisation behind the disturbances in the sense of a secret conspiracy like the Fenian Society in his own 'unhappy' country. . . . . But to him clearly a political movement for the repeal of an unjust law or for the eventual establishment of Home Rule was itself a conspiracy, and the only organisation he had in view when he penned the above passage was the organisation responsible for the meetings held against the Rowlatt Bills and for the *hartal* of the 30th March and the 6th April. If the breaking up of such an organisation is not a lawful or legitimate object for which martial law can be introduced, as all authorities are unanimous in holding that it is not, and as His Majesty's Government itself must admit that it is not. . . . . Then not only was there no justification for the widening of the scope of the trials under martial law, for which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was primarily responsible, but for martial law itself which he was the only man who wanted, and which was wanted for this purpose and for no other."

Oppression under martial law.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

7. The *Siyasat* of the 5th June says that hundreds of subordinate officials practised untold oppression upon the people during the martial law days. If Government is honestly prepared to punish them, it can easily find out their names. It has, however, closed the doors of justice by passing the Indemnity Act. There are, adds the paper, certain officials who practised such oppression that they have been held guilty by Government itself. They are (1) Colonel O'Brien, (2) Mr. Bosworth Smith, (3) Mr. Jacob, (4) Colonel Frank Johnson and (5) General Dyer. No. 2 is the same gentleman who always employs abusive language towards Indians. He served at Gujrat for some time and was very unpopular there. He has been several times reduced, but he pleased O'Dwyer by practising oppression during the martial law days and received a promotion. Let us see what punishment will be inflicted on the officials referred to, whose faults are punishable in the eyes, not only of Indians, but of Europeans as well.

Telegram charges.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

8. The *Desh* of the 4th June states that in September 1918 the minimum telegram charge was raised from four to eight annas. Subsequently it rose to twelve annas, and has not as yet been reduced, although there has been a substantial increase in income from the Telegraph Department. The public has every right to ask whether the Department is run as a commercial firm and whether its object consists in extracting money from the pockets of the people. If this is not so, why is the charge in question so abnormally high?

It should be reduced to annas 6; but if this is not practicable, it should in no case exceed annas 8.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PAISA AKHBAR, (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Kine-killing.

9. (*a*) ONE MUHAMMAD ZAFAR, M.A., writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st June says that the Hindus have openly taken to meat-eating and can afford to buy mutton at any price. On the other hand, the Muhammadans, who are an indigent community, are keenly feeling the present dearness of mutton. In other words, the former have forced the latter to use beef, which is cheaper than mutton. The question of cow-killing has thus become so difficult that the two communities should come to an understanding before inviting the attention of the Government to it.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

(*b*) In the course of its leader the *Arya Gazette* of the 3rd June says that if in a country like Afghanistan, in which the number of Hindus is very small, it is possible to stop the killing of kine, there is no reason why our Government should not end the practice in Indian cantonments. Cow-killing, it adds, should be made an offence not only in cantonments but throughout India. A strong agitation is required to achieve this object. It will be fraught with diverse dangers and may involve imprisonment, deportations and hangings. But it will also lead to a most happy result. It is possible that the agitation may be prolonged and that our benign Government may take pity on the helplessness of India and end the killing of the cow, her soul. The matter is entirely in the hands of Government, and it is not known when the authorities will lend an ear to our cries.

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Lahore municipal committee.

10. The *Desh* of the 10th June expresses the hope that an Indian will be appointed to succeed Mr. Bull as Secretary of the Lahore municipal committee, and that the question will not be converted into a Hindu-Muhammadan one. Lahore wants an Indian Secretary, be he a Hindu or a Muhammadan. In no case is a European wanted.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Mr. J. P. Thompson.

11. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 8th June says that Mr. Thompson, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's righthand man, is going to be reappointed Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government. The people's wishes were never so trampled upon on any other occasion as they have in the matter of this appointment. Mr. Thompson supported Sir Michael in practising oppression on the people, and it is surprising that he should be called back to the post which he has disgraced. Can such a thing be possible in any civilised country? No, never. Mr. Thompson should have been prosecuted along with Sir Michael and not allowed to return to this country. But if this has not been done, could not Government give him some other post in India? To send him back to the Punjab is an open insult to the people of this province.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 8th June regrets that a far-sighted and wide-awake ruler like Sir Edward Maclagan should have chosen as his adviser an officer like Mr. Thompson who left nothing undone to insult and offend the people.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Ray, editor.

(*c*) Commenting on the Lahore Indian Association's resolution protesting against the retention of the officers connected with the introduction and administration of martial law and in particular, against the impending resumption of charge by Mr. Thompson of the office of Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, the *Tribune* of the 9th June writes:—"The news regarding Mr. Thompson's impending resumption of the office as Chief Secretary to the Local Government has been received throughout the province with feelings of keen resentment and dissatisfaction. As the resolution puts it, a step like the one that is contemplated is in the nature of a direct insult to the people. In closing the Lahore session of the local Legislative Council, His Honour, in the course of a brief speech, appealed to the people to obliterate all feelings of bitterness engendered by the martial law *regime*. . . . . Such appeals could only be effective if the authorities also on their part showed, more by deeds than by words, their willingness to co-operate to this laudable end. Mr. Thompson's return to the office of Chief Secretary will be not only a visible but a constant and forceful reminder of that policy of the iron heel which culminated in martial law and its aftermath. We do hope better counsels will prevail and that the province will yet be spared the pain and humiliation of having as its Chief Secretary an officer of Mr. Thompson's antecedents."

"The Independent."

12. The *Tribune* of the 5th June writes :—"We are glad to learn that the orders of the local Government prohibiting the entry of the Delhi *Vijaya* have been cancelled. The entry of the *Independent* still continues banned. The policy of the removal of restrictive orders against journals published in other provinces, is being pursued in a piecemeal fashion. Our bureaucratic rulers have never been known to suffer from an excess of imagination. The policy of dribblets takes all the grace out of the particular act and helps the public to concentrate its attention more upon the invidiousness of the order than upon its good point."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 12th June 1920.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The Turkish question.

1. (*a*) The *Sadaqat* of the 8th June says that it is not known how many times the British ministers announced on the termination of the war that the caliphate question concerned only Muhammadans, that it could be decided by the latter alone, and that Government would not interfere with it. Their object in making the announcement, however, was to prevent the Muhammadans from viewing with suspicion Great Britain's attitude concerning the spiritual and temporal power of the Khilafat-ul-Musalmin, to undermine which every secret means was being adopted. Does non-interference in the caliphate question on the part of the British Government signify that Constantinople should be occupied by the Allied army, that the spiritual and temporal authority of the Sultan should be ended, that those devoted to Islam should be compelled to fly to Asia Minor, that British warships should always be ready to shower cannon balls on the Dardanelles. If this is so, we should be told in God's name what other form her interference in the caliphate question could take. Efforts are repeatedly made by the British Government to assure the Muhammadans that the caliphate has now been entrusted to the dynasty which had a claim to it. Can it, however, quote a single instance from history to show that during the past 1,300 years any Christian power has ever conferred the caliphate on any Muslim ruler? How can the Indian Muhammadans tolerate, then, that England should entrust the holy places to a rebel governor, who himself is passing his days under British protection and who can never have the courage to draw the sword in defence of Islam? Can they repose any confidence in the man who proved a traitor to the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin and helped foreigners in tearing the caliphate to shreds? His Excellency the Viceroy sends them a message of sympathy and encouragement. If the loyalty of Indian Muhammadans can remain intact even after [Great Britain] has wiped the caliphate out of existence, split their empire to pieces and deported people devoted to Islam, well and good. The Muhammadans are a race of supernatural beings and have lost their

caliphate and empire in their attempt to preserve the lustre of their matchless loyalty. If they continue their efforts, the day is not distant when they will lose their very existence.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(b) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 14th June:—" At the All-India Khilafat conference held at Allahabad it was decided to adopt a policy of non-coöperation as a protest against the terms of the Turkish treaty. It was decided to give the Viceroy a month's notice, and that if the treaty is not revised within that period non-coöperation should be declared. ... Now, in the first place, the Viceroy cannot be held responsible for the Turkish treaty, nor is it clear how he can do anything to revise the terms of that treaty. All that he can do is to make a representation to the British Government, and he did so while the terms of the treaty were under consideration. In the next place, a policy of non-coöperation, even if effective, and we very much doubt whether non-coöperation on a large and effective scale is possible in India, would merely embarrass the Government of India, but would nowise affect the Allied Government responsible for the treaty. It would be presumptuous on our part to offer any advice to the leaders who have decided on non-coöperation, but we do not quite see how any form of passive resistance in India can bring about a revision of the terms of the Turkish treaty."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) Mr. Gandhi writes in the course of a signed article in *Young India*:—'In my opinion, the best way to prevent India from becoming the battle ground between the forces of Islam and those of the English is for Hindus to make non-coöperation a complete and immediate success.' Commenting on this, the *Tribune* of the 16th June says:—" We entirely dissent from this view. In our opinion the frank assertion of the Muhammadan community that 'any invasion from without undertaken with a view to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support,' coupled with the equally frank assertion of Mussalman leaders like Mr. Shaukat Ali that non-coöperation to them is not the last or the only remedy, but that if this remedy failed there would be nothing to prevent them from thinking of and adopting other remedies, constitutes one most formidable argument, not in favour of the Hindus adopting a policy of non-coöperation, as Mr. Gandhi suggests, but in favour of their definitely deciding not to adopt it. We are, indeed, among those who think that any active support by the Hindu and other non-Islamic communities in India to the present movement, even were it otherwise considered legitimate and desirable, should still be made absolutely conditional upon the Muhammadans definitely abandoning all talk and all idea of either sympathising with or actively supporting 'an invasion undertaken from without,' whether to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice or for any other purpose. This is the only consistent position for those who believe in nationality and national freedom in the present secular sense of those words, and who value them as they ought to be valued. We are not unmindful of the fact that in the present temper and mood of the Mussalman community such an attitude on the part of the Hindu community may lead to a temporary misunderstanding between them and the more sensitive section of Mussalmans, but it does seem to us that the elimination of the risk of this misunderstanding may be bought too dear; and we should be buying it too dear if we acted in the way suggested and thus sowed the seed of a much graver misunderstanding and of far greater trouble in the future."

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

Indians abroad.

2. (a) The *Panch* of the 2nd [received on the 11th] June says that the Government of Canada has subjected the Sikhs there to such troubles, the mere recollection of which makes their hair stand on end. Continuing, it states that Canada is trying to establish commercial relations with India and will shortly send out a representative to gain the end in view. Why should she, it asks, benefit by having such a connection with this country, emigrants from which are not allowed to set foot on her soil and are subjected to most stringent and unjustifiable laws. The Sikhs and other Indians should tell the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that no trade relations should be established between India and Canada unless the Canadians repent of their past ill-treatment of Indians and promise to turn over a new leaf for the future. In case their voice is not listened to, they can justly make use of a weapon ready to their hands, *i.e.*, boycott Canadian goods.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 11th June has a note on the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa, in the course of which it says that, according to Mr. Palkankharan (?), the ornaments of the Indians wishing to return to this country were wrested from them under the military rules. These were confiscated on the ground that they had been made by melting gold coins. The gold bangles of an Indian woman were forcibly taken from her on this plea. Continuing, the paper says that it is understood that the ornaments of a large number of Indians returning from South Africa have been thus confiscated. Is this not, it asks, civilized loot and is such usurpation allowed in any other country? Will the Government of India look into this matter?

Indian employés of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

3. The *Bande Matram* of the 11th June publishes a communication purporting to emanate from the Indians in the employ of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The writers complain that they are not provided with lodgings, that water arrangement made for them are unsatisfactory, and that they are given bad flour and no pulses or vegetables. The Company has a large store of edibles, but its Indian employés can get nothing even on payment on the ground that the articles are meant exclusively for Europeans. If they complain to the Company's European officers, they are only fined for being absent from duty; and should they venture to do so a second time, they are made over to the police and sent to jail. Again, no regard is paid to the religious beliefs of Indians. They are huddled together in small rooms, and any one refusing to live there is sent to jail. The sufferings undergone by them in the hospital are greater still. The Sikhs are ordered to cut off their long hair, failing which they are turned out of the hospital. The Sikhs and Hindus are, besides, compelled to eat things cooked by Muhammadans. Nor is this all; Hindu and Sikh dead bodies are forcibly buried through the police. The writers then go to say that they are treated like slaves and abused at every step by the Europeans in the firm. In May last they were forcibly ejected from their quarters in the scorching heat. There is no one to help them. In conclusion, they warn their countrymen in India not to allow themselves to be duped by the Company's agents in this country, namely, Messrs. Shaw Wallace & Co. of Karachi. Commenting the *Bande Matram* says that every word of the communication is very painful. The English love all Europeans; they respect the Americans and regard the Japanese as their friends. It is the poor Indians who fall victims to their wrath. Our loyalty and peaceability are of no avail. And if in our pain we raise our voice, we are called rebels and held liable to be hanged. It is a riddle as to where and how Indians should pass their days.

Indians and German East Africa.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

4. The *Partap* of the 13th publishes a letter from its correspondent in British East Africa, who states that all the nations which fought in the war on the side of the Allies have been given extensive and fertile tracts of land. It is to be regretted, however that nothing has as yet fallen to the share of Indians. They are even denied full rights in territories occupied by the British Government. It was Indians who established British rule in Uganda and East Africa, but efforts are now being made to expel them from there. It was declared by Lord Chelmsford that India, being a member of the League of Nations, would receive her full rights in the conquered territories. After remarking that facts disclose quite a different story, the writer suggests that Indians should try to secure German East Africa and continue the agitation until it is crowned with success.

The Hindus of Afghanistan.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan, editor.

5. Adverting to the concessions which the Amir is alleged to have recently made in favour of his Hindu subjects, the *Shanti* of the 9th June says that they have been granted without a demand having been made for them. The Hindus concerned held no regular meetings and had not to pass resolutions to ask for them. They had not also to make powerful speeches and to suffer the rigour of being gagged and interned. There were neither disturbances nor had martial law to be introduced. Nor were any people hanged. We congratulate the Government of Afghanistan on the spirit of justice and equality displayed by it.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Home Rule.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

6. The *Jiwan Tat* of the 15th June says that Indians are as yet unfit for self-government and that if it were given them now, they would be wholly unable to retain it. Religious bigotry, narrow-mindedness, selfishness and several other shortcomings stand in the way of their becoming a nation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms.

7. (*a*) One AMOLAKRM SAWHNEY, M.A., writes to the *Tribune* of the 12th June :—"The scribes to whom the preparation of electoral rolls for the coming Council elections is entrusted do not seem to understand or to realize the grave responsibility of the task. I have myself noticed a case in which a young boy of seventeen or so, who has matriculated this year, has been entered as 21 years of age with an income that sounds almost fabulous in his case. Will the authorities concerned direct the underlings not to commit such mistakes. It is true that objection can be raised later on, but it is certain that all such cases cannot be objected to. It is better to avoid the mistake at the start than to rectify it later on."

(*b*) Referring to the recent announcement by it that Mr. Shastri proposed to stand as a candidate for election to the Council of State, the *Tribune* of the 13th June writes :—"It now appears that this is not so. Mr. Shastri, it seems, has not the necessary qualifications for a membership of the Legislative Assembly, because he does not pay Rs. 50 as land-revenue ; nor does his income reach the taxable minimum. A more luminous commentary on the retrograde character of some of the reform rules than this it would be difficult to imagine. Frankly speaking if there is any man in our public life who is better fitted to be a member of the Legislative Assembly than Mr. Shastri, we do not know him. If there were nothing else to be said against the franchise rules than that they exclude such a man as Mr. Shastri from the Council of which he has been one of the most distinguished as well as one of the most useful members all these years, they would still deserve to be condemned by all right-thinking men."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

PAIGHAM-I-SULAH (Lahore); Zahur Ahmad, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

8. (*a*) The *Paigham-i-Sulah* of the 9th June regrets to have to record that British statesmen have lost the best opportunity of re-establishing their lost prestige. The publication of the report has ripped open old sores and deepened estrangement between the rulers and the ruled. The belief has totally disappeared from the country that the British nation is more justice-loving than any other people.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partab* of the 10th June publishes a communication from MAZHAR ALI AZHAR, B.A., LL. B., who ridicules certain of the majority's findings and regrets that the Government of India and the Secretary of State should have supported Lord Hunter and his European colleagues. Such is the spirit of justice, adds the writer, that actuates British statesmen. Next he apostrophises Mother India and says in the course of his remarks that her sons should now come to their senses. They should no longer labour under the wrong impression that justice will be done to them in future, or that the promises which are being held out to them to-day will be redeemed to-morrow. Truthfulness has no place in European politics. It is being proclaimed to the world by beat of drum that justice reigns supreme in the British Empire. As was said by Mr. Gokhale, however, justice is done when both parties to a case are blacks or whites, but not in cases in which one party is black and the other white.

AKBAR-I-'AM (Lahore) Gopi Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 14th June says that British statesmen decided openly to prosecute the Kaiser for his cruelties during the war. General Dyer, however, who wears the King's uniform and shed the blood of unarmed and peaceful people in the Jallianwala Bagh, has not only been acquitted, but has also received a certificate of honesty. If this is justice, we wish to protest against it.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) In an article headed "Was martial law necessary ?" the *Tribune* of the 12th June refers in detail to the minority's arguments and findings, and concludes as follows :—"The Punjab had blasted him and he would blast the Punjab. That was Sir Michael's case for martial law in a nutshell. The minority having demolished all the other arguments adduced in support of martial law have brought us face to face with this naked, this brutal fact, as constituting the sole remaining argument in favour of that stupendous blunder. However the majority, the Government of India and the Secretary of State may try to get over this fact, and whatever name they may give it, be it the high sounding name of State necessity or some other name of equally vague sublimity, this naked, this brutal fact remains, and they will find it very difficult to convince a single educated and patriotic Indian that there was any other reason for the declaration of martial law. The very fact that every single Indian newspaper with the exception of the *Indian Mirror*, the editor of which has just got his reward, and every single prominent Indian who has cared to study the facts, from Sir Sankaran Nair downwards, has declared wholly against the official view and wholly in favour of the non-official view shows this conclusively."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) Writing about the introduction of martial law, the *Tribune* of the 13th June says :—" So far as the Government of India are concerned, there is no reason to be surprised at their decision. In their own words ' it is difficult for them to take an entirely detached view ' in this matter. It must be readily conceded that to some extent they were ' bound to be guided by the information forwarded by the Local Government, ' but that does not absolve them of their own share of responsibility. There was nothing to prevent them from trying to have the official information forwarded to them supplemented by unofficial information. Not only did they not do this, but there is reason to believe that at this stage they were anxious to shut out all light except what came from official sources. . . . The supreme unwisdom of this course has now been completely demonstrated, though they may not themselves see it. . . . It is all very well for the Government of India to express their gratification at the fact that the European majority have not only exonerated them but the Local Government itself, on whom they had placed implicit reliance. But of what avail is this exoneration ? In India, as Lord Crewe said in another connection, it is Indian opinion that matters, and the people of India to a man, barring, of course, the Umar Hayat Khans and the Satyendranath Sens, reject the finding of the majority, as a piece of white-washing pure and simple, and accept the finding of the minority, supported by Mr. Shafi, as the only just, sane and commonsense view of the matter. Far more disappointing than the by no means unexpected attitude of the Government of India is the light-heartedness with which Mr. Montagu disposes of this matter. . . . Was ever a subject of tremendous seriousness dealt with more summarily or with greater levity ? . . . Of course one realises the difficulty of Mr. Montagu's position. It was impossible for a man of Mr. Montagu's general instincts to enter into a serious discussion of the merits of this question without exposing the fundamental weakness of the view of the majority. This last he could not afford to do, for the simple reason that he would then be throwing the Government of India overboard."

(*f*) Adverting to the postponement of the debate in the House of Commons on the Hunter report, the *Tribune* of the 15th June writes :—" The postponement of the debate and especially the circumstances under which it has been postponed, coupled with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter to the *Times*, affords an opportunity for public opinion in India to express itself with unmistakable strength and emphasis, of which we hope our countrymen will take the fullest advantage. Our suggestion is that every public body in the India and every public man of importance should immediately send a cablegram to the Secretary of State or the Premier giving faithful and accurate expression to India's intense and unanimous feeling in the matter. Nothing much will probably come out of the debate. But let it not at least be said that the people of India have allowed judgment to go against them by default. Let the India Office and His Majesty's Government be inundated with telegrams expressing India's keen resentment both at the majority report and at the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. . . . A dissatisfied India can have no peace herself and will give no peace to England, with whom her destinies are linked, unless the fundamental question of her right and her liberty has been settled beyond the possibility of future meddlesomeness on the part of a Sir Michael O'Dwyer or a General Dyer. "

The Jullundur Arms Act case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 12th June :—" Mr. Montagu [has] in his reply to a question in the Commons promised to enquire into the circumstances under which the District Magistrate of Jullundur refused to renew certain licenses under the Arms Act on the ground that the applicants had attended the National Congress. The facts of this case are simple, and it is a hundred pities that the Local Government should, by following a policy

of inexcusable inaction, have left it to the Secretary of State to right the wrong. Here was a flagrant abuse of authority, and we think the Local Government ought to have not only set aside the offensive and unjustifiable order of the Deputy Commissioner but severely reprimanded him for his meddlesomeness and his insult to India's greatest national assembly."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The 49th Bengalees.

10. Referring to the decision to disband the 49th Bengalis, the *Tribune* of the 13th June writes:—"The recent world-war has completely demonstrated the injustice and the hardship of drawing the bulk of the Indian army from the so-called martial races, especially from those in the Punjab. The only effect of this policy and this practice is to make the Punjab's sacrifice disproportionately great. We see no reason why the sacrifice should not be more evenly distributed, and why Bengal and other parts of India should not be called upon to bear their proper share of the burden. At one time we thought that the Government realised the justice of this view. But the disbandment of the 49th Bengalees raises a serious doubt as to whether it is ever likely to be properly realised. We trust in this matter the whole country and especially the Punjab will speak out in no uncertain accents."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The N.-W. R. strike.

11. The *Liberal* of the 14th June writes:—"It will give great satisfaction to our readers to learn that the huge strike on the North-Western Railway has come to an end..... We hear a feeling of dissatisfaction is lurking in the minds of some men over the question of terms, but we hope they will not repeat the folly they committed in refusing to abide by the decision arrived at by their accredited representative, ... at an earlier stage of the negotiations. The men are bound to lose all sympathy at the hands of the people if they, after having willingly gone to work on terms, good, bad or indifferent, without sufficient cause again plunge the people into traffic difficulties of an unprecedented nature."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

The Hedjaz pilgrims.

12. The *Zamindar* of the 15th June states that the rumour prevails among the Indian Muhammadans that on the occasion of the pilgrimage to the Hedjaz this year, the Khilafat would be conferred on Sharif Husain, that the vast multitude of pilgrims will be required to own allegiance to him; that a *fatwa* on the subject will be obtained from certain Indian Maulvis who will be present there for this very purpose; that, as usual, the Muhammadans will be befooled by being told that they could elect any one as caliph; and that the choice of a large body of them having fallen on Sharif Husain at the time of the pilgrimage, he was their lawful caliph. Mr. Harmsworth's statement in the House of Commons that the King of the Hedjaz will be paid a subsidy from the British treasury lends colour to the rumour in question. Probably, however, the amount will be drawn from the public treasury at Delhi on the ground that the ruler referred to is the guardian of the holy places and consequently the caliph of the Muhammadans; that any subsidy paid to him should come out of the pockets of the Prophet's followers; and that the money should, therefore, be charged to the Indian exchequer. The argument is no new one: the cost of feasting the late Sultan Abdul Aziz during his visit to England was debited to India on the ground that the Muhammadans should pay for the hospitality shown to their caliph. The editor understands that some *ulema* have gone on a pilgrimage from India, and says that the world will shortly know the real object of their visit to the Hedjaz. Meanwhile he asks all intending pilgrims to postpone their departure, saying that if the above rumour is well founded, they will either be forced to swear allegiance to the Sharif, or will have to suffer imprisonment or death. They should perform the pilgrimage next year, by which time Mecca will have been reconquered, just as it was regained by the Prophet in the past.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

A *jhatka* shop at Muktsar.

13. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 13th June learns from a correspondent that about a month back a Sikh opened a *jhatka* shop at Muktsar, Ferozepore district. A few bigoted Muhammadans complained to a Muhammadan Inspector of Police, but the latter did not interfere in the matter. The Muslim residents of the place then submitted a petition to the Revenue Officer, who went to the spot and had the shop closed. The Punjab Government should nip the evil in the bud.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

The United Provinces Administration Report and the Arya Samaj.

14. In criticising the Report on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for 1918-19, the *Vedic Magazine* for June writes :—" In the section on Literature and the Press. . . . The writer—presumably a Christian missionary or a lay propagandist of the Christian Church—indulges in vitrolic, senseless and stupid attacks upon the Arya Samaj. This fellow's brazen-facedness is outrageously provoking. Last year the Government promised to curb him but it seems the man is restive and does not submit to control. He evidently believes that his malicious insinuations in a Government report will kill the Arya Samaj. Like all conceited prigs he forgets that he only succeeds in giving the unthinking an opportunity of impugning the religious neutrality of the Government whose salt he eats and whose misplaced trust he so infamously betrays and in making himself a laughing stock. . . . We would have treated this man's lucubrations with the silent contempt they so richly merit if it had not been for our solicitude for the good name of Sir Harcourt Butler's Government."

V.—EDUCATION.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

A complaint.

15. The *Desh* of the 12th June refers to an advertisement in the *Science*, an American newspaper, inviting applications for two professorships under the Punjab University. Commenting, it asks, whether no capable Punjabis or Indians were available for these posts or whether they cannot be appointed to them.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Birthday honours.

16. Commenting on the birthday honours the *Sikh* of the 13th June writes :—" An instructive feature in the honours list is that it illustrates each time that it appears the familiar saw, 'Charity begins at home.' Thus with a very few exceptions, each and every honour and title goes to officials or semi-officials. But this, the latest honours list, has beaten the record in this respect, and once more proved that Government honours and titles are not meant for public-spirited men. . . . We predict that ere long these honours and titles will cease to be the standards of a person's real worth as a worker."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

General Dyer.

17. The *Tribune* of the 12th June publishes the following :—" Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons that the Commander-in-Chief in India has recommended that General Dyer should be retired from the army can only mean that the authorities are still averse to taking the only proper and straightforward preliminary course in regard to the author of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, a course which they ought to have taken more than a year ago. Compulsory retirement would, we believe, mean that the General would still be entitled to a pension, which is even worse than a compassionate allowance which Indian opinion has unanimously discarded as unthinkable. Let the Government remember one thing. They have the legal right, in the purely technical sense of that term, to dispose of Indian money in any way they choose. But after the universal denunciation of General Dyer in India, they have no moral right to pay a farthing to him out of the Indian revenues. It would, indeed, be preposterous, after all that has happened, to pay anything in the shape of either pension or allowance to a man on whose head lies the blood of 379 innocent persons certainly, and of a good many more presumably."

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore), Lajpat Rai, editor.

Intended prosecution of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer.

18. (*a*) The *Bande Matram* of the 16th June publishes a communication from Mani Ram, the father of Madan Mohan, a boy killed at the Jallianwala Bagh last year. The writer declares his intention to prosecute Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and asks for legal pecuniary help in the matter. Commenting, the paper expresses itself against a private prosecution being launched in England. In case, it adds, Mani Ram does not give up the idea the whole nation should render him help.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 17th June writes :—" Although we are not very sanguine about the result, we are decidedly of opinion that a test case should be brought against both Sir Michael and General Dyer. It is primarily for the Government of India to bring the case, but if they will not do their duty in the matter or cannot be made to do it there is no choice left but for private individuals to launch the proceedings. . . . With the experience of martial law tribunals, summary courts and the Privy Council itself, not to mention the Hunter Committee, fresh in our memory, the idea of a private person prosecuting Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is not encouraging, but all things considered we think it is well worth a trial."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Bugga and Ratto.

19. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 12th June writes:—"We deeply regret that neither His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor nor His Excellency the Viceroy has acceded to the wishes of the people regarding Messrs. Bugga and Ratto, and that they have been sent to the Andamans. The matter was a simple one, and the Government would have lost nothing but gained a great deal by complying with the people's earnest request. We have no hesitation in characterising the Government's action in this matter—for it can scarcely be mere inaction—as a blunder."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 13th June regrets to learn that Ratto and Bugga were transported to the Andamans on the 8th. We are sorry to see that they have been thus treated in defiance of Jail rules, and that Government is showing us by its attitude that it will do what it likes, no matter what we may say. This cannot help in creating those pleasant relations which certain Englishmen wish to see established between the rulers and the ruled in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. Bosworth Smith, Cantonment Magistrate, Ambala.

20. The following is taken from a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 17th June by "PRO BONO PUBLICO" about Mr. Bosworth Smith, Cantonment Magistrate of Ambala:—"He returned to Ambala Cantonment on 9th September 1919 after his Martial Law achievements. Since his arrival the poor Indian population of the town of Ambala Cantonment has been living under a *regimé* of horror and tyranny. . . . . The work done by the gentleman is surprisingly hopeless. In private complaints he never takes the statement of the complainants. It is taken down by the reader when the court rises and got signed by the Magistrate the following day. A process is not issued as a rule. All cases are sent to some one under section 202 (except cases triable by 3rd class Magistrates which are sent to the bench or the Assistant Cantonment Magistrate). Whether the report received is favourable to the complainant or unfavourable to him, it is never read by the Magistrate, and complaints are dismissed without proper trial. This is the fate of private complaints. Now as regards police chalans, Pleaders for the accused are not allowed to interview under-trial prisoners in police custody. They are not allowed to cross-examine prosecution witnesses. All questions that are to be put to them have to be addressed to the court, which are ruled out as irrelevant. Prosecution witnesses are examined with leading questions by the police as well as by the court. Thus a whole prosecution story is put into the mouth of the police witnesses by the police and the Magistrate. The protest of the counsel are not heard at all. Witnesses for the defence though called in are not allowed to be examined by the defence counsel. A question or two to each, and the court dismisses the witnesses in spite of protests. The accused is silenced if he picks up courage to say anything in defence. Conviction in this manner and before hearing the pleader for the accused is the rule. . . . In cantonment municipal prosecutions the procedure is high-handed and irregular. Any cantonment servant can write down the name of any citizen of the cantonment on a chit of paper and ask him to appear the next day in court. This is a summon. . . . Every servant exercises the powers of a Magistrate in this respect. The servants do not even say what is the charge against persons so ordered to attend court. If any one does not appear in court who is thus ordered criminal warrants of arrest are issued against him. No one is, in the first place, allowed to approach the court room. A preliminary roll call is taken and the accused are seated in sets. When they are to be tried they are driven into the court room like herds of cattle. Now they are before the Magistrate in breathless silence and with folded hands. The cantonment servant who prosecutes these wretches speaks and they are fined in lots. No defence of the accused in taken. If anyone tries to say anything in defence he is silenced with a rebuff. This is the procedure in summary trials. . . . . . . No examination of the prosecutor is ever allowed and whatever he says is gospel truth. . . Receipts for the fines realized are never given. It moves one's heart to see poor people in rags—perhaps, who knows ?—even with

hungry stomachs, paying heavy fines without being heard at all . . . Since his return to this place after martial law administration he has not decided a single suit except as if it were an *ex-parte* decree or a decree by acceptance. The reader comes among the litigants and asks the parties to file applications for arbitration. Any case in which this is not done is adjourned and as long as the application for arbitration is not submitted cases go on being adjourned repeatedly which should be decided on the first day of the hearing. The parties go on spending money in calling in their witnesses, but the cases are never heard at all. When the gentleman leaves the court-room and goes to his bungalow which is adjacent to the court premises, the litigants and the pleaders flock to the reader to get dates and ascertain orders supposed to have been passed by the court. Miscellaneous applications during civil and criminal proceedings are never heard. The court is closed as long as the judge sits but opens when he leaves . . . No one including a pleader can present any application or plaint in person. No one including a pleader can dare enter his room. For want of space I would content myself with the remark that the work done by the gentleman as a sub-registrar is of a piece with the other work described above. It is a disgrace for a pleader to practise in his court. . . All sorts of insulting words are used towards him, and that too not at times of excitement but as a rule. The box placed in the verandah for receiving plaints, etc., is removed at 10 A. M. before the arrival of the Magistrate, after which no plaints or applications are received . . . At the top of all that I have stated comes the fact that the Magistrate comes to court at about 11-30 A. M. and leaves it at 1-30 P. M."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 19th June 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 19th June says in the course of the leader that England was said to have been forced to interfere with Mesopotamia out of her love for the Arabs. It was asserted that she would restore the caliphate to its former position on the banks of the Tigris. It has now transpired, however, that what really attracted her were the oil wells at Mosul.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 18th June writes that so far Great Britain has settled nothing about Russia and Turkey. All that she has as yet done amounts to laying the foundation of another war, civil feud and ruin. Two of her allies, France and Italy, are complaining against her in the matter, while America has been keeping herself aloof from the very outset. If she wants safety for herself and peace for the world, she should follow the path of righteousness and restore all Turkish possession to the Sultan, the non-Muslim races being granted autonomy under His Majesty. Continuing, the paper says that the Premier wants to retain Mesopotamia for the sake of the Arabs even against the latter's wishes. He contradicts himself, however, by saying that the English cannot give up Mesopotamia because of its being a granary and because of the oil wells of Mosul. The forcible entry of Great Britain into Mesopotamia seems due to her greed for grain and oil and not to a desire to reform the Arabs. Again, the Turks are deprived of Armenia on a charge of alleged atrocities, while Greece gets Smyrna and Thrace for her atrocities in the former place. Is this the sort of statesmanship of which British statesmen feel proud? The world regards it as a very dangerous moral disease. The East feels amazed at the policy which England has been following since the close of the war.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) Writing about non-coöperation, the *Partap* of the 17th June says that it is convinced of the truth of the idea. It is only with the aid of non-coöperation that a weak and subject nation can oppose a powerful alien people possessing all the modern weapons of war. Non-coöpration has been held to be a constitutional proceeding in all civilised countries, and no Government can object to it. It is, besides the most peaceful way to obtain rights, while it alone can bring salvation to India. Our progress on the road to freedom will be proportionate to the extent to which we can carry non-coöpration into practice. As to how far the movement will prove successful in connection with the Khilafat question, it all depends on the zeal which the Muhammadans may display and the sacrifices which they may make. Their religious enthusiasm coupled with Mr. Gandhi's spirtual force should make success thoroughly certain.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Egypt.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 19th June states that a Parliamentary committee has been appointed with the object of safeguarding the rights of the Egyptians. Commenting the paper asks how Britain can protect the rights of Egypt after depriving her of her freedom.

SATJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

Indians abroad.

3. (*a*) The *Satjug* of the 16th June publishes a poem in which the writer says among other things :—

When East Africa was in possession of the Germans,
The Indians there experienced no trouble :
They conquered it from the latter and gave it to the English :
They expected that the English would greatly honour them,
But were deceived by the latter's good looks ;
There was sugar outside and poison within.
The same white—black trouble has risen again ;
And Government does not put down the evil.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the recent troubles in Fiji, the *Tribune* of the 18th June says :—"The origin of the trouble was wholly economic. . . . . It was as a protest against . . . low wages that the majority of Indian workers at Suva and elsewhere struck work. The protest was perfectly peaceful. . . . The representatives of vested interests, however, were too clever not to see that the best way to defeat the movement was to give it a political character and that is why they availed themselves of the exact psychological moment . . . . first to provoke the riots and then by the very method of suppressing them to give them something of the appearance of a rebellion. That this imparting of a political character to the movement was due solely to the anxiety of the authorities to suppress the strike two things indisputably show. Take, first, the permit without which it was made penal for Indians to stir out of their homes. There is the definite statement made both by Mr. Manilal and the correspondent of the *Leader* that 'this permit in many cases was not granted without a promise to go back to work at the old rates of pay.' Does not this show that the existence of the so-called 'civil commotion' is the merest pretext for the extreme measure, but that the real object is to break the strike? Secondly, what else is meant by the persistent campaign carried on in the press by the representatives of vested interests against such a man as Mr. Manilal whose only fault was that he was the leader of the Indian labourers? . . . . Dishonesty and tyranny could go no further, and in his heart's agony Mr. Manilal cries out in a letter to a correspondent :—'The worst days of Moghul rule in India could not be painted in darker colours. Every one is frightened. I was myself assaulted at the police headquarters in Suva and also many others. Some prominent Indians have remained indoors for fear of being assaulted by white men. When will this end? Oh God! help us.' We put it to the Government of India and to our own people that this is a state of things which no civilised Government and no self-respecting people can or ought to tolerate for one single moment. . . . . These was some reason for inactivity in the past because the rigid censorship of the press exercised by the Fiji Government made it impossible for us in India until a fortnight ago to obtain authentic news of the occurrences. There is no such reason now. We now know what has happened and we know that worse things could not have happened. Inactivity now would be worse than a blunder. It would be a crime. The Government of India ought to press immediately for an independent and searching enquiry into the true state of things and to demand that exemplary justice shall be done in the case of those who have thus dared to insult India."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 19th June writes:—"There are nearly two lakhs of Indians in Federated Malaya States and they form a very important community contributing to the development and progress of the States—only next to the Chinese, who form a larger class But it appears that while even communities of lesser importance are allowed to send their representatives to the local Councils and Committees, the Indians are rigidly excluded from them, in spite of the fact that there are men of education, social status and business position among them who are better qualified for positions of trust and responsibility than members of the favoured communities. The two lakhs of Indians in Malaya are composed, for the most part, of labourers in rubber plantations and mines, but a considerable number of them have their own plantations and mining rights and do business on their own account. Besides, almost the whole of the local trade with India, particularly in grains and cloth, is in the hands of Indian merchants. The Indian interests are supposed to be protected by the Indian Immigration Committee, which, however, does not contain a single Indian representative, but employs officials from classes who are known to be hostile to Indians or, at any rate, prejudiced against them. It is unaccountable why Indians are subjected to this humiliation and neglect when there is not a single complaint against the community."

The reform regulations.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

4. The *Tribune* of the 24th June writes:—"It is now clear that the Parlimentary select committee is not likely to be materially influenced by the criticisms that have been made in the Indian press and by Indian public bodies regarding the reforms regulations We do not think sufficient time has elapsed since the publication of the regulations for Indian opinion to find its way to England, and yet already we learn from an Associated Press telegram that the select committee is meeting very frequently and that it is expected that 'the report will be made within a few days to allow of Parliamentary approval before the autumn adjournment.' This is extremely unfortunate, because some of the regulations are such that unless they are radically modified in accordance with the trend of Indian opinion the usefulness of the Reforms Act is bound to be seriously curtailed. Further, one cannot forget that these regulations were framed without an adequate previous consultation with Indian opinion and that the defence of this omission that was seriously put forward was that it was necessary for the Indian authorities to set in a hurry, and that every opportunity would be given to the Indian public to place its considered views before the Parliamentary committee in time for that committee to profit by them. It now seems that Indian opinion has as little likelihood of being heeded in England as it had in India."

The rulers and the ruled.

Khalsa Advocate, (Amritsar); Mohan Singh, editor.

5. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 15th June writes:—"A good deal is being talked in these days of coöperation, its necessity and its advantages. . . . . Coöperation, true and real, that India needs to-day is not a tug-of-war coöperation nor the coöperation of the weak and the strong, of the hater and the hated. . . . . If for the time being one party has to renounce something, sacrifice prestige, power or possession, it shall gladly do it so as to equalise the status and the rights of the other party, which fact when completed is the one thing needful for the smooth working of the two wheels of a carriage. The coöperators must have a large community of ideas, ideals, methods of work, common for themselves and no conceptions of inherent differences and imparities based on privilege and prestige should enter into their transaction"

Government pensioners and politics.

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

6. The *Desh* of the 19th June states that Maulvi Abdul Ghafur, a retired Mukhtarkar and now president of the municipal committee, Jacobabad (Sind), has been called upon to explain why he made political speeches at the Sind Khilafat conference, and that in the meantime his pension has been stopped. If this is true, adds the paper, the event will create feelings of discontent and resentment throughout the country. Indians can never tolerate that pensioners, the best brains of society, should be debarred from rendering political service to their motherland. The order of the Deputy Commissioner, Jacobabad, is not only unjust but is also averse to the general practice. Pensioners everywhere have been engaged in political work and Government has never taken exception to it.

PARTAB
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

Political prisoners.

7. The *Partap* of the 18th June states that Maulana Fakhir, who was recently sentenced to one year's imprisonment for his speeches on the Khilafat question, has been transferred from the Allahabad to the Gorakhpur jail. He is physically very weak, but, nevertheless, he was handcuffed and fettered on the occasion. The paper need not say how shameful was the treatment accorded to him. The existing practice will continue unless Government allows political prisoners to be differently treated. Efforts should be made to have the jail rules modified.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The Hunter Committee's Report.

8. (*a*) MR. MANOHAR LAL, M.A., writes to the *Tribune* of the 19th June—"The whole country has endorsed the *Daily Hearld's* description of the report as a 'fairly comprehensive whitewash of everybody concerned'; and the feeling is unanimous that the dictates of justice have been subordinated to the lower considerations of misguided and short-viewed expediency..... The two despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, accompanying the report, are disappointing State documents;—their smooth and carefully drafted language brings no balm to the wounded feelings of a cruelly treated province...... In the dark days of martial law, we witnessed in their most naked form the demoralising effects of unlimited power. These stood amply revealed even in the one-sided inquiry which Lord Hunter's Committee held, on the clear evidence, in many cases, of the principal culprits themselves. Yet not only does the majority's verdict take no adequate account of the sad and ghastly acts perpetrated in these days of bureaucratic irresponsibility that have shocked the conscience of civilised humanity, but the official despatches steer clear of the one course towards which admitted and established facts pointed ..... The report and the despatches alike have trampled upon Indian feeling."

AKHBAR-I-AM
(Lahore);
Gopi Nath,
editor.

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 19th June says that Mr. Grundy recently asked Mr. Harmsworth in the House of Commons whether the latter was aware that in April 1919 a Japanese military officer collected the Christian population of Jimi, a Korean city, in a church and then set fire to the building, and that the offender had only a nominal punishment, *viz.* thirty days' imprisonment, inflicted on him after an inquiry. Mr. Harmswoth admitted the facts, and added that the conduct of the Japanese Government was most reprehensible, and that no fair-minded person could help condemning it. The editor would place bloodthirsty Dyer and O'Dwyer before these two gentlemen and ask whether the savage firing at the Jallianwala Bagh falls short of the action of the Japanese officer. In the case of this officer 30 days' imprisonment is considered to be nominal, but here only the condemnation of Dyer and O'Dwyer has been thought sufficient. Will British statesmen try to read the finding of the Hunter Committee in this light?

AKALI
(Lahore);
Mangal Singh,
editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 20th June publishes a poem written by one KHAZAN SINGH GYANI, who says:—

All the plants in the garden of hope

Have been cut down before they yielded fruit,

Our murderers have been acquitted:

The innocent have been arrested and the thieves let off.

How nice is the balm that has been applied to wounded hearts!

Arrows have been used in place of bandages.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

A punitive tax for Delhi.

9. "A CITIZEN OF DELHI" writes to the *Tribune* of the 18th June under the heading "The price of prestige":—"It is rumoured that a punitive tax of about three lakhs has been imposed on the citizens of Delhi as an additional punishment for enduring last year's atrocities of the bureaucracy..... It is presumed that this new 'glorification' of Delhi citizens is due to the great 'whitewash' of the Hunter Committee having justified the action of the bureaucracy at Delhi.... If such is justice then the citizens of Delhi have

a clear duty before them. They must protest strongly against this insulting tax and if the Government are determined to extract it, they ought stoutly to refuse any participation in all Government jubilations, celebrations, processions, and blankly refuse to subscribe to any charity or fund or loan promoted by the Government."

Railways fares and freight.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. The *Bande Matram* of the 17th June states that a businessman writes that the railway authorities enhanced the rates of freight in the beginning of the war. The increase was accompanied by the promise that the orders would be cancelled on the termination of the war. It is to be regretted, however, that this has not as yet been done, although the war has come to an end. Commenting, the paper says that the rates of railway fare and freight should be reduced to those obtaining in pre-war days.

The N.-W. R. strike.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

11. (*a*) Writing about the second strikes on the North-Western Railway' the *Desh* of the 20th June says that the terms offered by the railway authorities were not revealed to the strikers. High hopes were held out to them, and they were told that the terms were most beneficial for them. The railway authorities refused, however, to allow hundreds of strikers in outstations to resume work. This was in contravention of the promise made by the Agent while bringing the strike to a close. After remarking that this breach of promise had the effect of enraging the strikers, the paper says that the authorities also dismissed the seven fitters whose dismissal had led to the first strike. This caused further unrest and discontent among workmen, and they decided to leave work again. Nor is this all; hundreds of poor workmen have not been taken back, while some of the others have been dismissed. Moreover, workmen are being ill-treated in different ways.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 23rd June the paper says that the present strike is ascribable to the breach of promise on the part of the railway authorities. One of the conditions on which the first strike ended was that none of the strikers would be dismissed. It is very painful and surprising, however, that the authorities refused to take back nearly 2,000 strikers. Again, those who had been allowed to return were insulted and taunted. The breach of promise on the part of the railway authorities and their tyrannical spirit are alone responsible for the present strike. The strikers have taken this practical step only to preserve their honour. They have, therefore, the sincere sympathy of the public. The railway authorities will be wholly responsible for the loss and inconvenience caused to the public, inasmuch as they have compelled the strikers to leave work.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 24th June :—" One need not accept every single statement made on the subject of the strike either on the one side or on the other, but it is safe to say that when so many men are ready at a moment's notice to resort to the drastic remedy of a strike to secure the removal of their grievances, something must be rotten in the State of Denmark."

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Ram Deva, editor.

(*d*) The following is taken from a communicated article in the *Vedic Magazine* for June :—" There is a . . . strike on the N.-W. Railway. The State, which is the embodiment of *Kshatra Bal*, is itself the capitalist. Every effort is made to overawe the railwaymen and to coerce them into submission. Troops are employed to eject them forcibly from their quarters. They are threatened with dismissal and starvation of their families."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Nizam and the Khilafat agitation.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

12. The *Vakil* of the 18th June says that the Nizam has evoked opposition among the Muhammadans by prohibiting Khilafat meetings in his state. Will this proceeding on the part of His Exalted Highness, which has pleased Anglo-Indians and probably the Government of India also, prove instrumental in the restoration of Berar to him? If he fails to get it back even now, he will have committed a sinful act for nothing.

Zamindar (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

High prices and Punjab agriculturists.

13. The *Zamindar* of the 18th June states that it has received a letter from one Chaudhari Muzaffar Khan Waraich, a zamindar of Muzaffarnagar, Khanewal tahsil, Multan district, on the miserable condition of Punjab agriculturists. The writer refers to the prevailing high prices, and says that the employees of different Government departments have been given an increase of pay in view of these prices. Poor agriculturists, however, are in a helpless condition: the authorities are wholly indifferent to their sufferings. Next the writer speaks of the part played by Indian soldiers in securing victory for the Allies in the great war, and says that it was Punjab agriculturists who shed lustre on the name of the sepoy. They sacrificed thousands of their sons in the hope of seeing better days; but to-day they have thousands of orphans and widows wholly unprovided for. Besides, hundreds of these loyal people are leading a life of degradation for want of land, their chief means of support. Government is filling its coffers by selling waste land by public auction. This land should have been distributed among deserving agriculturists, so as to ensure the preservation of the existence of His Majesty's most loyal and voiceless subjects.

Liberal (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Punjab administration report.

14. The following is taken from the *Liberal* of the 21st June:—"The report on the administration of the Punjab for 1918-19 has just been published. The year in the report is not invariably the financial year ending 31st March 1919. In some cases it is the calendar year ending 31st December 1918 only. The value of the report is very much discounted when it is remembered that it relates to events that happened as far back as December of 1918..... The information given in the report is naturally belated and lacking in interest. Cannot something be done to bring such vital reports as that of the administration of the province nearer the times and cannot these be published more promptly in future?"

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

Lahore:
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MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

After the peace treaty.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

1. (*a*) The following is taken from the *Liberal* of 25th June:—"An English General speaking in England is reported to have said that the last world-war has not put an end to war, since the people of England were fighting to save their skins, and at the present moment thirty or forty wars are going on in different parts of the world. This statement cannot be contradicted since fighting is going on in many countries, and the Bolshevik movement is becoming a grave and growing menace to Europe and Asia. The worst of it is that the victorious Allies have not carried out the many noble and disinterested professions made during the war. Self-determination for all countries, great and small, has proved a myth and a delusion. All conquered territory has been annexed under the euphemistic pretext of a mandate, and there is intense dissatisfaction in almost every part of the world. The great Republic of America which played so noble and important a part in winning the war has openly condemned all mandates. The terms of the Turkish treaty have embittered and alienated the dealings of all India and several other countries, and there is nothing like real peace anywhere."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 26th June:—"Those among us who had any illusions about the new era that was believed to be ushered in by the termination of the great war and in which the dominant force was to be love and mutual trust and in which all God's creatures were to be given ample opportunities for attaining their salvation, must have been sufficiently disillusioned by the various campaigns of hate and revenge that are being carried on by the Powers that have, for the present, succeeded in establishing political ascendency over their foes, and the way in which the Allies have proceeded to apportion their enemies' territories among themselves, sanctifying the process by the dignified name of mandates. A new world has been undoubtedly modelled out of the ruins of the old and rotten one, but it is doubtful if the future is going to be brighter than the past. The spirits of the American Heroes who gave up their lives in honour of President Wilson's fourteen points, must be feeling restless in their graves because of the complete metamorphosis that those points have undergone. . . Let us still hope that the statesmen of the world will . . hesitate, in future before plunging their countries in bloodshed and strife for the realization of ideals that are impossible of realization in this real world, unless they and their people are prepared to make much greater sacrifices than they have shown any readiness to make so far."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mesopotamia.

2. Referring to the work of establishing an administration in Mesopotamia now taken up by the British Government, the *Tribune* of the 27th observes :—"These temporary occupations in many cases have been known to have proved mere half-way houses to complete annexation, although the shining example of the United States of America in her relations with the Philippines points to a contrary experience. The British mandate in Mesopotamia is to last only 'until such time as it can stand by itself.' But who will be the judges of the time and measure of Mesopotamian progress, the people themselves, the Mandatory Power or the League of Nations ?"

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Prince Arthur of Connaught.

3. The *Liberal* of the 28th June writes:—"The news of the appointment of Prince Arthur of Connaught as the Governor-General of South Africa will be received with satisfaction throughout the Empire. . . . A time may come when India will also have at the helm of its affairs in the country a member of the royal family. But the hope seems to have been deferred for the present. For besides the Prince of Connaught, there is no other Prince who may be experienced enough to become the Governor of India. It will be interesting to see how the Prince of Connaught will look at the question of Indians in South Africa—a question in which India is as much concerned as in any other question near home."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

INTIKHAB (Gujranwala); Wali Ullah, editor.

The Khilafat question and non-coöperation.

4. (*a*) The *Intikhab* of the 20th June says that a study of the life history of individuals and nations who or which reached their ideal and made their name everlasting in this world by so trying to vindicate righteousness and truth clearly shows that they were not irresolute like Muhammadans. Perseverance was their guiding principle. They were ever prepared to sacrifice their lives, property and children for the sake of their principles. They did not say a thing which they were not prepared to act upon. But Indian Muhammadans who claimed to protect the Caliphate declared that it was essential for them to obey the injunctions of Islam in the event of the *Khilafat* question being decided against the *Shara*. They talked of *jehad*, migration and non-coöperation with Government with the result that their national or spiritual supremacy received a shock which it had not hitherto sustained. We admit that *jehad* is impossible while migration is difficult, but it was the clear duty of those leaders who forcibly took the reins of the seven crores of Muhammadans in their hands to have examined the *pro and con* of every proposal started by them and not to have thrown the poor Muhammadans into an awkward position. The *Intikhab* then takes exception to the non-coöperation movement and says that the result of the movement as at present advocated will be very disastrous for the Muhammadans in that along with the Caliphate, which has been plundered by the enemies of Islam, they will lose their diginity also.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 26th June :—" What are the fundamental objects which a non-coöperation or passive resistance movement expects to fulfil, and how precisely does it expect to fulfil those objects ? The first question is easily answered. The object is either the elimination of an evil or the establishment of a good. Very often it is a combination of both. It is as regards the second that the average man seems to have hazy ideas. A non-coöperation or passive resistance movement can fulfil its purpose in one of four ways, and in no other. It may put such overwhelming pressure on the authority against which it is directed as to make it yield immediately to that pressure on pain of an immediate suspension of all or most of its vital functions. Or, it may be the starting point of a struggle which may be long or short or may be carried on with varying fortunes, but in which ultimate victory is certain from the first for the simple reason that from the first one party goes on gaining in strength and the other goes on losing it. Or, there may be something either in the general attitude of the non-coöperators or passive resisters, or in the sight of their voluntary suffering, which will sooner or later change the heart of the men who are at present the repository of power. Or, lastly, the public opinion of the rest of the world, and especially of those parts of it that carry special weight with the ruling authority will, either by reason of the justice of the people's case or the sight of their suffering be so influenced in their favour as to put more or less irresistible pressure upon the latter... If we judge of the present movement by this decisive test, what do we find? The first of the four ways seems simply out of the question in this case. The movement at present entirely lacks and is bound to lack the compelling force that could alone lead to immediate results. The same, we believe, is the case with the third, though some, we know, have been counting upon it. There is no chance of the non-coöperation movement so appealing to the heart of either the bureaucracy out here or the Britisher at home as by itself to induce them immediately or in the near future to give us what we want.... As regards the second one must begin by guarding oneself against the possibility of a misapprehension.... It is quite natural for the country to ask itself before it enters upon a struggle, that must in the nature of things be painful, whether the struggle is going to be long or short, what the cost must be, and whether it is absolutely necessary for it to pay this cost, in other words, whether there is no other way in which the victory can be won more easily, at less cost or within shorter time. This question we have already considered, and we have found that far from hastening the advent of responsible government, non-coöperation, if started now, is bound to prove a retarding factor of considerable potency, first, because it would be a disintegrating instead of a unifying force, secondly, because it would prevent some of the choicest of India's sons from participating in the working of the Reforms, and thirdly, because it would necessitate the diversion of national energies to the counteracting of bureaucratic repression, which could otherwise be directed solely to the hastening of responsible government. Lastly, as regards the fourth, it is perfectly obvious that it all depends upon whether the movement is going to be taken up by the whole or even a substantial part of the country, and that if it is not so taken up as it cannot possibly be in present conditions and unless the country is convinced that the sacrifice is both necessary and worth making, there is not the smallest chance of the public opinion of the world putting any pressure worth the name upon the Government in sympathy with us. Rather there is the risk that if the bureaucracy is able to cause confusion and turmoil as a result of its repressive policy, it will succeed in driving the ruling classes of the world, all of whom have to fight inconvenient popular forces within their own territories, into an attitude of antipathy against us. The only advantage of non-coöperation that we can think of is that it will train a number of people directly and a large number indirectly in the discipline of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice. That in itself is no small gain, but it is not a gain which is worth the cost. What is even more important, it is possible, as we have seen, to achieve the same gain by adhering to the Congress lines of work... They are, therefore, the only lines on which the political work of the country should proceed."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) Referring to the notice to the Viceroy, the *Tribune* of the 27th June writes:—"We are in profound sympathy with our Mussalman countrymen and are prepared to go a very long way with them in their efforts to obtain a redress of their just and keenly felt grievance. At the same time we are against the declaration of a general policy of non-coöperation, a policy which is neither restricted to the Mussalman community nor limited as regards its extent. We are opposed to this policy, both on the ground of principle, and also because we are convinced (1) that there is no chance of its being generally or even very largely adopted and (2) that the adoption of it on a considerable scale, as distinguished from general adoption, would do far greater harm than good. As regards the appeal personally addressed to the Viceroy, it does seem to us that both Mr. Gandhi and the Mussalman leaders are carrying the South African analogy, which is undoubtedly real as well as apposite as far it goes, a little too far. We have ourselves suggested more than once that the Viceroy might at an early stage in the struggle have declared himself in connection with the Khilafat movement.... Had he done so, it would undoubtedly have put him and his Government right with the Mussalman community to an extent such as nothing that he actually did could possibly do. But we venture to think that further than this it would not have been possible for him to go even then and that this course itself came to be practically impossible for him later on. Once it was known that His Majesty's Government, which, it must be remembered, is a very different thing to a Viceroy, from the constitutional point of view, from a colonial Government stood definitely committed to a certain policy, the Viceroy, if he seriously differed from that policy, had only one course left to him except the course he actually took. It was to tender his resignation. From that moment it became impossible for him as Viceroy to place himself at the head of the agitation, as both Mr. Gandhi and the Mussalman leaders suggest. And if this was so in the very nature of the case, the attitude actually taken up by the Khilafat leaders only made this impossible course still more impossible, if one may say so. Some of them talked openly of severing all loyal connection with the British Crown, while even those who accepted Mr. Gandhi's scheme of non-coöperation only regarded it as the first step in the process and openly declared that if this step failed, they considered themselves free to adopt other steps, including among other things, active sympathy with, if not actual support of, foreign invasion of India if undertaken in the interests of the Khilafat. We have made no secret of our opinion that so long as these ideas are in partial occupation of the field it is not possible even for Hindus or other non-Muslims to actively join the agitation. Far less is it possible for an Englishman occupying the exalted official position that the Viceroy does to join it.

Nor finally do we understand Mr. Gandhi when he says that the Viceroy can prevent non-coöperation by leading the Khilafat agitation himself. The Viceroy can only lead the Khilafat agitation by ceasing to be the Viceroy, and is it meant that if an individual Englishman, without any official position, were to lead the agitation, that agitation would at once lead His Majesty's Government and its allies to revise the Turkish treaty in consonance with Mussalman views and wishes, or that in this case the Mussalmans of India would refrain from non-coöperation, even if the agitation did not immediately succeed? The first of these alternatives is at best doubtful, while the second is not even intelligible. The same difficulty confronts us when we try to understand what the Mussalman leaders themselves mean when they say that *if* the Viceroy does not adopt the suggestion to join in the Khilafat cause, they will resort to non-coöperation a month hence. Why should the Viceroy's joining the cause make a difference, when he can only join it by ceasing to be the Viceroy? Do the signatories mean that the moral authority and prestige of the movement would in this case be such that it would no longer be necessary for them to adopt non-coöperation? But does not that mean in plain English that they believe in the vicarious self-sacrifice of a Viceroy as a substitute for their own self-sacrifice?"

BANDE MATRAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The reformed councils.

5. (*a*) In a signed article published in the issue of the *Bande Matram*, dated the 23rd June, Lajpat Rai discusses the question of the attitude which the Punjab should take up in regard to the working of the Reforms in view of the Hunter Committee Report. As to himself, he says that he is not going to stand, for two reasons, *viz.*, that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have supported and justified the whole policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer which means that all the grievances of the educated community of this province against him were ill-founded and meaningless. Sir Michael looked down upon the educated community and liked the reises and those particular representatives of the landholders who regarded the educated persons as mere frogs given to crying. The rules framed under the Reform Act by the Provincial Reforms Commissioner savour of a similar thing. This means that in principle the old policy still remains unaltered. Secondly, all the officers of the Punjab Government who were responsible for the excesses perpetrated in the martial law days are still in the province. His self-respect, remarks Lajpat Rai, does not allow him to coöperate with those officials who humiliated and flogged his countrymen. Continuing he says that the new council can only be useful when the Indian and official members coöperate with each other—a hope which does not seem to be realised in the conditions now prevailing in the Punjab. Up till now they are rulers while we are ruled and so long as this relation exists it is very difficult for us to work with them. Besides they distrust us while we distrust them. In another article, he advises

on the above reasons this province to boycott the reforms and suggests that the voters of the province should surrender their votes to the Punjab Defence Committee. Should any candidate stand who does not agree with the decision of the Congress or who has no sense of self-respect, the Defence Committee will resort to all proper methods to bring about his defeat.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of the 25th June is unable to accord its support to Lajpat Rai in this matter. The question is whether the particular course recommended is the one best suited to hasten the day of the fullness of the political freedom. Many things are needed to reach this goal as speedily as we desire and the most important of them is that we should conserve our forces and not dissipate them, and this we do best by asking ourselves, in regard to every political measure whether we are prepared to take it, whether there is any chance of its being successful and whether if successful, it will really do more good than harm. The *Tribune* then contends to show that the movement is not feasible, that even if started it cannot be a success, and lastly, even if it did achieve the largest possible measure of success (which would be partial) it will do more harm than good because the council will be filled with aristocratic and other noodles. Coming to the question of self-respect, the *Tribune* does not see the point of the argument and goes on:—"In the first place it has to be remembered that if we are inclined to work the Reforms, it is not because we are excessively anxious to coöperate with any one, far less with the authors and instruments of Martial Law but because the working of the reforms, even so far as they go, is beneficial to ourselves. The question of coöperation is absolutely secondary in this matter. Secondly, in supporting the declaration and continuance of Martial Law in the face of the clearest evidence against the theory of 'an organised rebellion' the Government of India and the Secretary of State only proclaimed from the house tops what, if they had been wise they would have given worlds to conceal, that British rule in its present form is in the last analysis only the rule of discretion tempered by force. Now is it not this very character of British rule which the Congress has been working to transform all these years, which it has partially transformed already and which, every far-seeing man can see, is bound to be fully transformed before long if only we are in earnest and have the requisite patriotism, industry and self-sacrifice? As regards the second, namely, that the Martial Law officers are still with us, no one can feel the insult or the humiliation of the fact more than we do. But we put it to the great leader that if there is to be any proportion between our effort and our object, then the transfer of these officers is not an object for which we can have any justification in resorting to the drastic remedy of non-coöperation, that it would be like resorting to heavy cannonading for the destruction of a mosquito. Far better would it be if instead of associating himself with this movement Lala Lajpat Rai were to throw himself with his characteristic energy and selflessness into the great work of having the Legislative Council filled with men of the right sort, men who are committed to the general principles and policy of the Congress, men who would do everything in their power, both individually and collectively, to put a speedy end to the irresponsibility of the executive to which the whole of India generally and the Punjab in particular owes all her misfortunes."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(c) The *Desh* of the 25th June writes that Lala Lajpat Rai has not placed before his countrymen a statemenlike position nor is his advice regarding the boycott of councils a sound one. He has taken a very weak position. On the other hand Lala Harkishen Lal has taken up a very reasonable and practical position in saying that we should stand for the council, take an active part in the administration of our country and keep the reins of the administration in our hands instead of leaving it to others.

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

(d) The *Waqt* of the 24th June remarks that there can be no doubt that we have lost confidence in foreign justice. We have fully realised that so long as we are not sufficiently strong, it is difficult for us to be treated like human beings. When we will be so strong, no one will dare stand face to face before us. There will then be no question of non-coöperation or severance of all connection. But we find that we are still disunited. We should therefore while making the best of our position though disadvantageous, postpone the question of non-coöperation for the present and should try to restore our strength by means of the new councils. We should now have majority in the councils and thus we can effectually influence the Government. If we act wisely, we will surely reach our goal. We should return such members as should voice our feelings. It would indeed be dangerous nay suicidal for us to resort to noncoöperation and thus to leave our fate in the hands of those persons who are enemies of their nation or betray their country for personal benefits.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Sikh representation.

6. The following is taken from a leading article in the *Sikh* of the 27th June :—"We appeal to our Sovereign against the unjust decision of the Government of India, and hope that on the basis all that we have done and sacrificed for His Majesty, nay on the basis of our claims as an important minority like the Muhammadans, he will concede to us our due. And by doing so he will simply render the assurance of our traditional loyalty to the British Crown as doubly sure. We now are an awakened people, so we can no longer be lured by such promises as the Governments in the Punjab and India have hitherto held out, but never fulfilled."

HOME RULE (Lahore; Amar Nath, editor.

Home Rule for India.

7. The *Home Rule* of the 23rd June says that the Indians demand for Home Rule is not an extraordinary one. Indians demand for themselves the thing which is enjoyed by the whole world with the exception of Ireland and Egypt. They simply demand their birth right. They wish that their homes should be managed with their consultation. They cannot tolerate that while the Bedouins of Arabia and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Armenia should enjoy autonomy, they themselves who are porverbial for their loyalty should not be considered fit for managing their internal affairs. It is surprising that while the armed trans-frontier dacoits should have the right of plundering and taking away by force the British subjects, the latter should be incapable of protecting their honour, life and property. Indians wish that their children should be given education as might make them true patriots and useful citizens. But men coming from beyond the seas cannot decide what sort of University education will be useful to Indian children, inasmuch as they are quite ignorant of Indians' requirements, traditions and sentiments. All these difficulties are ascribable to the fact that Indians are not free and independent. Indians as true well-wishers of the British Government sincerely desire that the conditions now prevailing in Ireland may not be created in their country as well.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The growing expenditure of India.

8. The *Bande Matram* of the 22nd June has an article discussing the growing expenditure of India and how to meet them. There is a great uneasiness in the country owing to high prices and a demand is being made all round for increase of salaries of public servants. But it will have to be answered whence the growing expenditure is to be met. One of the solutions is to issue currency notes. But will it solve the difficulty? Currency notes have no intrinsic value and are nothing but waste paper if on demand gold and silver coin cannot be had in exchange for them. These notes do not afford a permanent relief. There is, therefore, only one remedy and that is that India should be governed for her own benefit and not for the benefit of any other country. Three things are essential to gain this object. Firstly, India should have fiscal autonomy in order to promote her industry, stop or restrict the import of foreign goods and the export of raw material. Secondly, the wealth of the country should be increased by means of mines and agriculture. The condition of the agriculturists is not good. Their condition will become worse if revenue is to be enhanced to meet the growing expenditure. We should therefore, devise means to improve their lot. Thirdly, the burden of the civil service should be reduced. Such Englishmen only should be brought to India from England as are besides being expert in their work, sympathetic and capable of guiding Indians. None will have any objection if large salaries are given to such officials. But to grant princely salaries to third class Englishmen and to compel more capable Indians to work under them, is not only an extravagance but galling to Indians who are thus made to feel that they belong to an inferior nation and are incapable of holding any high post.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

9. (*a.*) The *Waqt* of the 24th June remarks that the Hunter Committee's report is so unjust that no Indian whatever his political views may be, likes the majority report. The whole country has declared it as based on racial prejudice.

The decision of the Army Council regarding General Dyer is wholly unacceptable. The truth is that justice has been grossly murdered. The recent events have indeed exposed British justice.

(*b*) Writing in connection with the resolution passed at Bombay meeting held to protest against the majority report of the Hunter Committee, etc., the *Tribune* of the 29th June writes:—"We need scarcely say that this is the deliberate and unanimous opinion of the whole of patriotic, self-conscious and self-respecting India, and that it is only by giving complete effect to it that India's confidence in British statesmanship and British justice can be rehabilitated."

The Lahore and Khanewal assault cases.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th June writes:—"We published the results of two cases, one at Lahore, the other at Khanewal in Multan District, both of which created a good deal of local sensation and in both of which the complainants were Indians and the accused Europeans or Anglo-Indians. In both cases the alleged facts have already been published and in both, and especially the Khanewal case, those facts were such that, if they were proved, nothing but exemplary punishment could meet the requirements of justice. Yet what is the punishment which the trying courts have inflicted upon the accused? In the Lahore case, in which the charges were under sections 328 and 504, Indian Penal Code, two of the three accused have been let off with 10 days' simple imprisonment and Rs. 20 fine and 7 days' simple imprisonment and Rs. 20 fine respectively, while the third has been only bound down to keep the peace for 6 months. In the Khanewal case, which is much the graver of the two, and in which the four accused were charged under sections 147 and 323, I. P. C., and are said to have "frankly" admitted their guilt, a fine of Rs. 45 was considered sufficient by the District Magistrate in the case of each of them, and this in spite of the fact that the nature of the circumstances under which the offences were committed added very considerably to their gravity. We have no hesitation in characterising the sentence as monstrously inadequate, as not in the least calculated to have deterrent value, and, therefore, amounting, in effect, to a failure of justice. We will not raise any inconvenient issue; nor are we disposed at present to institute a comparison between these sentences and the sentences passed in April and May last year for offences which, apart from the theory of an organised rebellion which has not been proved, were by no means more serious than the offences in either of these cases. But we will ask all concerned, and especially the authorities, to ponder what punishment would have been inflicted upon the accused in these very cases had the position of the parties been reversed. That is an aspect of the matter to which the public cannot shut its eyes, and we venture to hope that if and so far as the law permits an attempt will yet be made to have the decisions revised and the sentences enhanced."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 1st July says:—"When we wrote the above we did not know that in one of the two cases to which we referred an appeal had been filed. We deeply regret that owing to ignorance of this fact we were led to refer to a case which was technically *sub-judice*. Our comments, as will have been seen, were for the most part with specific reference to the Khanewal case, but even the little we said about the Lahore case would not have been said had we known at the time what we came to learn only after the publication of Wednesday's issue. We unreservedly withdraw this part of our paragraph."

The North-Western Railway strike.

RAILWAY (Lahore); M. A. Khan, editor.

11. (*a*) Referring to the second strike on the North-Western Railway, the *Railway* of the 20th June justifies the action of the strikers and traces the strike to the breach of promise on the part of the railway authorities. It now behoves the popular leaders to side with the strikers. This time the strikers are determined to hold out until the railway authorities yield. In conclusion, the newspaper exhorts the railway employees to hold out to the last. Elsewhere it requests the non-strikers who failed to join the first strike for certain reasons, to make a common cause with their brethren and expresses a hope that the railway employees will do their best to maintain the spirit of unity created among them.

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

(*b*) The *Waqt* of 23rd June says that the first strike was the outcome of hunger but the present one involves a question of Indian honour. The paper then urges the Indian traders to make every possible sacrifice on the present occasion and liberally help the men who are trying to maintain national honour.

Siyasat (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(c) The *Siyasat* of the 25th June appeals to His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan to intervene in the matter and suggests that a committee of respectable official and non-official members should be appointed to enquire into the grievances of the railway employees and the question of the general treatment meted out to them by the railway authorities.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

12. The *Partap* of the 24th June is of opinion that the Prince of Wales is above all parties and should be treated as such. His Royal Highness is in no way responsible for the attitude adopted by the Government in the *Khilafat* and the Punjab affairs. There is thus no reason why he should not be accorded a warm reception. In order to make the reception by the public really warm and genuine, the *Partap*, however, urges the Government to release all martial law prisoners, refund all fines, remit indemnity imposed upon towns and undo the effects of martial law. This done, the Prince is sure to receive a very warm reception indeed.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indian exchange.

13. (*a*) The following is extracted from an article contributed by Professor Brij Narain, M.A., to the *Tribune* of the 26th June:—"The announcement made by the Government of India regarding rates of exchange show the determination of Government to maintain exchanges at 2*s*. (gold). Government, however, have not explained why it is necessary to maintain exchange at 2*s*. (gold). The Babington Smith Committee recommended the 2*s*. rate, but economic conditions have rapidly changed during the last three or four months, necessitating a revision of the recommendations of the Committee. It is well known that the Secretary of the State raised the rate of exchange because the price of silver had risen above the bullion par of the rupee, making it unprofitable to coin rupee at the old rate. In recommending the 2*s*. rate the Currency Committee also took into consideration the price of silver. Throughout the year 1919 and in the first four months of this year the price of silver was very high. Moreover, it was not expected to fall much for several years. But the price of silver has fallen heavily during the last few weeks. In view of the recent heavy fall in silver it is well worth considering whether the 2*s*. exchange (gold) is not too high. If the taken character of the rupee can be maintained at 1*s*. 4*d*., why raise the exchange to 2*s*.? A suspicion exists in the Indian mind that in dealing with currency questions Indian interests are subordinated to British, or what are called 'Imperial' interests. Another reason, also a powerful reason, for raising the exchange is that it would enable the British manufacturer to compete with Indian mills on more favourable terms. High exchange is a very good thing for the British manufacturer. The European in India also gains by a high exchange as he has to remit money home. A 2*s*. exchange is regarded as 'bare justice' to him, prices in England having risen. But the question of Indian exchange should not be considered solely from the point of view of the London money market, of the British manufacturer and of the European in India. Will the rise in exchange confer any benefits on the Indian producer and the wage earner? Will it lower the prices of the necessaries of existence particularly food grains, for the Indian consumer? While the risk of injury to India's export trade and her industrial development on account of a high exchange is certain, the gain seems to be unreal."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) In the issue of the *Tribune* dated the 27t June the writer says:—"I seriously think that the re-valuation of the sovereign is a mistake. The silver market is in an unsettled condition. The price of silver has fallen and is expected to fall further. In view of this fact the action proposed to be taken by the Government of India is premature. No action should be taken until silver finds its level. If it is asked 'What are the Government to do until the price of silver becomes stable?' my answer will be 'nothing.' We must put up with an unstable exchange for some time. Instability of exchange did not ruin India 40 years ago, and it will not ruin India now."

Liberal (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Government school of weaving.

14. (*a*) L. Shiv Diyal, retired Inspector of Schools, writes to the *Liberal* of the 28th June:—"The Government school of weaving was started in Lahore about seven years ago. To it was also attached a department of embroidery and the whole institution was located in the Police Lines, inside

Sheranwala gate. This school well fulfilled the object for which it was established, for it turned out between 60 and 70 trained Indian women, Hindus, Muhammadans, and Christians, many of whom were widows, who instead of proving a burden to their relations, are now supporting themselves and their families in a decent manner. The Weaving Department of this highly beneficial school has been shifted to Sham Churasi in the Hoshiarpur district, and there are reasons to believe that steps are being taken to hand over the embroidery section to a missionary society in Lahore. This news has caused some disappointment to the scholars attending the school, who are Hindu and Muhammadan widows, married women and unmarried girls. It is feared that the institution after the transfer, will no longer be run on non-denominational lines and its situation, far from the city, will make it impossible for the poor Indian students to attend it. Thus the great philanthropic object for which this school was opened will be nipped in the bud. The Government has always maintained a neutral position in educational matters and it has been its policy to maintain "Model Schools" in each district, to attain to the standard of which must be the ideal of private institutions. No private industrial school has yet been started in Lahore on these lines nor is there any probability of one coming into existence soon. Will the Director of Industries kindly reconsider the whole situation. . . . It will be a thousand pities if the school is handed over to any sectarian body or removed from the city proper."

LIBERAL (Lahore) Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(b) Commenting the *Liberal* says:—"The facts stated in the letter under reference, if true, are a sad reflection on the policy of the Government in secretly doing things, which have neither the approval nor the support of public opinion. . . . It is now proposed to complete the policy of destruction so unceremoniously begun by handing over the Embroidery section to a missionary society in Lahore. This is a plan on which we can hardly congratulate the Government or those responsible for it. It is no wonder that the matter has caused keen disappointment among the public in general and the women scholars in particular, for it is rightly apprehended that under the new scheme, the school will not be run on non-denominational lines. The Director of Industries is possessed of a sympathetic heart and we hope he will not allow his name to be associated with this retrograde and harmful measure. It was time the Government took upon itself the duty of opening such new schools in all parts of the province, and it is to be regretted that it should have on the contrary chosen to mar the good results of the only existing institution of its kind in the Punjab by contemplating a change in its character. We strongly hope the Director of Industries will reconsider the whole situation and leave the School where it is."

General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

15. Referring to Sir Joynson Hicks' remarks in the London *Times* that while giving his statement before the Hunter Committee, General Dyer was given no legal assistance and that he was given no chance of cross-examining the witnesses who deposed against him, the *Bande Matram* of the 22nd June assures Sir Joynson Hicks on behalf of the Indians that they too sincerely desire that a case should be brought not only against General Dyer but even against Sir Michael O'Dwyer who was at the root of the mischief and who was solely responsible for all the bloodshed. The case should be tried by a regular court and both of them should be afforded full opportunity of obtaining help from their legal advisers and cross-examining the prosecution witnesses to their heart's content. But the judges constituting the court should be chosen by the accused and complainants in equal numbers and should be presided over by one who commands the full confidence of both the parties, so that the world might know who is really guilty.

Mr. J. P. Thompson.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

16. Adverting to the resolution of the Indian Association, Lahore, protesting against the resumption of charge by Mr. J. P. Thompson, of the office of Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 23rd June says that the indignation of the inhabitants of the Punjab over the return of those officers who did not hesitate in making or in helping to make the loyal Punjabi the object of reproach and of rifle-shot is indeed based on facts. Having regard to the feelings of the people of the Punjab, the Punjab Government should lose no time in sending back such officers forthwith whose arrival in the Province throws a thrill of indignation into the minds of the

people. Has it become difficult, asks the newspaper, to get hold of more competent officers ?

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. Bosworth Smith.

17. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's article in the *Young India* about Mr. Bosworth Smith, the *Tribune* of the 27th June writes :—" Why should such an officer be at all retained in the service of the Government is the question Mr. Gandhi asks In his opinion bad as General Dyer is, Mr. Bosworth Smith is infinitely worse, and he thinks that the Punjab should take no rest until she has secured the dismissal of this officer and others like him. . . . The Punjab feels as strongly in this matter as she does regarding the offences of General Dyer. The only reason, we believe, why nothing has been done so far is that the public in this province is waiting to see what the Government of India will do of its own accord. This, however, is a short-sighted, perhaps a wholly wrong, view to take. The Government of India can scarcely be expected to take adequate measures in such a case unless there is a strong and determined agitation for the purpose of making it take such measures. Such an agitation ought to have begun at least with the publication of the Hunter Report, and ought not to be delayed a moment longer."

The martial law officers.

18. The *Tribune* of the 29th June writes :—" It is now about a month since the Secretary of State in his despatch on the Hunter Report called upon the Government of India in impressive words to mete out suitable punishment to some of the offending officers, civil and military, whose names were specifically mentioned in the Government of India's despatch. We should like very much to know when this injunction is going to be carried out. This is not a matter in which the Government of India can afford to move in the leisurely way so usual with them where the question is not one of devising or adopting a repressive policy. It is obviously a matter in which the highest interest of justice as well as expediency require that no delay should be made. And yet although more than four weeks have passed, nothing is publicly known about Government of India's intentions."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

Mr. Fyson and the Sialkot Conference.

19. The *Tribune* of the 27th June writes :—" Bureaucrats are not wanting in India who are always anxious to discourage all movements that make for the political emancipation of the Indian people. This is particularly true of those officials who were concerned with the Martial Law administration and whose attempts during that period were bent wholly on teaching the Punjab and the Panjabees a lesson which they would not forget for the next fifty years. To this class of officials belongs Mr. Fyson, the present Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, and who was Deputy Commissioner at Lahore during the period of the disturbances. We are not, therefore, at all surprised, though we are sorry, to hear that he has gone out of his way to condemn the Sialkot Conference now in session as anti-Government and as likely to create bad blood between Europeans and Indians and to incite people to violence. . . . We protest strongly against the reported attitude and remarks of Mr. Fyson. We know that to Mr. Fyson and, for the matter of that, to many other officials in India, politics, especially those of a nationalist complexion, are as gall and wormwood, but the time has long gone by—and the Martial Law *regime* has been materially instrumental in hastening the close of that era—when official frowns could deter our people from participating in constitutional movements like the Congress and subsidiary bodies."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE :
The 3rd July 1920.

62 SB—171—5-7-20—SGPP Lahore.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 3 TH JUNE 1920.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. H. Hardy	*Civil & Military Gazette* Press, Lahore; 3,800.
2	**Pindi Mail**	Rawalpindi	Muhammad Sharif	Commercial Union Press, Rawalpindi; 1,200.
3	**Tribune**	Lahore	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 5,000.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Mohan Singh, B.A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 677.
5	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 1,009.
6	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 600.
7	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
8	**Sikh**	Lahore	Bakhshish Singh	Caxton Printing Press, Lahore; 500.
9	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. B. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,850.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	Khosla Brothers' Press, Lahore; 700.
12	East and West	Simla	S. Jogindra Singh	Army Press, Simla; 410.
13	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 462.
14	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 325.
15	Vedic Magazine	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 465.
	ANNUAL.			
16	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
17	**Aftab**	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 815.
18	**Amrit***	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar;
19	**Akhbar-i-'Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore;
20	**Bande Matram**	Do.	Lajpat Rai	*Bande Matram* Press, Lahore; 5,000.
21	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 2,300.
22	**Dard**	Amritsar	Dina Nath Sharma	Nath Press, Amritsar;
23	**Home Rule**	Lahore	Amar Nath Shad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore;
24	**Insaf***	Do.	Amar Nath Shad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 3,000.
25	**Jhang Sial**	Do.	Banke Dial	Panchal Press, Lahore;
26	**Khuda Dost***	Do.	Nand Gopal	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
27	**Leader**	Do.	Sham Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
28	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
29	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 5,000.
30	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,900.
31	**Railway**	Do.	Badri Nath Sharma	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore;
32	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishen Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi;
33	**Siyasat**	Lahore	Habib Shah	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
34	**Times***	Do.	Sham Lal	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore
35	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar;

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1920—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONTINUED.			
	DAILY—*concluded.*			
36	**Waqt**	Amritsar	Durga Das Vaid	*Waqt* Press, Amritsar;
37	**Zamindar**	Lahore	Zafar Ali Khan	Muslim Printing Press, Lahore;
	BI-WEEKLY.			
38	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 878.
39	**Paigham-i-Sulah**	Lahore	Murtza Khan	Ahmadia Muslim Printing Press, Lahore; 333.
40	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,624.
	WEEKLY.			
41	Ahl-i-Hadis	Amritsar	Sana Ulla	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,225.
42	**Akhbar-i-'Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
43	Al-Hakam	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	S. Yakub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 600.
44	**Al-Munir**	Jhang	Ghulam Hussain	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang; 1,485.
45	Al-Quraish	Amritsar	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 300.
46	**Ar-Rai**	Lahore	Fateh Muhammad	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
47	Arorbans Gazette*	Amritsar	Narain Das	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 900.
48	Arorbans Sudharak	Lahore	Salig Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
49	**Arya Gazette**	Do.	Khushal Chand, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,529.
50	Brahman Samachar	Do.	Vidya Rattan	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 950.
51	Desh Upkarak	Do.	Thakar Dat Sharma	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
52	Dharm	Do.	Karam Chand Bahl	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
53	Faruq	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Qasim Ali	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 405.
54	**Himala**	Lahore	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 4,380.
55	Intikhab-i-Lajawab	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,682.
56	Ishait-ul-Quran*	Do.	Fazal Ahmad	Khadim-ul-Ta'im Steam Press, Lahore; 400.
57	Ittihad	Amritsar	Muhammad Sardar Khan, Nashat.	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar; 250.
58	**Jat Gazette**	Rohtak	Molar Singh	Hariana Press, Rohtak; 691.
59	Jiwan Tat	Lahore	Amar Singh	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 334.
60	**Kashmiri Magazine**	Do.	Muhammad Din, Fauq	George Steam Press, Lahore; 930.
61	**Khalsa Akhbar**	Do.	Sardar Singh	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,300.
62	**Loyal Gazette**	Do.	Amar Singh	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 2,550.
63	**Municipal Gazette**	Do.	Din Muhammad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 410.
64	Nur Afshan	Ludhiana	Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry	Mission Steam Press, Ludhiana; 493.
65	**Paisa Akhbar**	Lahore	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 4,610.
66	**Parkash**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,545.
67	Phul	Do.	Mumtaz Ali	*Punjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
68	**Punjab Samachar**	Do.	...	George Steam Press, Lahore;
69	**Rajput Gazette**	Do.	Sukhram Das	George Steam Press, Lahore; 970.
70	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 728.
71	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishan Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 875.
72	Sharif Bibi	Lahore	Fatima	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 100.
73	**Sidaqat**	Do.	Ghulam Haider Khan.	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
74	Tahzib-i-Niswan	Do.	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	Panjabee Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
75	**Victoria Paper**	Sialkot	Brij Lal	*Victoria Paper* Press, Sialkot; 800.

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1920—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing ; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
76	**Watan**	Lahore	Akbar Shah Khan	Karimi Steam Press, Lahore ; 630.
77	Zulfiqar	Do.	S. Ahmad Shah Shamsi	Sewak Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
78	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Abu Turab Muhammad Abdul Haq.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 300.
79	**Intikhab**	Gujranwala	Wali Ullah	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
80	Mukhbir	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar ; 250.
81	**Sialkot Paper**	Sialkot	Todar Mal	Indar Press, Sialkot ; 200.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
82	Aijaz-ul-Quran	Amritsar	Zia Ullah	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 200.
83	Al-Faqih	Do.	Hakim Miraj Din	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar ; 300.
84	Brahm Parcharak*	Lahore	Nirmal Chandar	Universal Press, Lahore ; 248.
85	Mister Gazette	Do.	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore ; 200.
86	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 417.
87	Paigham-i-Sarin	Lahore	Dogar Mal	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
88	Rajput Hitkari	Do.	Waswandhi Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 875.
	MONTHLY.			
89	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra	Amritsar	Moti Ram	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar ; 200.
90	Al Aziz	Batala	Q. Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar ; 250.
91	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 400.
92	Anwar-us-Sufia	Do.	Hafiz Zafar Ali	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 800.
93	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Mukand Lal	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 550.
94	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai Bishwasi	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
95	Darshananand*	Do.	Nar Singh Sharma	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
96	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500.
97	Mehra Sudhar†	Do.	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A.	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
98	Makhzan	Do.	Ahsan Ullah Tajwar	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 752.
99	Martand	Do.	Ram Lal	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,065.
100	Mastana Jogi	Do.	Sufi Lachhman Parshad	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
101	Naqshband	Sialkot	Ahmad Din	*Naqshband* Press, Sialkot ; 400.
102	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mittar Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala ; 800.
103	Qasid	Montgomery	James William	Universal Press, Lahore ; 250.
104	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Lahore	Pir Bakhsh	Gulzar Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
105	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore City	Manohar Lal	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City ; 345.
106	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar ; 300
107	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 569.
108	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 4,800.
109	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 226.
110	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Zahur Din	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 700.

* Ceased.
† An irregular periodical.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1920—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI.			
	DAILY.			
111	**Akali**	Lahore	Mangal Singh, B.A. ...	Peoples' Press, Lahore;
112	**Shakti**	Amritsar	Dina Nath Sharma ...	Nath Press, Amritsar;
	WEEKLY.			
113	**Khalsa Samachar** ...	Amritsar ...	Vir Singh ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,234.
114	**Panch** ...	Lahore ...	Ram Singh ...	Model Electric Press, Lahore; 1,500.
115	**Panth Sewak** ...	Amritsar ...	Chanda Singh ...	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,000.
116	**Punjab Darpan** ...	Do. ...	Sucha Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 800.
117	**Satyuga** ...	Lahore ...	Narinkar Singh ...	Partap Hari Press, Lahore;
118	**Sikh Sepoy** ...	Ferozepore City ...	Tek Singh ...	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 350.
119	**Sri Guru Nanak Darshan,***	Amritsar ...	Sant Sumer Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,000.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
120	Nirguniara ...	Amritsar ...	Khalsa Tract Society (?) ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 257.
	MONTHLY.			
121	Punjabi Bhain ...	Ferozepore ...	Takht Singh ...	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 1,050.
	QUARTERLY.			
122	Dukh Niwaran* ...	Tarn Taran (Amritsar) ...	Mohan Singh ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 500.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
123	Jyoti	Lahore ...	Vidyavati Seth, B.A. ...	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore.
124	Sewak ...	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	Jiwan Press, Lahore; 200.

* Ceased.

62 SB—165—8-7-20—SGPP Lahore.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Indians in South Africa.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The *Tribune* of the 7th July writes:—"The latest phase of the Indian question in South Africa is the scheme of voluntary repatriation of Indians, embodied in the *interim* report, submitted by the Asiatic Enquiry Commission to the Governor-General of South Africa. . . . The first remark we have to make in connection with this scheme is that it has the apearance of a confession of defeat on the part of our countrymen in South Africa . . . What distinguishes the present scheme from similar schemes in the past, however, is the fact that in this case it is the Indians themselves, that is to say a considerable number of them who are said to have expressed their readiness to return to India if the opportunity were afforded to them. But here, too, the question has to be specifically asked why are these men and women prepared to return from a country to which they emigrated of their own choice ? Is it merely for the shortage of rice and similar other causes ? Or do they find their lot too hard there ? In the latter case the mere fact that they are willing to return does not make repatriation otherwise than an ugly solution of the questions. . . . If we leave aside this question, practically the only other question we have to ask ourselves is whether the representation is going to be purely voluntary. It is on this last aspect of the matter that we have misgivings. Why should it be necessary to appoint 'an official well acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods to act in a sympathetic manner and to lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India ?'. . . . All that the Government and the people in India have to do, therefore, is to see that voluntaryism does not degenerate into compulsion, and that the rights of domicile are not forfeited. . . . In both respects it would be better if the operation were carried out not only under the supervision of a sympathetic South African

official, but under the eye of an Indian gentleman in whom the Indian residents themselves have confidence. Why cannot the Union Government appoint a non-official Indian, representing the Indian community, to partially overlook the operations?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A Nairobi case.

2. The *Tribune* of the 9th July writes:—"Some idea of the way in which justice is dispensed by subordinate British Courts in Nairobi (East Africa) in cases where the accused happen to be Indians will be clear from the following. In March last a Kavirendo native confessed when charged before the D. C. of Eldama Ravine of having stolen two trek chains and a yoke from a local farmer. He averred that he sold the chains to a small struggling Indian shop-keeper. The police searched the trader's premises and found nothing while he emphatically denied the native thief's allegation, probably made to screen fellow natives and throw the police off the scent. Notwithstanding the fact that there was absolutely no evidence, the Indian trader was arrested and charged as a receiver of stolen property. To quote the *Chronicle*, "The D. C.'s attitude towards him was, in effect: 'Well, you are charged with being guilty; prove yourself innocent.'" Thereupon the D. C. fined the Indian trader Rs. 300 or in default three months' rigorous imprisonment. The poor man in his distress appealed to the Nairobi Indian Association which took up the case and financed an appeal to the High Court. As a result of the appeal the fine was ordered to be refunded, if paid. But the satisfactory termination of the case cannot make us overlook the legal aspect of the case, as it appears to have presented itself to the subordinate court. As will appear from the attitude of the D. C. in the above case, the burden of proving his innocence lay, in the Court's opinion, upon the accused. Now, according to all accepted canons of law the burden of proof rests on the party who alleges a certain fact. . . . But evidently, the Nairobi Court took a perverse view of the law in the above case, because the accused happened to be an Indian. . . . We have no hesitation in saying that if the facts are as stated in the *East African Chronicle*, the subordinate magistracy in British East Africa needs to be reminded of the necessity of administering even handed justice as between man and man irrespective of race, creed or colour."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

Indians and loyalty.

3. The *Sidaqat* of the 24th June writes that the past European War has brought a great change in the minds of the Indians. They are particularly feeling that not only the inhabitants of the foreign countries view them with hatred and contempt but they are looked down upon even in their own land. They have realized that if they want to lead a life of freedom and honour like the civilized and cultured nations of the world, they must give proof of their power in one form or another no matter whether that power be physical, intellectual, moral or spiritual. Europe feels proud of her physical and intellectual power. She considers howitzers and aeroplanes more effective and useful than justice and morality. In India too we find a similar state of things. The responsible officers of Government wish to rule the Indians with the force of repressive laws backed by howitzers and aeroplanes. The Punjab incidents bear an ample testimony to this contention of ours. When the people found that Government preferred repression and despotism to justice and morality, their loyalty too assumed a new aspect. The Indians allege that they are heartily devoted to the British throne, but it does not mean that they should bow down to an act of a Michael, a Dyer or a Lloyd which may expose the existence of the British Empire to danger. Continuing the paper says that concerning India, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and concerning Turkey, Mr. Lloyd George have considered it far better to act up to the philosophy of the iron fist. But history is saying that brute force has never proved enduring and that it has a hasty decline. For a Government the loyalty of its people is as important as a strong rampart for a rebellious (*lit.* traitor) city. To create or remove the spirit of loyalty is not in the hands of the people but in those of responsible officers of Government. Give the people their liberty and their rights and they will remain loyal to you. You can never expect them to be loyal if you deprive them at the point of sword of the rights which nature has conceded to them. In conclusion the paper says that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford gave the terrible weapon of martial law in the hands of Sir Michael without considering the matter and making

enquiry. What was the result? Did the Indians become afraid of machine guns and have they grown more loyal than before? Has the firing of Dyre placed the relations between the people and the Government on a firm and solid basis?

The Reform Scheme.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

4. The following is extracted from a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 3rd July by Lajpat Rai explaining his standpoint in the matter of the reformed councils:—"I feel that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State were engaged in undoing what had been done, or what had been promised by the Reforms Scheme. In my judgment the policy of the Secretary of State in adding to the strength of the European servants, in increasing enormously the expenditure on those servants, in adding to the military burdens of the country has been throughout dishonest. In his anxiety to placate the Europeans, the Secretary of State has decreed the failure of the scheme. The position of the European servants under the scheme is much stronger, much more paying, and much more effective than it was before the scheme. The policy of the Secretary of State has created a position which means constant friction between honest Indian politicians and the European servants of the Government. The acceptance of the majority report [Hunter Committee] by the Government of India and the Secretary of State is a virtual denial of the principle on which the Reforms-Scheme is based. Look at any department of public administration and you will find defiance of public opinion written on its very portals. Even in the department of Commerce and Industries the administration does not care a pin for public sentiments, the comfort and convenience of Indians, and the interests of the Indian trade. Even the railways are being run in the interests of European trade. Look at the police. Never was corruption so strongly entrenched in the Police Department as now. I find that Sir Edward Maclagan has done nothing to purge the administration and until this is done there is no chance of the administration being purified and the Reforms Scheme having the least ghost of a chance of fulfilling its purpose. The bureaucracy is determined to defeat the Reforms and the Secretary of State has placed them in a position to do so successfully."

Non-coöperation.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

5. The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 5th July thinks that the non-coöperation movement is dangerous and full of difficulties. None should be compelled to take part in it. It, however, believes that a man not prepared to encounter dangers for the sake of his faith is no better than an animal. Elsewhere it urges the leaders to tackle the question in a way which may not prove harmful to the Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Corrupt Practices Bill.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. The *Tribune* of the 7th July says:—"The *Pioneer* is responsible for the statement that 'the campaign which is now being instituted to put pressure on candidates to prevent them from coming forward may bring those who participate in it within the reach of the law' which it is proposed to enact to provide for the punishment of malpractices in connection with elections to legislative bodies. If the *Pioneer* is right, it is necessary for the country to closely scrutinise the Bill. Whatever may be our view of the necessity or the expediency of the non-coöperation movement, we cannot for a moment tolerate the idea of this movement being made illegal. To make it illegal would, indeed, be the strongest incentive for its vigorous prosecution. But for our part we do not believe that the Bill touches the non-coöperation movement at all. Persuasion, whether individual or collective, is the soul of this movement; and persuasion resorted to with the avowed and obvious purpose of securing the country's ultimate political salvation, can never be interpreted to come under the category of 'undue influence' which the Bill seeks to penalise."

The Arms Act.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. Referring to the amendment of the Arms Act, the *Tribune* of the 6th July says:—"Both communities in India are equally dissatisfied with the Arms law as it now stands though on diametrically opposed grounds. We hope Government will recognize the necessity for a radical change in the Act which would make for its equitable administration as between subject and subject."

Mr. Patel's Bill.

DHARM, (Lahore); Karam Chand, editor.

8. The *Dharm* of the 21st June publishes from the "Truthful" an open letter to His Excellency the Viceroy. The writer enquires from His Excellency the Viceroy since when the British Government has ceased acting on its golden policy of

non-interference in religious matters. Mr. Patel has filled the Hindu community with sorrow by interfering with the Hindu marriage system. The Home Member has made over his Bill to the Select Committee even in the face of the strictest opposition on the part of the orthodox Hindus. Hindus can never tolerate that their caste-system should be abolished. The Inter-caste Marriage Bill is likely to cause havoc like Bolshevism, and its supporters are those who find it very hard to observe the caste-system and who wish to enjoy themselves without caring for their religion. If Government considers it essential to pass the Bill it should associate the name of societies like the Arya Samaj, Brahmu Samaj, etc., with the Bill. The orthodox Hindus, however, hate the Bill. The term Hindu, therefore, should not be attached to the Bill.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

JYOTI (Lahore); Vidya Vati Seth, editor.

Lord Hunter's Committee.

9. The *Jyoti* for June remarks that while it was the object in appointing Lord Hunter's Committee to reduce discontent in the country, the object has not only not been gained by the Committee, but the discontent has now so increased that it is now difficult to say anything about the future. Indeed, when in spite of many favourable circumstances the Government and the European members of the Hunter's Committee could not assure the Indian members that no gross oppression was practiced in the Punjab, how can it be expected that the discontent of the people will be reduced? It is deplorable that the Indian Government has supported the majority report. But there is nothing to be wondered at in it, seeing that a Government which was a mere puppet in the hands of Sir Michael's Government cannot dissociate itself from the latter's oppression. The Government has dismissed General Dyer but praised Sir Michael O'Dwyer. But they are so intimately associated in the matter that one cannot be separated from the other like milk and water. Sir Michael supported the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The students were punished with his consent. It was he who proposed bombs being thrown from aeroplanes in Gujranwala. How can the Government praise Sir Michael O'Dwyer, while declaring the above acts as reprehensible? The Indians had much hope in Mr. Montagu, who is a true friend of India. It is a pity that he has simply repeated the Viceroy's findings and thereby trampled over his liberal principles in order to please the members of his cabinet and to support the Viceroy by which he thought the Viceroy's prestige could be maintained. It is a pity that Indians will lose the faith that the British Ministers can protect them if they are oppressed by the bureaucracy. The educated Indians should pay no heed to small reforms and concessions and should employ all their powers for obtaining *Swaraj*, so that old India may regain her lost self-respect and the independent loving British people may not lose their dwindling honour.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The financial condition of peasants.

10. In a signed article published in the issue of *Bande Matram*, dated the 26th June, Lala Lajpat Rai says that he knew that the income which the greater part of the peasants derive from their culturable holdings is not sufficient for their maintenance, but he had no statistics in support of his view. The last year's Revenue report which has recently been published has dispelled his doubts. It now appears that out of 3,950,000 peasant proprietors, there are less than 400,000 who pay land revenue, of Rs. 20 or more on their holdings. If these proprietors (paying Rs 20 as land revenue) have nearly 10 acres of land and each acre in the Hissar and the Rohtak districts yields five maunds of wheat per acre, their produce is, therefore, 50 maunds which at the present rate amounts to an annual income of Rs. 250. If the amount spent on seed, ploughing, &c., are deducted from this amount the proprietors paying a land revenue of Rs. 20 gets an annual income of about Rs. 200. This includes maintenance of the family, marriages, funerals and other expenses. But, as a matter of fact, nine-tenths of these peasants earn even less than this. How do they maintain themselves is a question to be answered by our friends who think that during Sir Michael's rule the peasants were most fortunate and prosperous.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Need of a commission to enquire into the grievances of zamindars.

11. The *Zamindar* of the 30th June suggests that a commission should be appointed to enquire into the grievances of zamindars. The commissioners should hear the latter's grievances in a sympathetic spirit and

suggest to Government the ways of removing the same. A list should be prepared of the zamindars whose lands have been carried away by flood, as also of those who own a very small area of land and who are heavily in debt. Government should give financial help to such zamindars. Government should not auction lands but distribute the same among the deserving zamindars. It should also give necessary help to agriculturists in excavating wells and planting engines for irrigation purposes. A special department should be established for supplying manures.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Court martial of a Muhammadan sepoy at Chaklala.

12. Writing from Rawalpindi to the *Zamindar* of the 4th July a correspondent says that on the *Id* day some of the sepoys of battalion No. 22 stationed at Chaklala Cantonment were present in *Idgah* to offer their prayers. They also heard the speeches which were afterwards made in connection with the Caliphate questions. One of the sepoys—a Muhammadan lance naik, mentioned the gist of the speeches to his other Muhammadan brethren in the battalion. Another lance naik—an Ahmadi—reported the matter to the Officer Commanding who at once issued orders that the man might be placed under the custody of the quarter guard. It is understood that he will be shortly tried by a court martial. Commenting the *Zamindar* says that the officer commanding Chaklala Cantonment and the higher military authorities of the Frontier should immediately release the man because if he is so punished for attending the *Idgah* to listen to the religious injunctions and communicating the same to his brethren in the battalion, it is apprehended that feelings of strong indignation will prevail among the fanatic Muhammadans of the Frontier. The military authorities should be particularly careful in such matters affecting religion.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

The Lahore assault case.

13. Commenting upon the judgment in the case in which H. Ross and others were charged with having assaulted two Indian gentlemen on the Mall Road, Lahore, the *Zamindar* of the 30th June says that it cannot help remarking that the court has shown great leniency to the accused. The accused have on account of their haughtiness and inborn wickedness considered the complainants, who are the guiding spirit of Indian nobility, as degraded beings and disgraced them without any rhyme or reason. If the court had taken sufficient notice of this fact it would not have wiped off the tears of the complainants by inflicting ordinary punishments on the accused.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A Madras case.

14. The *Tribune* of the 8th July writes:—"It will have been seen from a Madras telegram .... that in a case of alleged assault brought against Mr. G. H. Jackson, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Tanjore, by a telegraph messenger, the Additional District Magistrate passed orders discharging Mr. Jackson and directing the complainant to pay him a compensation of Rs. 50. The complainant alleged that the accused had given him blows on his head with a whip. Mr. Jackson said in his defence that the complainant was riding on the right hand side of the road and cycled straight towards him. To avoid any evil which might have been serious both to himself and the complainant, he tried to force the complainant aside with his right hand, and could not say whether the complainant was struck in the process. He never struck the complainant after collision. Does this not mean, in other words, that so far as the alleged offence of assault was concerned, Mr. Jackson, the accused, was not sure whether it had been perpetrated? It comes to this, then, that while the complainant alleged that he had been assaulted, the accused was not sure that any assault had taken place. Under the circumstances it appears to us that there was nothing to justify the order of the court granting the complainant a compensation of Rs. 50—the maximum amount permissible under the law, even if the court was not satisfied that the assault did take place. There will, we are bound to say, be a lurking suspicion in the public mind that the respective positions of the parties in this case must have influenced the court, however, unconsciously, in coming to the decision it did."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Royal Proclamation in Bengal.

15. Referring to a reply given by the Bengal Government to a question by a non-official member *re* the release of detenus under the Defence of India Rules, &c., the *Tribune* of the 8th July writes:—"It is some thing that the Bengal Gov-

ernment, which had made a wider application of the powers under the Defence of India Act and the deportation regulation than most other Provincial Governments, has already released all the persons detained under the former and that it intends to release all those detained under the latter as soon as this can be done consistently with 'the public safety.' What we do not understand, however, is why the Bengal Government does not intend to interfere with the sentences passed by courts. The Proclamation lays down no such limitation and we have no hesitation in saying that such limitation is opposed to its letter as well as its spirit. The only questions in this case are whether a person is a political prisoner and whether his release is compatible with the public safety, and where these questions can be answered in the affirmative, as we believe they can be in most of the remaining cases both in Bengal and in the Punjab, there is absolutely no justification for detaining the men in custody, whether they are convicts or mere detenus."

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

Sikh political prisoners.

16. The *Akali* of the 26th June publishes a poem from Teja Singh who suggests that the Sikhs should observe *hartal* on a fixed date and pray to the Almighty on that day for the release of Bhai Randhir Singh and other Sikh political prisoners.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Sikh leaders.

17. The *Akali* of the 25th June publishes a poem from Harnam Singh, *Ragi*. The poem runs as follows:—

Bravery is dead and gone. Cowardice has made its appearance.

Religion has altogether disappeared from among the community.

Religious places have fallen into the hands of irreligious persons.

The beloved college is in the hands of aliens.

We deserve one-third share, but we have been given one-ninth.

No value has been attached to our loyalty.

Our Sikh brethern are suffering troubles, while prisoners of other communities have been released.

This is a just reward for our loyalty!

The leaders have sunk the barge of the community.

By securing *jagirs* for themselves they have always caused their brethern to be sluaghtered.

These champions of love do not leave the community even now.

They have placed a dagger on the neck of the community and have it slaughtered by aliens.

They are outwardly friends (*lit.* sweet), but at heart enemies of the community.

They have caused their brethren to be thrown in jails by getting titles for themselves.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Who is a Sikh?

18. (*a*) In commenting upon the definition of a Sikh as laid down in the press communique issued by the Punjab Government regarding the method of determining claims and objections in connection with the registration of electors in Sikh constituencies the *Sikh* of the 4th July says:—"The definition is indeed comprehensive enough to serve the purpose of the officials inasmuch as it can easily include apostates like Harnami Shah of Amritsar and Ganda Singh Uberoi of Sialkot though it is subversive of Sikhism and Sikh interests. But we wonder why has it been made through these two worthy personages whom the community has never acknowledged as their leaders. As to Baba Sir Gurbakash Singh, he, be it said to his credit, long ere this, declared himself to be a Hindu, not a Sikh by presiding over a Hindu Conference and joining a Hindu, as distinct from the corresponding Sikh deputation. And why does he now connect himself with the Sikhs and Sikhism, is a mystery. Can he cite a single instance to show that he ever throughout his long life, identified himself with a Sikh movement? But on the other hand we can cite several instances to prove that he opposed the interests of the Sikh religion and

ommunity, and rode roughshod over the principles which, if he had been member of the Panth he would have faithfully kept adhering to. By consulting him, therefore, the Government have grossly insulted the great Sikh community. Himself a well-known Hindu leader, he cannot be two things at one and the same time. However, he is welcome first to renounce his present views and become a Sikh before he seeks a Sikh seat by election or nomination. Khalsa Ji beware of this chal!

By adding another person, simply notorious in the Panth, for his unfitness as a Sikh worker, we mean Sardar Bahadur Arur Singh, the life Manager or Manager monopolist of Golden Temple, in this consultation about the definition of the 'Sikh,' the Government authorities have added injury to insult, to use the idiom in its reverse form. Our impression hitherto was that being a happy-go-lucky Sardar, a member or representative of a family of note, the authorities had selected him for the purpose of making a cat's paw in connection with the management of the Darbar Sahib, which they would ill afford to entrust to a *bona fide* representative body of the Panth. At any rate, we thought and so did the whole Panth, that he was concerned with the administrative affairs of the Sikh Holiest of the Holy, and was as aloof from the religious side, as the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar himself. But now, to our utter amazement and surprise, we learn that he is our religious guide too! And the wonder of wonders, while the selection or election of a religious guide in case of all other communities, rests entirely with the people concerned, in case of the poor helpless Sikhs the task of selecting a religious guide or leader is reserved to a Christian Government, who have now, to our mortification, specified for us two holy men —one an invetrate and sworn enemy of the Sikh propaganda, an *ex*-president of All-India Hindu Conference, and the other, the person against whom the unanimous voice of the Panth is rending the welkin. And this they have done with a full knowledge of our signal services and sacrifices in the cause of the British Empire! Verily this is the good which we are receiving in return for the good done by us to our benign rulers! But will the Panth still go on sleeping as fast as ever? Will it not assert itself even now that its cause is being irretrievably lost? We are sure, the Government authorities will do nothing but what is quite subversive of our interests notwithstanding our patent claims to their attention. They have denied us our due share in the administration of the land which we ourselves ruled only 70 years back; they have now exposed our religious importance to the greatest ridicule and contempt by imposing upon us such religious monitors as a Baba Sir Gurbakhsh Singh and a Sardar Bahadur Arur Singh. We suggest a constitutional but a strong protest, which must not end till we have successfully asserted ourselves. We hope the Chief Khalsa Dewan and the Sikh League will join hands at this critical juncture."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 6th July:—"The present definition of a Sikh implied in the declaration is too vague, too elementary and too wide and it can never satisfy the true Sikh. We have no doubt that wiser councils will yet prevail and the definition formulated by Chief Khalsa Diwan and suggested again in a succinct form by the Khalsa College will be accepted and preferred in deference to the most loyal and most emphatic requests of the three millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Baba Sir Gurbakhsh Singh.

19. The *Sikh* of the 4th July writes:—"It seems that either during their seventy years' long rule over us the British Government authorities have not been able to acquaint themselves thoroughly with all about us or they knowingly and deliberately take the wrong course in matters communal. For instance, take the case of the Sikh community. Whenever there arises a question of religious or social importance among them and concerns also Government administrative affairs the Government authorities concerned would consider it worth their while to consult such person or persons whom the whole community may have openly disowned or denied any position whatever among them. That such persons are hardly expected to do their duty to the nation, is but natural. But to add insult to injury the authorities go on overloading them with titles, honours, jagirs, murabhas, and what not. . . . Some celestial being whispers into our ears that Sir Baba Gurbakhsh Singh Bedi. . . . is recongised by the ever mistaken authorities as the great leader and representative of the three millions of the great Sikh community. . . . We cannot resist the necessity of pointing out to Government that while he may get anything he aspires to, to the

Sikh community his services do not amount to more than nothing, and that he is rather known to have opposed the Sikh interests whenever he has found an opportunity of doing so. Granting him anything therefore, as Sikh, or a Sikh leader would be doing the greatest insult to the people who do not acknowledge him to be anything in their midst."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

A complaint.

20. The *Zamindar* of the 27th June, protests against the action of the Joint Cantonment Magistrate of Solon in granting to a Muhammadan a license for the sale of pork. It appears that the military cantonments are specially reserved for ruining the faith and polluting the religion of Hindus and Muhammadans. At Dalhousie, a Hindu called Devi Chand has got a contract for the sale of beef. Has not the time come when both the Hindus and Muhammadans should excommunicate such wretches. The *Zamindar* then requests the military authorities to do no such act as gives a shock to any section of His Majesty's Indian subjects. They should have displayed wisdom in refusing to grant a license for the sale of pork to a Muhammadan. Such a license should have been given to a Hindu or more preferably to a *gora* if no Hindu had come forward.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

21. The *Akali* of the 1st July says at a meeting of the Lahore Municipal Committee the well-known patriot Lala Duni Chand moved that the Committee should voice in the address to be given to the Prince of Wales on his arrival at Lahore the true feelings of the people regarding Khilafat and Martial Law and Reform Scheme but—it is a pity – the proposal was not carried out. The paper thinks that these three points must have been mentioned in the address. When the King is sending his beloved son to India with a message of kindness and coöperation, how stupid it is to hide our sincere feelings from the Prince who is coming to us! Any address without these points is therefore nothing but a joke. We are, however, solely in the hands of tyrannical and haughty imperial servants who are intoxicated with the wine of power and whose soul is dead. Now when the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have not done justice to us, who else except the King is our mainstay? Our King has come and we should weep and lament before him. It is probable he will listen to the outcry of the distressed. It is wrong to say that the Prince himself is not the King and that he is coming merely on a visit. His Majesty is sending His Royal Highness as his representative. We should lay before him all our grievances and it is well if any heed is paid to them, otherwise we shall find that there is none except the Almighty to help us.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

General Dyer.

22. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 8th July says:—"We have no hesitation in saying that it was not at all the right thing for the Army Council to allow the General to make a supplementary statement without giving a similar opportunity to his accusers to supplement their side of the case. This may be justice as the Army Council understands it. Every one else will call it by a very different name.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Referring the Army Council decision regarding General Dyer, the *Tribune* of the 9th July says:—"Although it is a grievous misuse of words to say that General Dyer was guilty of 'an error of judgment,' the decision arrived at by the Army Council that General Dyer is not to be offered further employment outside India will be universally regarded in this country as a hopeful augury. We believe this last was the one issue referred to the Army Council, and that its decision on this issue will not prevent His Majesty's Government from taking the only correct and proper action in regard to General Dyer, placing him on his trial before a competent criminal court on a charge of massacring the King's innocent subjects. The decision of the Army Council amounts to the removal of Dyer from the army, but such removal is only a departmental punishment, and no mere departmental punishment can meet the requirements of a case like this or can be anything else than a monstrously inadequate punishment. It is not clear, by the way, whether the General is dismissed or merely removed from the army. This is no mere academic issue for let it be distinctly remembered that not a farthing is to be paid to this man out of the Indian revenues whether as pension or as compassionate allowance."

Sandhurst selections.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

23. The *Akali* of the 27th June regrets that of the five Indians selected for receiving education at Sandhurst College not a single one is Sikh. When the Sikhs ask for high offices, they are told that capable men are not available among them and that they will be given such offices when they produce capable men. But we are surprised to find that even the offices for which the Siks are most fitted, are not conferred on them in the military department where the Sikhs are in a majority.

Commissions in the Indian Army.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

24. The *Tribune* of the 8th July writes :—" It is true that very recently the commissioned ranks have been thrown open to Indians, it is a notorious fact that only the pinciple had been recognized so far, in actual practice the number of Indians admitted to the cadet colleges being far too inadequate. . . . There are plenty of the young Indians of the highest education and culture who are anxious to serve in the Army and this consideration ought to relieve the authorities of any fears they might otherwise entertain that there would be a paucity of British candidates coming forward to serve in the commissioned ranks."

Colonel O'Brien.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

25. The *Tribune* of the 7th July writes :—" News comes from Gujranwala that the headmaster of the Government High School there has addressed a letter to the headmasters of the other local High Schools inviting them to subscribe to a fund for the institution of an athletic shield to be known after the name of Colonel O'Brien of Martial Law fame. How and under what circumstances the proposal was mooted, whether under official auspices or otherwise, are questions as to which information is still lacking, but one need not wait for further particulars before condemning the movement in unqualified language. It is too early yet for Gujranwala to forget the aeroplane bombing and the several acts of wanton cruelty and humiliation perpetrated by Colonel O'Brien and we hope the people of that town will make an effective and timely protest against the proposed memorial. We go a step further and request His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to issue prompt instructions to the effect that no movement of the kind referred to above should be inaugurated by Government servants without the permission of the Local Government."

The Nizam of Hyderabad.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali, editor.

26. The *Zamindar* of the 3rd July publishes from " A victim of Sir Ali Imam's blandishments" a dialogue under the heading " A Drama of Strange Trinity at Hyderabad." The writer represents the Resident, Hyderabad' Deccan and His Excellency the Viceroy talking to each other. The Resident asks His Excellency to take care lest His Exalted Highness the Nizam may become very popular and may be granted the title of " His Majesty of spiritual kingdom." Thereupon His Excellency asks the Resident not to feel anxious, but to speak to Sir Ali Imam on the matter who will set the matter right. Sir Ali Imam then says to the Resident that he can very easily bring the Nizam of Hyderabad into disrepute. Next he is represented as talking to the Kotwal Venkata Rama Redy who says that he will arrest a few students and the result will be that the Nizam will lose his popularity. Accordingly Kotwal arrests a few students and brings them before Sir Ali Imam. The latter takes them to Nizam and says that the students are rebels. The Kotwal also says to His Exalted Highness that the students were carrying on agitation against His Exalted Highness's ally, Great Britain. The Nizam takes pity on students and remarks that they should be let off with a warning. Thereupon Sir Ali Imam says that the students will overthrow Government. The Nizam then says to Sir Ali Imam that he can decide the matter in the way he likes. Thereupon the people of the Deccan State say to themselves that Sir Ali Imam should not have been appointed Premier and that the Nizam has now lost his popularity. The Kotwal says to Sir Ali Imam in private that his subordinates rendered meritorious service, seeing that they first inflamed the minds of the people and pursuaded them to observe *hartal* and then threw the entire responsibility for the same on them. The Resident then thanks Sir Ali Imam and says to himself that he is fit for the post of a Governor.

Kashmiri Magazine (Lahore); Muhammad Din Fauq, editor.

The Kashmiri Muhammadans.

27. The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 28th June remarks that in a letter issued by the Adjutant-General in India it is stated, among other things, that in future the Kashmiris will be recruited in the army as Punjabi Muhammadans and that hence forward the word Kashmiri will not be prefixed to their name. It clearly shows, that the Kashmiri battalion has been disbanded. There was a great clamour in the whole of Bengal when the Bengali regiment was disbanded but as to the Kashmiri battalion nobody has even felt what had happened to it. Besides, another thing which deserves notice is that, when Government enlists us a Punjabi Muhammadan and does not wish to prefix the word 'Kashmiri' to our name, why are not our rights regarding the acquisition of land then considered equal to those of Punjabi Muhammadans and why do the Kashmiris find it difficult everywhere to acquire land?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mesopotamia.

HOME RULE (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Home Rule* of the 4th July refers to a remark in the *Morning Post* that the British occupied Mesopotamia with the sole object of preventing India being injured in any way. Commenting, the paper says that it is difficult to say whether the oil-fields of Mosul and the importance of Syria or the thought of benefitting India prompted the British to do so. What benefit can the occupation of Mesopotamia, it asks, confer on poor India? The British Government of this country has of course secured several advantages. It has obtained oils wells and fertile lands, and secured the friendship of Amir Feisul, Amir Abdulla and their father Husain Ali. The *Morning Post* is totally wrong in thinking that the British occupied Mesopotamia in order to benefit India.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. (*a*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 15th July :—

"There will be a very general feeling of disappointment that the Joint Committee of Parliament have not only been in an undue hurry themselves in making the first report on the Government of India Act Draft Rules, but have commended the 'remarkable expedition' with which the Government of India and the local Governments disposed of their part of the work. The Committee can scarcely be unaware that the only result of this twofold hurry is that Indian opinion has not received at any stage the consideration in this vitally important matter to which it was clearly entitled and which is so obviously essential to the success of the experiment on which we are about to enter. The procedure that has been followed in this matter has, indeed, been anything but ingenuous. In India our request for a proper and adequate consultation of Indian opinion was met with the plea that the final authority in this matter was Parliament and that what we should do was to represent our views and our wishes to the Joint Committee. In England when our representative asked that time might be allowed for expressions of Indian opinion to reach the Committee and that oral evidence might be taken, he practically met with a refusal on both points, on the avowed ground that Indian opinion had already been considered. And all this in the face of the repeated assurance given by the Secretary of State and others, that every opportunity would be given to the people of India to state their views regarding the Rules.... Of the actual recommendations made by the Committee, it is impossible to condense our judgment into a single unqualified proposition. Some of the recommendations are undoubtedly good as far as they go, though in most cases even these do not go far enough.... We confess we cannot be profuse in the expression of our gratitude for the six more seats which have been given to us. The number originally fixed was too low, and even with the addition of the six seats the strength of our Legislative Council as well as of the elective seats in it will compare unfavourably with those of any other province with which the Punjab can be properly compared.... As regards the actual distribution of the six additional seats, while no one will grudge the two additional seats given to the Sikhs or the three additional seats given to the Muhammadans, it goes without saying that the allotment of a single seat to the general constituency is eminently unfair. Inadequate as the representation of all the several communities and classes is in the Punjab, we venture to think that in no case is it more inadequate than in that of the general community and this is the community that is to get the smallest share in the increased representation! The second serious complaint of the Punjab was the far too inadequate representation given to the urban areas, and here, too, the provision of six more seats will not materially improve the position. The additional general seats certainly, and a part of the additional Sikh and Muhammadan seats presumably, will go to the urban areas, but obviously this will add only inappreciably to the strength and proportion of the urban representation. The third and in a sense the most important drawback of the Rules for this province was the residential qualification for candidates, and here it is not at all clear from the words of Reuter's summary whether and how far the alterations effected by the Joint Committee will improve the position in the Punjab."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"Public opinion in India will strongly disapprove of the Joint Committee's action in altering rule 22 of the Rules for the conduct of legislative business in the provincial councils in order to empower a Governor to disallow a motion for adjournment if he is of opinion that the proposed discussion would be detrimental to the public interest... Why should the Governor, who is no longer to be President of the Council, to exercise this power which, so far as its use may be necessary, can only be properly exercised by the President? The interference of the Governor would be both derogatory to the position of the legislature as a body independent of the executive, and would curtail the freedom of the individual member. We do hope the matter will not be allowed to rest here."

(c) In another place the paper says:—"We learn from a letter addressed by Mr. Patel to the Secretary to the Joint Committee that the draft Standing Orders made by the Government of India have not been or are not to be submitted for examination by the Joint Committee or by Parliament. The Standing Orders belong, to all intents and purposes, to the same category as the Rules, and some of the most important matters are dealt with by them. We entirely fail to see on what ground the Secretary of State has made a differentiation between the two, and the Joint Committee itself has not expressed its wish to examine the orders, as it might well have done."

(d) Referring to the debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the motion of Mr. Dutta regarding European representation, the *Tribune* of the 10th July writes:—"The total strength of the European community in Bengal is less than 20,000 as against 24 millions of Muhammadans and more than 20 millions of Hindus, while the number of European voters in the general constituency, we learn from a Calcutta contemporary, is less than 4,000. For such a constituency even 2 members, as allotted to it by the Franchise Committee, was clearly excessive. To propose to treble this diproportionately large representation, as the Bengal Government and the Government of India had done, was to reduce all talk of equitable representation to a farce, and was a direct challenge to the patriotism and the sense of fairness of the nationalist Indian members which they were bound in honour to take up. . . . Now the only conceivable ground on which Europeans can with any plausibility claim representation in excess of their numerical proportion is that they have at present a considerable share in the trade and commerce of the country. We do not consider this claim valid, but we are prepared to accept its validity for the sake of argument. The question that we have still to ask is, why after the fullest concession has been made to the community on this score, after so many as 12 seats out of a total of 115 elective seats have been allotted to European trade and commerce, should the handful of remaining Europeans have any special representation at all, far less special representation on such a scale and to such an extent as that proposed by the Bengal Government? Why should a community of less than 40 thousand, including the Anglo-Indians, have as many as 21 seats, while the entire Indian community of more than 40 millions is to be content with 94 seats? On what ground of equity, fairness, commonsense itself, are they to have this excessive representation, representation which is 200 times more than what they are entitled to on a purely numerical basis? . . . If the proportion of this representation must remain as now, then clearly it was no use passing the Reforms Act at all."

Akali (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(e) The *Akali* of the 4th July says that all Sikh societies should forthwith send telegrams to Government to the effect that they do not accept a Sikh's definition given in the Punjab Government's recent press *communiqué*, and that Government has insulted the Sikhs by consulting Baba Gurbakhsh Singh and Arur Singh in the matter. Grand meetings should be held to define a Sikh and forward the definition to Government. The Chief Khalsa Diwan and the central Sikh League should organise these gatherings.

Loyal Gazette (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(f) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 4th July says that it is not known on whose recommendation the Advisory Committee sought the help of Baba Sir Gurbakhsh Singh and Sarbarah Arur Singh in coining a definition of a Sikh. Besides, how can it be hoped that a definition so coined will prove comprehensive? At least apostates and those people who smoke and eat *halal* meat, but call themselves Sikhs, should not be allowed to get themselves enumerated as such and thereby to make troubles for us. We wonder why the authorities threw Sardar Sunder Singh, Majithia, Sardar Gajjan Singh, Bhai Arjan Singh of Bagrian, the Maharajas of Patiala and Nabha and noted Sikh scholars overboard and selected Baba Sir Gurbakhsh Singh and Sarbarah Arur Singh to help the Advisory Committee. One of the latter entertained Sir Michael O'Dwyer at a garden party at Rawalpindi some time back, while the other presented a *khillat* to General Dyer on behalf of the Golden Temple. The Sikhs do not acknowledge them to be scholars or their representatives.

Non-coöperation.

Dard (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

3. (a) The *Dard* of the 5th July says that Government looks upon Indians as slaves and considers them to be a helpless and worthless people. It can, therefore, have no regard for them. They can force it to grant their wishes only if they prove that there is yet some strength left in them. If they take the vow of non-coöperation, Government will come to realise their strength. Besides, if we wish to get Dyer and Dwyer punished, they should act on Mr. Gandhi's suggestion.

(b) In its issue dated the 8th July the paper says that the Government is perhaps still of opinion that the non-coöperation movement can never succeed. It would be an act of treason not to acquaint the authorities with the real facts. A wave of resentment has passed over the country from one end to the other owing to the past doings of Government. No one, excepting a few (?) toadies, is pleased with Government; and if it remains ignorant of popular feelings and maintains its present attitude, it will have to encounter difficulties, while the toadies will not suffer in any way. It would be better if Government conceded our demands forthwith, lending no ear to the words of the toadies. The nation is not now where it stood fifty years back. If Government practices even the least rigour, the people will become still more displeased with it. Non-coöperation is about to be an accomplished fact. Business will then be ruined and breaches of the peace will become frequent. All those causes which have led to the present state of affairs had better be removed at once.

SATJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

(c) The *Satjug* of the 7th July says that if Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai consider non-coöperation to be necessary and useful and issue orders for carrying it into practice, the people should gird up their loins joyfully to obey them.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(d) The *Akali* of the 9th July says that non-coöperation forms part of the caliphate agitation. If the movement fails, nothing but bloodshed will be the result. We are, therefore, opposed to it for the present. But if even Parliament pays no heed to our cries, we also may have to oppose Government by means of passive resistance in order to preserve our national honour. The paper does not, however, agree with Lala Lajpat Rai that we should not enter the reformed Councils. If men holding nationalist views are not returned, it adds, toadies will find their way into the Councils, with the result that official members will have things their own way. In conclusion, it says that we should make strenuous efforts to see that not a single toady enters the Councils. As for the nationalists returned to them, they should oppose Government and resign their seats.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(e) The *Liberal* of the 12th July writes:—"We are sorry we cannot subscribe ourselves to the view held by our esteemed countryman, Lala Lajpat Rai, on the question of non-coöperation and boycott of Councils. Our chief objection to this policy of non-coöperation, which may better be expressed by the term non-participation, is its impracticability. But we also think the policy of non-participation in the work of the new Councils will be, even if partially successful fraught with the gravest dangers to society, and may do more harm than good."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Sahib Shah, editor.

The Swadeshi movement.

4. "ONE IN THE KNOW" writing to the *Siyasat* of the 27th June says that the mere cry in favour of the *swadeshi* movement has resulted in the Indian merchants sending no fresh orders to England for cloth. The British public thinks that if this state of affairs continues, a number of mills will have to close for some time. Indian Muhammadans can judge from this how easily the caliphate question could be decided to their liking if they carried on the *swadeshi* movement and the Hindus coöperated with them. Englishmen are enamoured of trade, and if they are influenced by anything it is a reduction in their income from any quarter. This being so, the movement in question is bound to influence them.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

Pecuniary help to released *detenus* and political prisoners.

5. Referring to the pecuniary help given by the Bengal Government to certain *detenus* and political prisoners recently released, the *Akali* of the 10th July asks whether the Punjab Government also will take pity on similar people in this province and help them with money.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

The Hunter's Committee's report.

6. The *Waqt* of the 30th June is of opinion that a complete boycott of British goods is the only effective way to express our sense of indignation over the wrong Government has done to the Punjab by accepting the majority report. If this were done, India would be certain to make her voice heard. Let us take a vow never to use goods manufactured in Great Britain. If our traders, artizans, labourers, etc., make up their minds to ruin British markets, they can achieve freedom in a very short time.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Dyer debate.

7. (a) Commenting on Mr. Montagu's speech at the Dyer debate the *Tribune* of the 13th July writes:—"While. . . . Mr. Montagu's statement of the issue between the school of terrorism and the school of liberty was clear, forcible and honest, he was gravely mistaken if he thought that Dyer was the sole or even the most eminent representative of the former. As a criminal, Dyer is naturally the worst of the whole lot. . . . But the policy of terrorism did not originate with him; nor was he anything else than a more than usually brutal instrument for its execution. The man with whom it originated was, of course, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. . . . This being the truth and the whole truth, no delusion can be greater on the part of the ministry than to imagine that public opinion can let Sir Michael O'Dwyer go off scott free. If the policy of terrorism and frightfulness is wrong and immoral, as everybody is now agreed that it is, you owe it as much as a matter of duty to Indians of honour to yourselves to strike at

its most eminent representative. And India must insist upon this being done, as long as breath is left in her."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) In its issue dated 14th July the paper writes :—"The very fact that what was done by Dyer at Jallianwalla Bagh and in Amritsar generally was done, though on a comparatively smaller scale, and with less disastrous results, by so many other officers and at so many other places, is enough to disprove the theory of Dyer being also the author of the policy which he carried out. Then there is the indisputable fact that neither Sir Michael O'Dwyer nor Lord Chelmsford ever raised his little finger either to put a stop to the measures of frightfulness or to punish the men who were immediately responsible for them. Can any man in his senses believe that they would have been silent spectators of the tragedy, as it was being enacted from day to day, if the policy in the pursuit of which it was being enacted had not been their own ? As a matter of fact, they, and especially Sir Michael O'Dwyer, were no silent spectators. In the case of Jallianwalla Bagh it is now proved beyond dispute that the latter lost no time in expressing his approval of the crime, and in most other important cases we have it in evidence that he was in close touch with the chief offenders who drew their inspiration mainly from him. The single measure that he ever disapproved of was the crawling order. The plain fact of the matter, as every one in the Punjab knows, is, first, that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the directing mind throughout, and was primarily and principally responsible for the policy followed by Dyer and others, and, secondly, that this policy was never discouraged by Lord Chelmsford, even if he did not actively encourage it . . . . And yet these are the very authorities of whom one hears little or nothing in the debate. . . . You cannot overthrow a policy merely by attacking an instrument, however wicked. It is notoriously easy to replace one instrument by another, and if the higher authorities in India could feel sure that they were themselves immune, we presume that they would never lack instruments for carrying out their policy, no matter what that policy might be. After all, what does India or the British connection gain by the removal of Dyer from the army, if nothing is to be done to make a 'strong' ruler like Sir Micheal O'Dwyer—the very impersonation of the policy of coercion which Mr. Montagu is anxious to abolish—or a weak ruler like Lord Chelmsford,—who is content to play second fiddle to, and place all his own powers and the prestige of his position at the disposal of, every strong man, whether in his own cabinet or in the Provincial Governments, who may be disposed to follow a policy of terrorism—an impossibility ?"

(*c*) Elsewhere the paper quotes Mr. Montagu's words 'We hold British life sacred, but we hold Indian lives sacred too,' and comments as follows :—" This is very well said, indeed, and we have no hesitation in saying that no other policy except what is outlined in these words has the smallest chance of commending itself to India's self-respect. We will permit ourselves only a word of comment. Let there be no delusion. Mere words, however, fine or appropriate, will not do. Sympathy, to be of any value, must be embodied in policy. If you want to convince the people of India that you hold Indian life as sacred as you hold English life, you must treat the man or men responsible for shedding innocent Indian blood as you have already treated men whom you believed to be responsible for shedding innocent English blood. In the latter case several persons were actually hanged and a good many others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment or transportation, and some of these are still undergoing the punishment. In the former, apart from the removal of General Dyer from the army, not a hair of any one's head has been touched so far. Surely this is not the best way of demonstrating the equal sacredness of Indian life."

(*d*) In its comments on Mr. Churchill's speech, the *Tribune of the* 13th July says :—" What does Mr. Churchill mean by describing the Jallianwalla Bagh incident as a 'monstrous event standing out in sinister isolation'. . . . The Jallianwalla Bagh shooting stands on exactly the same footing as the shooting at most of the other places. Whom were the crowd attacking at the Upper Mall, for instance, or at the railway bridge at Amritsar itself until the crowd was fired upon ? And is it not the case that in both these cases as well as almost all other places the crowd was unarmed ? Lastly, if, as Mr. Churchill said, frightfulness is not admissible in any form, can it be denied that the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre was not an isolated instance of frightfulness in the dark days of April and May, when frightfulness was more the rule than the exception?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The disturbances.

8. The *Tribune* of the 10th July writes:—"In the course of an article entitled "Prelude to Amritsar" printed in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams says with reference to last year's disturbances: 'It was a crisis second only to that of the Mutiny.' We are unfortunately only too well familiar with the campaign that is now being carried on in England in the interests of Dyer, O'Dwyer and company, to be surprised at such statements, but what we are curious to learn is the exact nature of Mr. William's mission in England. Mr. Rushbrook Williams is, as our readers are no doubt aware, a Government publicity officer. Was he deputed by the Government of India to disseminate statements of the above type among the credulous British public? . . . But while yielding to none in our anxiety that Indian affairs should be made known to the British public as widely and fully as possible we have no hesitation in condemning the publicity methods of Mr. Williams. But the question has more than a merely personal aspect. If the Government of India has deputed Mr. Williams to England to perform publicity work, have not the authorities in India by that very act rendered themselves open to the charge of being, however unwittingly, a party to this campaign of calumny against Indians? And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that the authorities in India have not ere now shown themselves above this partisan spirit . . . Under the circumstances we feel bound to protest against these publicity methods. If it is beyond our power to put a stop to non-official movements like the one headed by Lord Sydenham, surely we should do all that lies in our power to prevent Government from allying itself, however unconsciously, with this unholy cause. Mr. Williams' activities in England are a very apt subject for interpellation in the Viceroy's Council."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The offending martial law officers.

9. The *Tribune* of the 16th July writes:—"How long are we to wait before the offending officers in the martial law regimé, civil and military, are punished? Mr. Montagu spoke in terms of just indignation during the recent debate of the methods of terrorism and frightfulness that were resorted to in the Punjab, methods of which the one supreme object was to insult and to humiliate the Punjab and her children. If this indigation was not mere stage-thunder, as we hope and trust it was not, surely he owes it as much to his own reputation and the reputation of the British Government and people whom he represents in Indian affairs as to the people of the Punjab and of India, not to make any further delay in inflicting suitable punishment upon the authors of those misdeeds. The delay that has already occurred has made large numbers of people sceptical as to the genuineness of Mr. Montagu's indignation . . . . There is a strict limit to the process of waiting, and this limit is about to be reached if it has not been reached already."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

A Sikh Judge for the Lahore High Court.

10. The following is taken from the *Sikh* of the 11th July:—"The appointment of a Sikh to a Judgeship of the Lahore High Court, formerly Chief Court Punjab, has long ere this been overdue. And so long as this desideratum is not supplied by Government, the complaint of the Sikh community must continue to be louder and louder like many other complaints. . . . There is one Hindu (Chief Justice) and one Muhammadan [on the bench of the High Court]. The Government have so far avoided this our demand on mere lame excuses and untenable grounds, *viz.*, that there was no person fit for such a high and responsible post. But this difficulty is of their own making; they never considered the Sikh claims in the Provincial service, particularly in the Judicial Department, and so no Sikh has had an opportunity of showing his worth and rising to the highest rung. As to Sikh lawyers, their number is increasing day by day and in Sikh districts particularly the local bar is everywhere led by a Sikh Vakil or Barrister. Rumour is afloat in reliable circles that at last the Punjab Government have recommended or decided to recommend or contemplate recommending a Sikh lawyer for a Puisne Judgeship of the Lahore High Court, and that the papers are well nigh complete. . . . In making this selection we hope the Government will certainly do well to judge claim and eligibility both and confer the distinction on a person who does not only possess

the requisite qualifications, but also the experience and record of having worked in the High Court and appellate courts under it, as a distinguished lawyer or legal advisor. . . . . And need we point out that such a Sikh they have got in Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh, Public Prosecut, High Court, who is perhaps the first Punjabi lawyer to have been appointed Government Advocate, albeit temporarily, which choice of the authorities in his favour is said to have been abundantly justified."

The railway service.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

11. The *Railway* of the 27th June says that a careful study of the rules and regulatians of the Railway Department shows that nothing has been left undone therein to prove Indians to be degraded human beings, and that the distinction made in them between whites and black is not observed by God even between the inmates of paradise and hell. It is said that the officers recruited into the railway department are men who fail to secure service in any other department. God knows what is whispered into their ears at the time of their embarkation from England that on landing in India they begin to consider it an insult even to speak to an Indian [*lit.* a human being]. And when they assume charge of their work, they become still more haughty and do not discriminate between lawful and unlawful. We would request Government to modify the rules governing the recruitment of railway officers.

A railway complaint.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th June states that a respectable correspondent, a trader by profession, complaint that an order has recently been issued to the effect that goods of no trader excepting Ralli Brothers should henceforth be booked. He is at a loss to understand why Ralli Brothers' firm should be given preference over Indian traders and why the latters' rights should be trampled under foot. Commenting, the paper says that the objection raised by its correspondent is very reasonable. If the railway authorities wish to oblige Ralli Brothers they can do so without stopping to book the goods of Indian traders. They should realise their mistake and abstain from exciting racial feeling.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Kuka Sikhs.

SATJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

13 (*a*). The *Satjug* of the 7th July says that the whole life of Guru Hari Singh passed under severe restrictions and surveillance. He had to obtain permission from the Deputy Commissioner to visit any place, while our Sub-Inspector of Police and some constables were always by his side. After stating how only a few of the Sikhs going to Bheni were allowed to see him, the paper alleges that none of them could stay at the *gurdwara* there for more than twenty-four hours. Again, the police underlings were always outside the *gurdwara* with *hookah* water ready to hand to maltreat them and did not let any visitor go without being thus treated. The result was that fear of such disgrace prevented thousands of Sikhs from visiting the *gurdwara*. Satguru Hari Singh was succeeded by Maharaj Partap Singh, when the order regarding the Deputy Commissioner's permission for leaving Bheni was cancelled. It was ordered, however, that Partap Singh, Nihal Singh, Gurdial Singh, Mai Jiwan Kaur and Mai Fateh Kaur should report their movements at the police station. No other restriction was removed, and Namdhari *dharmsalas* still continue under diverse restrictions. A police constable daily visits the Namdhari *dharmsala* at Amritsar and notes down the names of all the persons there. Policemen visit the *dharmsala* at Lahore also at intervals to make certain enquiries. The same is the case at several other places also. The names of persons visiting Namdharis are still noted down and respectable Namdharis are being harassed.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(*b*) Commenting on the above, the *Akali* of the 12th July describes how most of the Kukas, who murdered some butchers through religious frenzy were blown from the cannon's mouth, how some more were cruely hanged subsequently, and how their leader—Ram Singh—and several other Namdhari Sikhs were deported. Nor is this all. Government imposed such severe restrictions on the Kukas as to deal a heavy blow to their work of religious preaching. We are very sorry to see that these poor people are still being harassed in diverse ways. It is still more painful and shameful that these restrictions apply even to many a pious woman. We strongly invite the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor to this gross injustice and oppression and request His Honour promptly to remove the restrictions under which the Namdhari Sikhs are labouring. May we hope that some Sikh member of the Punjab Legislative Council will ask a question on the subject.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The Golden Temple, Amritsar.

14. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 30th June says that the entire Sikh community feels that by interfering with a religious place like the Golden Temple the Government is not only bringing itself into disrepute, but is also offering an insult to Queen Victoria's Proclamation, wherein it was clearly announced that Government would not interfere with the religion of any community. It is, therefore, necessary that Singh societies everywhere and the Sikh League should pass resolutions strongly protesting against the ways of the manager of the Temple and urging the Government to compel him regularly to lay the accounts before the community on pain of the Sikh committee filing a suit against him.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

The Nizam and the Khilafat agitation.

15. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 26th June says in the course of an article that although the *firmans* issued by the Nizam against the Khilafal agitation bear His Exalted Highness's signature, every sensible and thoughtful Muhammadan knows that the initiative came from Simla. The Government of India sent the order to the Hyderabad Darbar through the Resident that the Khilafat movement should be suppressed throughout the State.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 4th July says that the Nizam has opposed the caliphate movement through some temptation and with a view to please his masters. Some men in his service have tried to absolve him of responsibility in the matter by alleging that all that is taking place is being done at the instance of the Prime Minister and the Resident. We, however, consider the accusation levelled against the latter to be false. The caliphate propaganda is being carried on with very great vigour throughout British India, and the attitude of Englishmen, with only a few exceptions, in regard to it has hitherto been commendable. How is it possible then that a British Resident should have such oppressive orders issued in a State where the movement has not so far assumed large proportions. The Prime Minister cannot deny responsibility, but he is a servant of the Nizam and cannot but obey the latter's orders. The entire responsibility for the firmans rests, however, on His Exalted Highness himself.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

16. The *Akali* of the 10th July publishes a note headed "Sikhs and reception to the Prince of Wales," in which it says that preparations for welcoming the Prince of Wales are being made everywhere through the efforts of the [local] officers. The whole of India is, however, in mourning over the Punjab tyrannies and the caliphate question, and the people are considering the question of non-coöperation. The Khilafat Committee of Delhi has already issued a circular letter asking the Muhammadans to pass resolutions to the effect that the Prince should postpone his visit to India, and that if he does come, no reception should be accorded to him. The Sikhs also are Indians and their birth-place is the Punjab, where the authorities have practised tyrannnies and still escaped scott free. Again, the whole Sikh community is in great pain over Government interference in the management of the Khalsa College and the Golden Temple. It has long been asking that these institutions should be handed over to it, but this has not moved Government in the least. Moreover, although innumerable new and old *detenus* and political prisoners have been released, still many Sikhs continue rotting in jails or suffering in foreign countries or are interned at different places. This being so, will the Sikhs keep silent [at this juncture]? This is a most important question and the Sikh League should lose no time in holding a general meeting to consider it.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

The new Government loan.

17. The *Dard* of the 10th July refers to the announcement about the new Government loan, and says that it was partly O'Dwyerian threats that led the Punjabis to contribute largely towards war loans. Now, however, when the Punjab occurrences are still fresh, when we know what justice has been done by Parliament and when Hunter's honesty has been seen by us, will not Indians refuse, by way of protest, to contribute towards the new loan? If they fail to do so, we shall feel compelled to say that Government is justified in trampling on our rights.

Indeed, when everything is being done in accordance with its wishes, how can it know that Indians are discontented? If, however, the loan left alone it will come to feel that the people are really discontented. It will then try to ascertain and remove the reasons for the present discontent. The editor would even go so far as to say that any one investing money in the loan should be excommunicated. As long as Government does not reassure us in the matter of the Punjab occurrences, we should not contribute even a shell towards the loan. Let us see whether our fellow-countrymen will feel jealous of their honour and good name. It is no crime to refuse to invest in the loan. O'Dwyer is no longer our ruler. Neither will a case be trumped up [against persons refusing to contribute], nor will people be forced to make contributions.

Cotton mills in the Punjab.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

18. The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th June publishes the first instalment of an article from the pen of the manager of a ginning factory, in the course of which the writer says that the attitude of officials towards cotton factories is generally unsympathetic. They view mill-owners in the same light as village bankers, whom they call *banias*. In other words, they are under the impression that these people, too, rob zamindars and derive an undue advantage from the simple-mindedness of the latter. The result is that the mill-owners, who spent hundreds of thousands of rupees and developed the cotton industry, are disposing of their factories. A large number of factories in the Punjab have already been and are being sold to the cotton companies of Japan and Europe. If this state of things continues all the mills will pass into the hands of these companies. And if Government approves the suggestions of the Indian Cotton Committee and a law is passed in accordance with the Committee's recommendations, the condition of these mills and their owners will become worse still.

The Cotton Committee's report.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

19. Referring to the report of the Cotton Committee, UJJAL SINGH, M. A., of the Inder Cotton Factory and Press, Mianchanu, Multan district, writes to the *Tribune* of the 10th July:—" There is no chapter in the report more open to criticism than that dealing with the commercial aspect of cotton. The principal recommendations under this heading having an important bearing are :—

(1) The establishment of markets on the Berar system.

(2) The weights used in all cotton markets to be standardised on the basis of a cotton maund of 28 lbs.

(3) All ginning and pressing factories to be licensed.

(1) The Berar system provides open markets and as a result of open competition in the market the cultivator can secure the full price for his commodity. This object is being fully achieved in the market existing throughout the Punjab canal colonies with the only difference that there are no market-laws under specific Government notification.

(2) The standardization of weights for cotton only is open to serious objections. To prescribe one standard weight for cotton and another for wheat and other commodities will create confusion. The 28lb maund as recommended for cotton would be a comparatively small weight, and with a maund of 82 2/7 lbs for other commodities the cultivator will always be in the difficulty of calculating the value of his *kapas*. To a cultivator the price of wheat and the price of *kapas* per maund will apparently be the same the less the maund is qualified. The proposed cotton maund does not bear any convenient relation to the rupee which is the standard unit of value throughout India. Moreover, the cultivator cannot test the correctness of 28 lb. maund for himself at any times, whereas, he can easily test the Bengal maund as it is based on tola, *i.e.*, the weight of a rupee. The 28 lb. maund for cotton, therefore, would create complications in trade. There must be a uniform weight for all commodities.

(3) I now come to the important question of licensing factories. I may point out that on the cotton committee's dealing with the important question of cotton trade no ginning factory-owner was represented. It is a matter of great regret that the authors should have spoken of the ginning factory-owners in disparaging terms. All the malpractices and abuses which spoil the quality of cotton are presumed by the authors of the report to be carried on in the ginneries and presses. Perhaps the authors sought to justify the severe

action, they wanted to take on ginneries by such vindictively false accusations. The policy of 'laissez' has been contemptuously thrown aside as an ineffective remedy without any real argument. And shelter has been taken under the hackneyed plea that the protection of the interests of the third party, *i.e.*, the cultivator, must always be a paramount consideration with Government in the case of a country so predominently agricultural as India. The abuses that are sought to be remedied are (1) watering of cotton, (2) mixing of short staple or inferior cotton with good staple cotton, (3) mixing of cotton waste with cotton, (4) crushed seed being allowed to pass into ginned cotton."

The writer then tries to show that factory-owners have not been guilty of the above abuses and continues:—"The remedy, which the authors have suggested, is the licensing of factories. Certain conditions are laid down for the observance of the factory-owner. Breaches of those conditions may result in the withdrawal of the license. The powers are so vast and varied that even the slightest offence. is liable to be published by withdrawal of the license and the factory-owner is thus laid low at the feet of the factory inspector or a petty officer of the cotton committee at whose sweet will alone the factory-owner will be allowed to earn his daily bread. The licensing of factories will hamper trade and the power of licensing is very likely to be misused by those in whose hands it is sought to be placed. The interests of the factory-owner are thus in great danger. Concerted action is immediately needed. Unless the factory-owners organise themselves and make a strong protest with one united voice they would soon find themselves reduced to servitude."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Official tours.

20. "AN AGRICULTURIST," writing to the *Vakil* of the 28th June, says that there can be no denying the fact that official tours are a source of trouble to zamindars. If there were only one such tour, one would have nothing to say against the practice. But as it is, there is an endless succession of them, one officer after another going out on tour. In view of the fact that official tours cause trouble to the people the authorities should consider the desirabilty of curtailing them.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The prevailing dearness.

21. The *Sidaqat* of the 1st July suggests that the only way to end the prevailing dearness consists in prohibiting the export of grain from India. If this cannot be done, there should be established a big national bank with a capital of several crores of rupees. It should buy grain direct from zamindars and control the trade in raw materials. If this scheme, too, should be impracticable, some other measures should be adopted to ensure our deriving greater benefit from our country's produce than foreigners do now. Continuing, the paper says that it is foolish of Government to pay no attention to the question of dearness. If the prices remain as high as they are now, the country will be converted into a hell for Englishmen. There is no rebellion in India, but the country is crying for bread, which Europe has snatched out of its month.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

General Dyer.

22. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 13th July:—"We confess we are not quite clear in our mind as to what precisely the Army Council has recommended in the case of General Dyer or the Cabinet itself has decided. It is said that he has been put in the retired list, and Mr. Churchill indicated in the course of his speech that he has not been put compulsorily there. Does this mean that he has only been *allowed* to retire? And is this the punishment which two of the most brilliant members of the Cabinet had to waste a good deal of their own time and the time of the House in defending? As a matter of fact it is impossible to think of a lighter or more ridiculously inadequate punishment than what has so far been inflicted upon this arch-criminal. Again, what does retirement, whether compulsory or otherwise, mean in this case? Does it mean that the man is to have a pension or an allowance? If so, who pays it? Let it be noted by all whom it may concern that no part of this man's pension or allowance is to come from the revenues of a country which, if it had its own way, would long ago have inflicted upon him the only punishment which is appropriate in the case of a cold-blooded murderer. To pay such a man even a farthing out of the Indian revenues would be to add intolerable insult to indescribable injury."

Mr. Bosworth Smith.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

23. The *Tribune* of the 14th July writes:—"Mr. Bosworth Smith who had been degraded some months previous to the introduction of Martial Law, was actually reinstated as Deputy Commissioner, second grade, with effect from the 21st April 1919.... An official who was punished, presumably for the unsatisfactory discharge of his duties during normal times, by being degraded, was actually thought fit by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to administer Martial Law. The outrageous conduct of this officer during the Martial Law period is now a matter of common knowledge. Was it as a mark of appreciation of this conduct that the above notification having a retrospective effect was issued?"

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish peace treaty.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, ditor.

1. (*a*) "ONE IN THE KNOW" writing to the *Siyasat* of the 8th July says that, according to Reuter, Turkey's counter peace proposals are exceedingly mild. The news has not surprised the people acquainted with the present state of Turkish affairs. All true sons of Turkey have been either imprisoned or interned, while those who have escaped this fate have joined the nationalist army. As for the Khalifat-ul-Muslmin, he is in internment, while the Turkish Premier is a supporter of the English. Strictly speaking, therefore, the counter peace proposals are not those of Turkey. As a matter of fact, the Allies have got these proposals made by their own puppets in the name of the Turks. The Turkish peace treaty will now be signed, but the Allies should remember that fair-minded people will attach no importance to the signatures of the present Turkish ministers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 22nd July :—"The reply of the Allies to the Turkish note will not only be a grave disappointment to those who have been anticipating a revision of the treaty favourable to Turkey, but is as unsatisfactory in substance as it is provocative in tone." Next the paper makes quotations from the note and continues :—"Not only is there no trace in all this of the soft word that turneth away wrath, but it

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would have been impossible to couch the note in more offensive language than what we have here, or in language better calculated to embitter the relations between Christendom and the Islamic world. The concluding words are also an insult to Asia, inasmuch as they can only mean that Turkey, which has always been regarded as an Asiatic power, is unworthy of having a foothold in Europe. The record of Turkey, at least in recent years, has in no way been worse than that of Germany and several other powers, and what the unsophisticated Oriental will ask is, why, if these powers are fitted to remain in Europe, is not Turkey? We cannot help thinking that the only effect of the Allies' reply will be to indefinitely prolong a struggle which it was as much to their interest as to the interest of the world to bring to an early end"

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(c) The *Zamindar* of the 21st of July says that there cannot be a more terrible threat than the one regarding the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. The Allies seem to have made up their minds to fight, and to usurp the capital of Islam. Just now the political horizon is being overcast with the dreadful clouds of war, and the gloom of misery and hardship is deepening. If the Allies commit the most trifling blunder now and swerve from the path of justice even most slightly, there will be such bloody rains that streams of blood will flow and lakhs and crores of heads and headless trunks will be seen floating in them.

HOME RULE (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

Mesopotamia.

2. Referring to Sir Lovett Frazer's remark that the British Government has occupied Mesopotamia to ensure the defence of India, the *Home Rule* of the 10th July says that the event is ascribable to the oil-fields of Mosul and the fertile lands on the Euphrates and the Tigris and not to any thought of protecting India. It is also for their sake that the British are collecting troops there: poor India is being dragged in only to draw on her financial resources in case of pecuniary difficulties.

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Bolshevism.

3. The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th July publishes an article on Bolshevism over the signature of Lajpat Rai, who says in the course of his remarks that Lenin published all the secret treaties made by the late Czar with the allied Governments regarding the partition of conquered territories after the end of the war. Their publication made it clear to the world how bad and foul the intentions of the Allies were, and how false and deceptive their public statements were. Outwardly the Allies claimed that the war was being waged in the cause of freedom and to maintain the independence of small nations. As a matter of fact, however, their secret object consisted in the division among themselves of the whole of the world. Besides publishing the above treaties, Lenin repudiated the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1907, and told the Persians that they were free to administer their own country. Similarly, the Bolshevik Government liberated all the nations under subjection to Russia. Continuing, the writer states how the Allies and America tried to deal a death-blow to the power of the Bolsheviks and how the last named parried the blow and emerged successful from of the ordeal. A consideration of the struggle will show how generals, ministers, etc., tell lies and deceive not only their enemies but even their fellow-countrymen, and how they do not abstain from making use of unfair means. Different charges and accusations were levelled against the Bolsheviks and every nerve was strained to give them a bad name. We do not consider them to be innocent: in maintaining law and order in their country, in suppressing rebellions, in punishing rebels and royalists, in confiscating the property of traitors and in torturing them, they were guilty of as savage deeds as have been committed by other civilized nations of Europe in their own or other countries in similar circumstances. We maintain, nevertheless, that this page of history is not darker than the pages which describe the measures adopted by the English, French, Japanese, Italians and Germans in suppressing internal revolutions and in subjugating foreign possessions. The Punjab incidents of 1919 are sufficient to show to what extremes civilized nations given to self-praise can go in quelling even an imaginary rebellion. That such nations should call the Bolsheviks savage, uncivilized, murderous and cowardly is without significance. The writer does not believe in Bolshevik principles, still he cannot concede that the Bolsheviks have done what militarist and imperialist nations have never done or are not prepared to do in future. The atrocities practised by European

nations in Asia and Africa make one's hair stand on end. The whole world is aware of the deeds perpetrated by the soldiers of civilized nations in quelling the Boxer rising in China. The doings of the Christian nations during the Balkan war of 1912 did not fall short of savagery. The horrors of the French Revolution are not unknown to the readers of history, while what England did in putting down the Ulster rebellion of 1916 constitutes a very black page in history. Indeed, the history of imperialism is so dark that the Bolsheviks could not claim a similar record even by following it for a whole century. The high-handedness of the Bolsheviks was directed against rebels or their fellow-countrymen, but the atrocities committed by other European nations not only against rebels in their own country but also in conquering and maintaining occupation of foreign countries, are a disgrace to history. When we read the attacks delivered by the hypocritical nations against the Bolsheviks, especially in the columns of the *Pioneer* and the *Civil and Military Gazette,* it surprises us to find that there is no limit to the hypocrisy and lying indulged in by them. Some of our foolish Indian newspapers blindly support the hypocritical peoples in question. Let no one conclude from this article that we follow the principles of the Bolshevik or admire their methods of administration. We think that some of their principles are sound, while others are wrong. As to their administrative methods, we regard certain steps taken by them as commendable, while others are open to objection. It is evident, however, that a body of men who withstood the united attacks of the world for two-and-a-half years and have routed it everywhere, cannot have the faulty administration they are represented to favour. They could not have carried their nation with them for this long period in the prosecution of the war, if the absurd charges brought against them by their enemies had been true. Our readers should study the *Nation*, the *New Statesmen*, the *Daily Herald*, the *Labour Leader* and certain American newspapers to know the truth about the Bolsheviks.

Indians abroad.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

4. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th July writes that the white settlers in South Africa are selfish people. On the one hand, they would like to see the Indians there repatriated from the above part of the Dark Continent but, on the other, they ask for rice from this country. Indians can never tolerate, however, that the colonies, which maltreat them and would drive them out, should be fed while they have to starve. These countries would come to their senses and the grievances of the Indians settled in them would be redressed, if Government were to display some sense of self-respect and act with a little strictness, prohibiting the export of grain and raw materials from India and Burma. It is a pity, however, that our Government does not listen to such suggestions.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd July writes :—"The South African Asiatic Commission has only evaded the real issue by recommending the voluntary repatriation of Indians who are willing to go back to India for fear of suffering unjust hardships and insults in that colony. The real duty of the Commission was to suggest a just solution of the existing problem after making proper enquiries into the grievances of the Indians. Whether the complaints of the European tradesmen and others against Indians are well founded, and whether Indians' rights as equal British subjects are infringed, are the main points at issue, and the recommendation leaves this issue entirely unaffected. It is obvious that Indians are ill-treated and denied their legitimate rights. Their lives have been made impossible and the duty of honest administrators and statesmen worthy of the name is to remove their grievances and not to give them a free passage to go out of the country and abandon their acquired rights. Repatriation under Section 6, Indian Relief Act of 1914, means that Government can give free passage to one 'who makes a written request for such free passage and signs, as a condition of the grant of such request, a statement that he *abandons on behalf of himself and all his minor children, if any, all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile.*' What we must assure ourselves, therefore, is that as a result of the Commission's recommendation Indians are not coerced into giving up their acquired and just rights in favour of a selfish and grabbing group of people."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(c) The *Desh* of the 12th July states that Mr. Chanda will move at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council that legislation be undertaken to regulate the entry into, and residence in India of British subjects from the self-governing dominions and dependencies on the basis of reciprocity. Commenting, it says that no one can question the fairness and reasonableness of the resolution. The British possessions referred to have been ill-treating Indians, and the only reply to the inequity is that India should close her doors to the people of all those countries which would close theirs to her sons. It is high time that she followed the policy of "tit for tat," at least in the case of those who persist in unfairly treating her children.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(d) The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th July says that it is the duty of every self-respecting Indian member of the Viceroy's council to support Mr. Chanda's reciprocity resolution. When the white settlers in British colonies openly prevent their Indian fellow-subjects from entering their lands, impose diverse humiliating restrictions on the latter and are now repatriating them to this country, there appears no reason why similar restrictions should not be imposed upon them in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Martial law atrocities in Fiji.

5. (a) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 20th July:—"A batch of over 950 Indians returned to Calcutta from Fiji on the 3rd July and were interviewed by a local paper. According to their accounts of the atrocities perpetrated during martial law in Fiji, they surpassed those of the Punjab and several Indian women are said to have been subjected to shameful treatment. Seven hundred men and some women were, it is said, made to stand in the sun from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M., and 'crumbs were thrown to them as if they were dogs. This was the most harrowing sight beyond our imagination.' In view of the strong protest raised nearly from all parts of India against the reported atrocities, it is the imperative duty of the Government of India to make a statement on the subject and inform the public of the action, if any, they have taken in moving the Colonial authorities to deal with the outrage adequately."

(b) Commenting on the despatches of the Governor of Fiji to the Colonial office, regarding the recent Fiji riots, the *Tribune* of the 22nd July writes:—"We put it to the Government of India that its duty is not done nor near being done by the publication of the Governor's despatches... The despatches now published are, in fact, no better than the famous official publication which the *Manchester Guardian* described as 'a preliminary whitewash.' Even if we are to have nothing better than a whitewash, let the whitewash be at least that of a committee like the Hunter Committee, and not that of the very persons whose proceedings have to be whitewashed... The Government of India would be failing in its obvious duty if it did not press for an independent and impartial enquiry into the whole body of happenings by a commission commanding the confidence of the Indian community, and consisting for the most part of persons unconnected with the Fiji administration. Nothing else, at any rate, will satisfy the Indian people."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh editor.

The reforms.

6 (a). The *Sikh* of the 18th July writes:—"[The Joint Committee] have provided six additional seats for the Punjab Legislative Council, two for Sikhs, one for Hindus, and three for Muhammadans. . . . . But as even this does not complete our rightful demand of 1-3rd of the whole number, our protest is bound to continue. Nine, eleven or thirteen compared with the larger numbers conceded to other communities mean one and the same thing to us."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

(b) The *Liberal* of the 19th July writes:—"Six additional seats have been provided for the Punjab Legislative Council, two for Sikhs, one for Hindus and three for Muhammadans. We confess we do not understand the principle on which these additional seats have been provided. We do not for a moment grudge the additional seats given to our Sikh and Muhammadan fellow-countrymen in the Punjab, but why should only one additional seat be given to the Hindus, whose importance as a community cannot be minimised?"

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(c) The *Panch* of the 7th July says that decisions were lately arrived at at several Sikh Diwans regarding the attributes of a Sikh. Copies of these were forwarded to Government and published in the organs of the Sikh community. It has keenly disappointed us, however, to see that Government has paid no regard to these dicisions and has coined a definition of a Sikh which can never be accepted by the Sikhs. The definition is likely to cause the greatest injury to the Sikh community which should, therefore, enter a very strong protest against it. Not a few non-Sikhs are likely to take an undue advantage of the definition.

The Viceroy's Executive Council.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. Writing about the appointment of the Mr. B. N. Sharma as second Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Tribune* of the 17th July says:—"Mr. Sharma has been one of the most industrious members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and his work in that capacity has been both useful and marked by ability, independence, and love of country. The appointment, therefore, will be generally welcomed. At the same time, there will be a very general feeling of regret that in making this appointment the Government of India should have simultaneously increased the number of members of the Council from seven to eight. The effect of this step will be that even when an additional Indian member is appointed, as will probably be done before the close of the year, the European members will be in a substantial majority, being 5 against 3 and, if the Viceroy is included then 6 against 3. We are decidedly of opinion that if the strength of the Council is permanently increased to 8, then the number of Indian members should be at least 4 and not 3 . . . This is precisely what has been authoritatively promised to us, and what even such an anti-Indian journal as the *Pioneer* understood the Government to have promised."

The Corrupt Practices Bill.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

8. (a) The *Desh* of the 10th July says that even a cursory perusal of the Corrupt Practices Bill will show that the proposed law is extremely stringent and objectionable in character. It should be the duty of all patriotic people, it adds, to oppose it; the necessary agitation being set on foot at once. Next the paper objects to certain provisions of the Bill and to its definition of "undue pressure." Continuing, it says that the proposed law makes an election a most difficult and complicated thing. The poor candidates will have to think twice before descending into the electoral arena. Even preventing a person from offering himself as a candidate has been set down to be an offence. This clearly shows that, according to the law in contemplation non-coöperation will be unlawful, and those who are urging a boycott the reformed Councils will be liable to imprisonment. Why does not Government say plainly that it regards the movement as unlawful, and that it has decided to suppress it with the aid of law. It should bear in mind the fact that even those who are opposed to non-coöperation will not tolerate that Government should have recourse to a new law with a view to putting it down. The movement may or may not be useful for the country but it does not contravene the law, and Government has no right to suppress it by force. In conclusion, the paper says that in other respects also the Bill betrays a dangerous and repressive spirit, and that the country should offer a rigorous opposition to it.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(b) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th July admits that candidates for election and their supporters commit very deplorable acts, and that moral considerations render it imperative to end these practices. The punishments proposed in the Bill are, however, very severe. The Bill is so worded that it will be very easy to prosecute any person only if one or two witnesses are forthcoming to depose against him. And it will not be difficult to procure such witnesses at the time of elections. Again, there will always be an apprehension of the Police misusing their powers on these occasions. Nor is this all, an attempt has been made to restrict the activities of the nationalists with the aid of the proposed law. The *Pioneer* writes that the campaign which is now being instituted to put pressure on candidates to prevent them from coming forward may bring those who participate in it within the reach of the law. Continuing, the paper says that a law similar to the one in question is undoubtedly in force in England also. Indians have had, however, bitter experience in the past and have come to realise how even a harmless law becomes a dreadful weapon in the hands of oppressive people.

The Bill should provide the punishment of imprisonment for none except those who are guilty of personation.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

Non-coöperation.

9 (*a*). DR. SAIF-UD-DIN KITCHLEW writing to the *Aftab* of the 1st July, says that the Turkish peace terms and Punjab affairs have brought about a most critical situation. After remarking that we should give it our best consideration, he asserts that non-coöperation is the only remedy left us. It is, therefore, extremely necesssary that all should be unanimous in this matter, so that what may be detrimental to the achievement of our object might be discarded. Those people who are conniving at the discontent and distress caused by the controversial Khilafat question and the Hunter Committee's report, as also by the so-called reform scheme, should think of the dangerous consequence likely to flow from their unfortunate laziness and indolence. The *hijrat* movement has started without a formal connection with the Central Khilafat Committee, and excited people will undoubtedly proclaim a *jehad*, having no leader to advise them to behave in a peaceful manner. Supporters of justice and believers in truthfulness are, therefore, in complete agreement with Mr. Gandhi, and hold that non-coöperation alone can prevent untoward results.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 7th July says in the course of an article that non-coöperation with Government is no reprehensible thing, nor does it constitute such a great sacrifice that Indians should be complemented on it. The sacrifice is an ordinary one: non-coöperation does not stand for an all-round sacrifice. It is no hardship if a few lakhs of persons resign Government posts for the sake of justice and righteousness. The steps should be taken with pleasure. It should not matter if thousands of persons get trampled upon to ensure the safety of the Khilafat. Such a sacrifice is most necessary for the sake of religion. In view of all this, Indians should gird up their loins to carry non-coöperation into practice. This constitutes the first milestone on India's road to progress. There is no other way to solve the Khilafat question or that of Punjab atrocities.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 9th July publishes a communication, in which the writer asks the Muhammadans in the name of God and the Prophet to make every sacrifice in their power in order to crown the non coöperation movement with success. They should give their money and time for the propaganda, resign their posts under Government and renounce honorific titles. They should not migrate from the country before the movement has been given a fair trial.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*d*) One ABADULLAH, *Akhtar*, writing to the *Vakil* of the 11th July says that if the Muhammadans take all the facts into consideration, they will come to realise that they are working on no definite lines. He is afraid that their conduct in approaching the Hindus for help is likely to do irremediable harm to their community. Indeed, the Hindus are already taking sufficient advantage of the excitement now prevailing among the Muhammadans. It is not known what splendid support and generous sympathy the former have extended to the latter that Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew is singing their praises. They have as yet done nothing for the Muhammadans beyond indulging in tall talk. The Hindu leaders set down non-coöperation as impracticable, although the movement was started by themselves. They have only their own interests in view in supporting the movement. The Hindus egg on the Muhammadans, but themselves hesitate to step into the field. The latter should take up the Khalifat question in their own hands and decide what line they should adopt.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*e*) In a signed article in the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th July Lala Lajpat Rai explains his present attitude in regard to non-coöperation. He says that his belief in non-coöperation as a sound political principle and the only effective weapon for the people to wield remains unchanged. Both self-respect and national expediency demand that educated Indians should make it clear to Government that they are not prepared quietly to put up with such oppression as was practised in the Punjab last year. If Government pays no heed to their united will they also should be unwilling to coöperate with it. Non-coöperation is the only weapon with which subject nations like Indians can influence their Governments. After remarking that Indians will have to us it sooner or later, the writer regrets that the moderate party should be opposed to non-coöperation, and that the nationalists should be in a state of uncertainty. The latter decry the Reforms Act, but are opposed to the non-coöperation movement. The *Independent* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* say that the Punjabis may maintain their sense of self-respect by resorting to non-coöperation, but that it is not necessary for the United Provinces and Bengal to take this step. Lala Lajpat Rai protests against this attitude. The Punjab question is no provincial but a national matter, and he would not isolate the Punjab for the purpose of the experiment. If other provinces are not prepared to work with the Punjabis, he adds, it becomes necessary for the latter to consider whether they should act alone in the matter. Taking all things into consideration, however, he gives it as his considered opinion that, pending the decision of the special Congress, non-coöperation should not be tried in this province. Those who, out of deference to his views, are not inclined to stand for the new Punjab Council and have relaxed their efforts should make the necessary announcement now and carry on their election campaign in real earnest.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

(*f*) The *Vedic Magazine* for July says:—"L. Lajpat Rai has proclaimed a boycott of the Punjab Council as a protest against the attitude of the Government in regard to the tyrants and monsters who inflicted humiliating tortures upon the innocent during martial law days. L. Lajpat Rai's plea is that we cannot be expected to coöperate with officials whose hands are dyed with blood, who have heaped indignities upon our mothers and sisters, and who have done their worst to bring home to our people the mournful lesson that we are helots in our own country born to draw water and hew wood for the white master and that self-respect on our part is an affront to the prestige of our rulers. The goal of self-government, the Lala argues, cannot be attained with the help of bureaucrats who treat Indians not as fellow-subjects but as niggers who must crawl on their bellies and kow-tow at the bidding of every stripling who disgraces the British uniform. It is camouflage to talk of coöperation in this connection and the sincerity or at least constructive statesmanship of Mr. Montagu is open to question when he blows hot and cold with the same breath. He proposes to offer a sop to the national self-respect of our ancient race by holding up the goal of responsible government—even though as a distant contingency—before our mental vision and at the same time winks at the promotion of monsters who did all in their power to outrage that self-respect. How does he expect O'Briens, Bosworth Smiths and Johnsons, one of whom abused our ladies and all of whom committed, sanctioned, and approved unspeakable atrocities upon people, the latchet of whose shoes they are unworthy to unloose, to carry out the King's commands and to endeavour to make the reforms a success and thus help in ending the barbarous and inhuman system under which alone the degenerate type of British character which they represent can thrive. Is Mr. Montagu at all serious! Is he mocking at educated Indians or does he really think that they are so degraded that they will seize with avidity the shadow even when it has been burnt into their souls that the substance can only be tantalisingly flourished before their mind's eye by those at the helm amidst the derision of those who are the actual bosses. . . . We have to make a practical suggestion to our distinguished countryman Let him set about the task of obtaining a written pledge from all the candidates that when the opening meeting of the Punjab Legislative Assembly is held, the very first resolution that it will pass will be to the effect that the wretches who insulted our women and committed unspeakable atrocities upon their betters during the martial law lawlessness should be forthwith dismissed and suitably punished, and unless that is done the Assembly will not meet and proceed with the normal work of the session. If this could be brought about, it would be a splendid demonstration of outraged Punjabi sentiment and would impress the imagination of nationalist India, Anglo-India and England. If this is to be done, no time must be lost."

SCIENCE-GROUNDED RELIGION (Lahore); Har Narain, editor.

(*g*) Adverting to Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-coöperation, the *Science-Grounded Religion* for July writes:—"Mr. Gandhi as a protest against the decision of the Allies in the Khilafat question has called upon his countrymen to do exactly those things which cut at the root of [the] relation between the state and citizens . . . Apart from the fact that the Government itself can arraign the authors, instigators and the participators for high treason, the effects of that course if it were to find favour with large populace, would be fraught with unspeakable horrors, for there is always present in every country an element of law-breaking people, who, in spite of the most powerful government, commit thefts, dacoities, rapes, murders .... Mr. Gandhi believes too much if he cherishes a belief that he has come to possess any such hold on the populace which may stem the flow of such dangerous forces. His last year's experience ought to impress him, with the fact of his utter helplessness to control the tide of the forces he let loose.... Non-coöperation as preached by Mr. Gandhi can be a substitute only for rebellion.... Where lies ... the sense of rushing to extreme methods in this case against Government, more specially when the act complained of is not of purely national character and affects the religious sentiments of only one section of the Indian people? We would, therefore, urge on our countrymen that as former—bloodless and constitutional—methods have up to this time led to our steady progress, we should in this case, too, confine ourselves to them and them alone."

SRI GURU NANAK DARSHAN, (Amritsar); Sumer Singh, editor.

(h) The *Sri Guru Nanak Darshan* of the 15th July says that a boycott of the reformed Councils will not prove useful to the country. Only those gentlemen in whom the people repose confidence should, however, be returned to them. Again the elected members should coöperate with Government only in matters likely to bring self-government for India. Besides only if the Government of India, the Secretary of State and other ministers fulfil their promise should we work in coöperation with them. In case Government ever fails to heed the voice of our representatives, the latter should oppose their official colleagues until the last named attend to our demands.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(i) The *Tribune* of the 23rd July writes:—"In a recent issue the *Independant* of Allahbad re-states its views on the subject of non-coöperation, with particular reference to Lala Lajpat Rai's proposal.... 'We supported Lala Lajpat Rai's views' he writes, 'for special reasons that exist only in the Punjab and not in the other provinces Those reasons are connected with last year's atrocities. The men who have been guilty of those crimes against civilisation and humanity are still occupying high places in the administration of that province. No self-respecting Punjabi can sit or work with them in the same legislatures. By .... 'the guilty officials' he can only mean those officials whose dismissal has been demanded in the congress report, namely, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud, and Malik Sahib Khan and the two other officials, Colonel MacRae and Captain Doveton, whom the Commissioners held to be equally guilty with Colonel O'Brien, but against whom for reasons they specifically stated they demanded no public action. Now, will the writer tell us ... what reason he has for thinking that any of these men are going to be in the new Council? ... Of the nine officials named in the congress report, three are no longer in the service of the Government, and one has either left or is about to leave India. It is fairly certain that by the time the new Council meets such of the remaining five as are mentioned in the Hunter report and by the Government of India as having abused their powers will either cease to be in the service of Government or be otherwise suitably dealt with. In any case, if we know our duty in the matter, and unless the authorities in India are extraordinarily perverse, it is extremely improbable that any of these men will, during the next few months, come to occupy a position by virtue of which they will have a right to sit in the Council.... How then does the talk of boycotting the new Council on the particular ground on which the *Independent* supports the proposal arise at all? ... There is one among the martial law officials who, if he continues to retain the office he now holds, is sure to be in the Council ... But we...see no reason why the Council should be boycotted in advance, merely because it is not known whether this particular officer, whose dismissal or even punishment the country has not so far demanded, will sit in the Council. Would it not be for more reasonable even for those who consider that they cannot as self-respecting men sit in the Council with him, to resign their seats after having fought the elections and won than not to fight the elections at all?"

PAISA AKHBAR, (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The *hijrat* movement.

10. (a) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th July says that not a few simple-minded Muhammadans are migrating from India because of the Khilafat question. This is a good way to express their feelings of resentment, but the authori-

ties do not pay the least heed to it. Besides, which is more useful for them—to leave their country or to live in it and carry on their agitation? In conclusion, the paper exhorts the Muhammadans to live here and try to secure their personal, national and religious rights.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 8th July publishes a communication from MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI, who disapproves of the inauguration of the *hijrat* movement at the present juncture. The Central Khilafat Committee has already passed a resolution calling upon the Muhammadans to have recourse to non-coöperation. It is the duty of all the members of the society called the Khudam-i-Khilafat to do their utmost to make the movement a success. If the propaganda fails, it will be incumbent on the Committee to decide on some other line of action. If the *ulema* and the public decide then that we should migrate from India, the Committee will do its best in the matter. For the present the writer is unable to take part in the *hijrat* movement. Proceeding, he tries to show that the movement of non coöperation is a religious one for the Muhammadans, and that Islam strictly enjoins on them to sever all connections with the enemies of their religion. They are, by adopting the most ordinary forms of non-coöperation, giving another chance to the British Ministers not to include themselves among the foes of Islam. In case the Muhammadans fail in their present efforts, they will adopt more effective measures. Meanwhile they should try to make the non-coöperation movement a success.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Sikh* of the 18th July has the following:—"Lahore witnessed an extraordinarily great enthusiasm over the arrival of a party of 600 Sindi 'Mahajrins' by a special train at 2 P.M. on the 11th instant. . . . . It is said that this is the first batch from Sind, while others will follow. But may we ask if such an enthusiasm in that peace abiding province is due to the present official attitude towards the Khilafat workers there. . . . . If so, will not the Government rise to the occasion and remove immediately the cause of this additional complaint of the Islamic world in which it is the duty of every Indian to join them? The sooner the troublesome officials are brough to their senses the better."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 21st July writes:—"The *Mahajarins*' incident at Peshawar has caused a great sensation... The matter, as the [official] *communiqué* itself states, has caused considerable excitement in Peshawar city... And India would not be the self-conscious and self-respecting nation that she is to-day if what Peshawar feels to-day were not sure to be feeling of the whole country to-morrow. An enquiry by a public, independent and representative committee ... can alone allay this excitement and meet the requirements of the case. We do hope the Government of India will realise the importance and urgency of promptly instituting such an enquiry. At present the allegations are only against individuals, and the circumstances under which, according to the Khilafat Committee . . . . the attack upon the *Mahajarins* took place show that the origin of the matter was purely personal. But the affair will assume a wholly different complexion if the Government fails in its obvious duty of holding a prompt and impartial enquiry into the allegations through a committee commanding public confidence, and of taking such action on the basis of the committee's recommendations as the circumstances of the case may require."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Indian soldiers in foreign countries.

11. The *Vakil* of the th July states that a Moscow wireless message to the *Manchester Guardian* reports that British forces are retiring to Baghdad, that the Indian soldiers in them have refused to fight the Persian revolutionaries and that a large number of these soldiers is said to have joined hands with Mirza Koltchak. Commenting, the paper says that whatever truth there may be in the report, the time has come when a strong movement should be started to urge Government not to employ Indian soldiers in foreign countries. Battles in these countries are fought for the benefit of European [*lit.* international] capitalists alone. Is it just and proper, however, that India should, for the sake of these cruel persons, send her sons to be killed on the battlefield? Indians have, besides, fought everywhere: there are very few nations with whom they have not had to fight. If the present state of affairs continues, the time will come when India shall be regarded with contempt by all good men in the world. After asking what we will gain thereby, the editor says that in whatever part of the British Empire Indian soldiers have been sent to

fight unbearable restrictions have been imposed on their fellow-countrymen there and its doors have been closed to them. The shameful treatment that is being accorded to our brothers in Africa, which was conquered with Indian blood, is sufficiently deplorable and instructive.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The next Viceroy of India.

12. Adverting to the speculation as to the likely successor of Lord Chelmsford, the *Partap* of the 5th July says that if Lord Reading or Mr. Montagu is appointed Viceroy, the selection will satisfy Indians in every way. A correspondent writing to the *Nation* remarks that the best way for His Majesty's Government to improve things in India would be to appoint Mr. Montagu to succeed Lord Chelmsford. The *Partap* is in complete agreement with the writer, although it is not satisfied with all that Mr. Montagu has done, especially in the case of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

The Hunter Committee's report.

13. The July number of the *Vedic Magazine* says:—"It is peculiarly British to leave the administration of far off territories to agents and to support the 'man on the spot.' It is human nature—call it perverse if you will—to place more trust in one's kith and kin than in people belonging to an alien race and possessing an alien culture, and this phase of perverse human nature becomes peculiarly marked when the subject race happens to be 'coloured.' Even philosophers and priests cannot rise above this weakness of human nature. How can, then, ordinary men absorbed in their own affairs and engaged in their sordid selfish pursuits, be expected to rise above racial considerations and to assess allegations against their own men at their proper value? When, therefore, we say that the Hunter Committee imbroglio need not astound or shock us (however much it may pain and humiliate us), we do not blame the British democracy. We simply state a fact of applied psychology for all it is worth. We blame our own countrymen for entertaining hopes which are bound to be disappointed. If they want to escape, in the future, from the manifestations of the 'un-British' spirit, let them spend all their energies in obtaining Home Rule and in securing that the bureaucracy shall be answerable for its misdeeds not to a distant public, whose hands are already full, but to the Indian people directly."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Dyer debate.

14. (*a*) Commenting on the Dyer debate, the Sikh of the 18th July writes:—"So, the Army Council have announced their decision that General Dyer shall not be offered any post in the British Empire. Now whether the juxtapositional terms 'compulsory retirement' mean dismissal or usual retirement on pension is not clear. But whatever it may mean, we ask, is this a sufficient punishment for a person who murdered or massacred hundreds of innocent people in broad daylight, wounding three times as many? Was this remarkable performance, called 'the Dyer debate' only on this trivial treatment accorded to a homocide for the darkest deed ever committed by a member of a civilized nation? Now whatever the result of the debate, consisting as it is said to do in the victory of His Majesty's Government, it contains no adequate compensation to afflicted India, about 500 of whose innocent children were done to death by a rabid military officer. There were speeches, attacks and counter attacks and what not, but with all these the offenders as well as the abetters are still without their deserts: only one man, Dyer, has been made a scapegoat, but he, too, gets compulsory retirement and nothing beyond that. And to him personally this little punishment, too, will mean no loss, for the friends and supporters of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who himself has received all praise for his 'signal services to the Empire,' have started a fund to pay him in lieu of the pecuniary loss which he will sustain in consequence of his compulsory retirement. Thus does the noble British nation propose to honour a member of it who has thus stained its great name!"

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

(*b*) The *Vedic Magazine* says in its July number:—"Mr. Montagu delivered a notable pronouncement, incandescent with righteous wrath and full of the most noble sentiments, which will go down to history as a remarkable demonstration of the innate love of fairplay which is the distinguishing mark of righteous statesmanship..... The pity of it all is that Mr. Montagu's action against Dyer does not at all harmonise with the noble sentiments he has expressed in his great speech..... This is a fresh illustration in support of the sound maxim laid down by Swami Dayanand and other political philosophers that the best of men actuated by the loftiest motives are powerless under an unrighteous system. And what system can be more unrighteous than the irrespensible rule of a handful of foreigners over an ancient country. If even Mr. Montagu has failed to deal justly with India, Indians must cease to depend upon foreign support, however, distinguished and disinterested, and must cultivate the essential qualities of self-reliance and fearless self-assertion."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 23rd July:—"Lord Sinha's speech [in the Upper Chamber] was characterestic in every way. He expressed the correct official view when he said that the dangerous feud which has arisen from the events in the Punjab would not end, unless both parties dropped the question. . . . Will his lordship for once place himself in the position of his unfortunate countrymen in the Punjab, and tell us whether he really expects the Punjabis to drop the question, while all the guilty officials, with one single exception, remain unpunished, while a large number of martial law prisoners are still in custody, while the fines and indemnities exacted during matial law or in connection with it still remain unremitted, and lastly, and above all, while no guarantees, statutory or otherwise, have been afforded that there shall not be a repetition of last year's atrocities? . . . If his lordship and Mr. Montagu, whose mouthpiece he is in the Lords, really wish the question to be dropped, let them give India what she so justly demands, and some of which they have themselves promised. Then and not till then can it be reasonably hoped that the Indian public generally and the Punjab in particular will drop this question, so vital to their well-being and to their self-respect."

(d) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"In spite of the warning which Lord Sinha gave, the House did record its opinion that the end justifies the means, and henceforth it will be possible for any officer, entrusted with the maintenance of order in times of unrest or internal disturbances, to perpetrate any amount of savagery and inhumanity, no matter how unnecessary or excessive, and to violate all the ten commandments, and yet claim that he has acted in a manner approved by the majority of the House of Lords."

Offending martial law officers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

15. (a) The *Tribune* of the 18th July writes:—"It is now more than two months since the Hunter Committee's Report was published, and the Dyer debate has also now practically come to a close. The misdeeds of certain officials were committed more than a year ago, but although the Government of India with unseemly haste passed an Indemnity Act, why is it so slow now to perform its duty . . . ? The duty of punishing the guilty officials is an imperative one and the Government owes its fulfilment as much to itself and the officials as to the people whose cherished rights the latter trampled under foot."

(b) "'A. N. S.' writes in his 'Random Notes' in the *Tribune* for the 20th July:—"Mr. Bosworth Smith of Gujranwala fame is going. Why I am informed that this martial law hero was actually at Simla not long ago begging that he might not be sent away. Of course he did not succeed in averting the doom that awaits him. So he had to go back to the plains, not to stay there, but to pack up, lock, stock and barrel. Of course, it will, I believe, be still open to him to stay on in India in a private capacity. If I am not misinformed, Frank Johnson has already set an example in this direction. Others might or might not copy it, but to my mind it seems exceedingly wrong on the part of Government to permit such officials to continue in India, at least for the present, even in a private capacity. Howsoever mild and tardy the punishment meted out to these men by a solicitous Government, removal from service does not necessarily render them incapable of doing harm to India, particularly if they stay on in this country as, for example, witness Johnson's speech at Rangoon."

Pre-emption and large Punjab towns.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

16. The *Tribune* of the 18th July has the following:—"How long is the Punjab Government to defer making good its assurance in the matter of the removal of the disabilities imposed by the Punjab Pre-emption Act for acquiring land for industrial, commercial and residential objects? It may be remembered that the Punjab Government gave the Indian Industrial Commission to understand

that 'pre-emption rights have been already declared non-existent in certain areas adjoining large towns,' whereas, as a matter of fact, Amritsar and Mianwali were the only areas so excluded at the time. It was in May last after the anomaly had been pointed out in these columns that the Government issued the necessary notification under section 8 (2) of the Act in respect of certain areas now practically part of the city of Lahore, whereby those areas were exempted from the operation of Pre-emption law. Since then, Multan has been asking for such a notification, but the necessary notification is still to come. It may be remembered that the genesis of such a notification is much older than the Indian Industrial Commission. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the present Pre-emption Act, it was expressly stated that section 8 (2) of the Act 'has been amplified so as to allow a general notification exempting all agricultural land sold in good faith for industrial, commercial or residential objects.' Mr Tollinton, then member in charge of the Bill, also stated in the Council that 'measures must be taken to protect sales for residential purposes and for industrial and commercial undertakings.' This was in 1912. Eight years have since passed away and the Industrial Commission has come and gone, but the position is much the same as it was then."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Appointments in the Agricultural Department.

17. The *Tribune* of the 22nd July has the following :—" The *Hindu* of Madras rightly protests against the Government of India having advertised in English papers 48 posts in the Agricultural Department of India without inviting similar applications in India. It is stated that applicant should have applied to the India office before the 1st June 1920, and the pay of the posts is Rs. 500 rising to Rs. 1,500 a month by an annual increment of Rs. 50. It is really difficult to understand why when agriculture becomes a transferred subject under the reforms scheme, the Government of India has thus hastened to Europeanise the Department and invited applications for higher posts exclusively from Englishmen when the claims of Indian for higher appointments in all deparments are admitted in theory and conceded partly in practice. Did the Government of India imagine that there was no one in India who was fit for some at least of the 48 posts in the Agricultural Department ? If so, how do they believe that they can safely transfer the department to an Indian Minister and anticipate its proper working ? . . . The recruitment of 48 officers exclusively in England six months before effecting the transfer of control of the Agricultural Department needs explanation."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Third class railway fares.

18. The *Tribune* of the 20th July writes :—" People in Bombay have been holding public meetings to protest against the proposed increase in the third class railway passenger rates. We are not aware of any official announcement being made of the proposed increase in the rate, but certain metre gauge railways have announced the raising of their third and inter. class rates by half a pie per mile with effect from the 1st August. If a similar increase is contemplated over the broad gauge railway lines, we must strongly protest against the idea as being utterly unjust and indefensible. The third class passengers are already being mulcted of a far larger amount in the shape of fares than the working cost and provision of convenience justify. Since the war, no other class of passengers have suffered so much inconvenience and contributed so much to the railway income as the lower class passengers, and it would be outrageous to levy heavier charges on them in return for what they are actually given."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The grievances of Sind.

19. The *Siyasat* of the 9th July publishes a communication from its Sind correspondent, who complains that the officers in no other province exercise as extensive powers and are so self-willed as those of Sind. The number of the C. I. D. men is the largest in Sind, and efforts are made to suppress all political activity there. The local authorities disregard the opinion of the leaders ; and it was they who first opposed the Khilafat question. After stating that they are still doing so, the writer alleges that, while out on tour, Government officers in Sind take things from people free of cost and also exact *begar* labour. The Revenue officers, he adds, unlawfully take a share of the land produce from the peasantry. Commenting, the *Siyasat* says that these complaints prevail in the Punjab also, and asks whether the correspondent has not wrongly substituted Sind for the Punjab.

TRIBUNE (Lahore) ; K. N. Roy, editor.

Internment of Pandit Amir Chand of Peshawar.

20. Writing about the internment of Pandit Amir Chand by the Frontier Government, the *Tribune* of the 21st July says :— " To intern a person under the Defence of India Act at a time of peace, either because he has acted in a manner unpalatable to the authorities or because his own safety requires the step, is clearly an abuse of the powers vested in Government by an emergency war measure. We do hope the local administration will no longer keep the public in the dark as to its reasons for the action, and that failing a satisfactory statement by it the matter will be raised in the Indian Legislative Council. It was time the executive was made to feel in every constitutional way open to us that there is nothing we prize more highly than the liberty of the individual."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

SIYASAT (Lahore) ; Habib Shah, editor.

Pilgrimage to the Hedjaz.

21. The *Siyasat* of the 9th July publishes a communication from MAULVI SANA ULLAH, editor of the *Ahl-i-Hadis*, Amritsar. He says that the editor of the *Zamindar* has used strong words towards the king of the Hedjaz and urged the Indian Muhammadans to postpone their intention to go on a pilgrimage to the Hedjaz this year. They are justified in expressing any amount of sorrow over the loss suffered by them through their separation from the Turks. They cannot, however, amend explicit Islamic injunctions. Some of them have been heard saying that since the Sherif of Mecca has turned a rebel, no pilgrimage can be performed in his time. But does there exist any authority on the point ? Continuing, the writer quotes a tradition to show that it is the duty of Muhammadans to go on a pilgrimage to the Hedjaz even though the Sherif be a rebel.

SIKH (Lahore) ; Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Sikh grievances.

22. (*a*) The *Sikh* of the 18th July writes :—" It is astounding that even in the most ordinary Panthic matters the ghost of politics stares us in the face, and that therefore such questions as other communities at once dispose of as religious, social or educational, remain unsettled because of our being over-cautious lest they should be considered as political and we brought to book for allowing politics to have formed the subject of our deliberations. Thus while we suffer heavily, on the one hand, we expose ourselves to ridicule in the world outside us, on the other. For instance, take the case of the Golden Temple, Amritsar. It is our Holiest of the Holy, our greatest religious shrine, and there cannot be a greater insult to it and, for that matter, to the Sikh religion and community than that its affairs should be interfered in by a Christian Government. . . . . But the pity of it is that if we offer to raise a voice we are browbeaten by the busybodies among ourselves, our own Chaudharis, so-called leaders, who tell us in the persuasive way characteristic of them, 'No, it is a political matter ; it had better wait yet.' They mean as if demanding the management of a Sikh religious shrine to be in the hands of the Sikhs is tantamount to demanding back the administration of the Punjab or declaring our alliance [God forbid] with the enemies of the British Empire. And still we boast that we are a self-respecting community. Under a similar wrong impression do we labour in connection with our rightful, lawful, constitutional and purely religious demand about the wearing of the *kirpan* and other K's by Sikh soldiers and prisoners. The Hindus and Muhammadans have never experienced such a hardship about their respective religious symbols, and it seems that all this irregularity and high-handedness are specified for the poor Sikhs. But the complaint, if it is made at all, is hushed up with the remark that it is a political matter."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore) Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the case of sepoy Mangal Singh, who was recently court-martialled and punished on the charge of wearing a [full sized] *kirpan*, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 1[illegible]th July states that a certain Sikh officer and a Granthi deposed that it was not necessary [for a Sikh] to wear a *kirpan* [of the above description], and that it was sufficient only to keep a miniature *kirpan*. The whole Sikh community should protest against the statements, and the Maharaja of Patiala should take steps to have all restrictions regarding the wearing of the *kirpans* by Sikh soldiers removed.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

23. The *Desh* of the 5th July publishes a communication from TAJ-UD-DIN, Honorary Secretary, *Majlis-i-Khuddam-i-Khilafat*, Delhi. The writer says that it has recently been announced that the Prince of Wales is coming to visit this country. The Muhammadans are, however, filled with sorrow and rage and are shedding tears of blood at the end of the Khilafat and the Turkish empire. If the Prince had come under different circumstances, India would have accorded a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness. Now, however, that the Muhammadans are in mourning it will be causing them further pain to expect them to welcome the Prince. After stating that non-official committees are being formed everywhere to welcome His Royal Highness, the writer suggests that the Muhammadans should hold meetings to pass resolutions to the effect that, in their present state of feeling, they are in no way prepared to accord a welcome to the Prince of Wales; that the latter should, therefore, postpone his visit to India; and that if His Royal Highness comes out against the wishes of the Muhammadans, they ought to take no part in the receptions accorded to him.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

New Council Chamber in Simla.

24. The *Tribune* of the 21st July has the following:—"It is to be regretted that in spite of the strong objection that was raised over the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma at the last Delhi session of the Imperial Council and the warning given to the Government by the Hon'ble Mr. Chanda and others, the Government of India have decided to build a temporary Council Chamber in Simla, which will cost about ten lakhs according to the present estimate. The Government of India have not, in spite of the reform scheme, shown any disposition to alter their angle of version so as to conform to public opinion on important questions. The utility of building a Council Chamber at Simla for holding the autumn session of the Council was strongly questioned both by Indian and independent European public bodies. It would be more convenient to all parties to hold the autumn session of the Council in Delhi, but the Government of India have apparently determined to make the Hill-top Government a permanent feature and totally disregard the almost unanimous public opinion in this matter. This unalterable position of the central Government, whose autocracy is unaffected by the reforms, is the most disheartening factor which tends to discount the value of the whole reforms scheme."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Nath, editor.

Sikhs and the army commission.

25. Referring to the recent Sandhurst selections, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 1 th July says that it is very painful to see that while the selected Indians include Bengalis, there is not a single Sikh among them. It is alleged that, according to the military authorities, the turban of the Sikh stands in their way of being granted royal commission. We strongly protest against this bigotry on the part of the authorities named, and request the Government of India to end the prejudice existing against the Sikhs and to assign to them in future a share of the commissions commensurate with their importance.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. Gandhi.

26. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 20th July has the following:—"Mr. Montagu's statement in the House of Commons with regard to Mr. Gandhi....... is intelligible only as being a bid for popularity among that section of his countrymen whose sympathies he appears to have completely alienated by his speech in the Dyer debate . . . . This attack upon Mr. Gandhi is not the less unfortunate because it is prefaced by a tribute to his 'great services' and 'his high character.' Mr. Montagu is too shrewd a man not to know that whatever services Mr. Gandhi has rendered to his country, whether in South Africa or since his return from South Africa, have in substance and in essence been wholly on a line with his present 'efforts,' which he describes as wholly mischievous. . . . If Mr. Montagu regards all these as 'great services,' in what sense are Mr. Gandhi's present efforts worthy of wholesale condemnation? . . . . But our strongest objection is not so much to Mr. Montagu's declaration regarding the character of Mr. Gandhi's activities, as to the blank cheque which he once more appeared to give to the Indian authorities to deal with Mr. Gandhi as they liked. He was satisfied, he said, that the Government of India would take all steps necessary to maintain order. Again, he preferred to leave the proper treat-

ment of Mr. Gandhi's activities to those charged with the maintenance of law and order in India in whom the Government had complete confidence. Lastly, he was prepared to support any steps which the Government of India thought necessary in the present difficult conditions. The same old story! We put it to Mr. Montagu that this method of giving blank cheques is thoroughly unconstitutional. The responsibility of the Government of India to Parliament would have no meaning and no reality if the minister responsible to Parliament for Indian affairs could thus abrogate his own function and leave everything to the man on the spot. Why cannot Mr. Montagu learn from past experience? It was this very method of giving a blank cheque that was chiefly responsible for the Punjab disaster. The Secretary of State, on that occasion, gave a blank cheque to the Government of India, the Government of India to the local Government, the local Government itself to its officers. The result is writ large in the history of the period. If Mr. Montagu does not want a repetition of that most tragic chapter of Indian history since the Mutiny, he had better be chary, while there is time, of issuing these blank cheques."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"'If' said the Secretary of State, 'Mr. Gandhi, after what had happened last year, persisted in the form of agitation he was now conducting, it would be absolutely impossible to take the same view of his action as last year.' . . . . We do not for a moment deny the legal competence of the Government to take a graver view of the action if they like, but is Mr. Montagu unaware of the inevitable effect of such a proceeding upon public opinion in India? For one thing, even Mr. Montagu cannot be unaware that Mr Gandhi is the greatest restraining influence in the sensitive part of India at the present time. He is the man, whose word, more than that of any one else, carries decisive weight with this part. Touch him and you remove the only thing that prevents the fanatical elements in certain sections of the population from breaking out into a course of conduct which cannot but mean a disaster to the country. Nor is this all. At present by the very law that governs such things the movement of non-coöperation has evolved the forces of opposition to it from within itself, and the country, as any one can see, has so far shown no signs of accepting Mr. Gandhi's lead in this matter. A wise Government would, in the circumstance, leave the movement severely alone, and would not in any way interfere with it, so that the forces already arrayed against it might do their work. To touch the movement in any way would be only to strengthen the forces in favour of the movement and weaken the forces that are arrayed against it . . . . Mr. Montagu and the Government of India will literally be acting as the greatest friends of the non-coöperation movement if they will in any way interfere with it. Let them confine themselves strictly to their duty of preserving order, which is in no way jeopardised, and of maintaining the authority of law, which has not been impugned. Beyond this let them leave everything to the country's intelligence, foresight and wisdom, and let them not repeat the blunders of the past, which would lead to infinitely more disastrous consequences in the present circumstances."

General Dyer.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

27. The *Vedic Magazine* for July refers to General Dyer's removal from the Army, and comments:—"Seven Europeans were brutally murdered by Indians at Amritsar and as a consequence more than seven Indians were hanged and many more imprisoned for life. General Dyer murdered hundreds of His Majesty's Indian subjects in cold blood and all the punishment he has got for [his] dastardly 'error of judgment' is removal from the army. And yet we are equal subjects of the King with Europeans. Neither the Welsh nor the Jews are noted for humour, otherwise Mr. Montagu or Mr. Lloyd George would see the grim humour of the situation and do something to rescue the British name from the brand of infamy which the historian of the future cannot but put upon it."

Colonel O'Brien.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

28. The following is from the *Sikh* of the 18th July:—"The action of the Head Master, Government High School, Gujranwala, in circulating an appeal for coöperation and subscriptions in connection with the 'O'Brien Shield,' proposed to be kept as a memorial (nay, an everlasting, proud monument) to the Nadirshahi regime of that staunch votary of terrorism, Colonel O'Brien, may be considered as foolish at best. He knows that Nemesis

is about to fall upon his benefactor for his misdeeds and that no one will ever remember him to be anything but a tormentor of people The movement will therefore expose him to the greatest ridicule. But if he is too grateful ('Master' Rai Sahib Khushi Ram is an Indian: he was made Rai Sahib through Colonel O'Brien!) to let the time of his benevolent Sahib remain unremembered, unhonoured and unsung, he should rest assured that the coming generations cannot forget it so long as they remember the history of their ancestors having been air-bombed and machine-gunned through his personal kindness. They may forget O'Brien when India forgets a Timur, an Aurangzeb, a Nadir and others."

DESH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Cotton Committee's report.

29. A correspondent writing to the *Desh* of the 7th July states that the Government of India has accepted the Cotton Committee's suggestions and that in future licenses will have to be obtained for working ginning factories. The proprietors of the concerns are, therefore, now in a fix. Men like Lalas Har Kishen Lal and Kirpa Ram should lose no time in forming a union of factory-owners in order to protect cotton trade in the Punjab.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Weaving schools for females.

30. PANDIT THAKUR DUTT SHARMA, a Vaid at Lahore, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 14th July says that the Weaving Schools for females started at Lahore in 1914 is going to be transferred to a missionary lady. The new Director of Industries seems to have agreed to the proposal and to have recommended it to Government for acceptance. It is to be hoped, however, that the latter will not agree to the projected arrangement. Commenting, the *Bande Mataram* states, that it has received a number of communications on the subject. If Government is unwilling to allow the school to be run as formerly, adds the paper, the Hindus and Muhammadans have the first right to take it over. Competent societies and respectable individuals are prepared to take the management of the institution in their hands.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Educated Indians responsible for the troubles of their country men.

31. "ONE IN THE KNOW" writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 10th July ascribes the present troubles of Indian to the doing of the their own countrymen. It is they themselves who discarded the use of indigenous articles and abandoned their national dress, customs, etc. It is they who export raw materials, help Government at every settlement of the land revenue and recommend the enhancement of the demand. It is they who are responsible for litigation and who rob the peasantry. It is the Indians employed in the Police Department who take bribes, make false reports and trump up cases. It is Indians who take bribes in courts, and who overlook corruption, conduct false cases, tutor witnesses, cause friction between zamindars, molest railway passengers, are responsible for overcrowding in trains, rob traders, accept bribes from them and ill-treat poor peasants on railway platforms. It is Indians who are Tahsildars and Naib Tahsildars, who present addresses to departing officers and do not inform the authorities of the true condition of people. It is they who compose the *Ji-huzur* party, impart education, are on the text-book committees, and work as examiners, university fellows and syndics, municipal commissioners and members of district boards. It is they who embezzle public money and fleece the public by means of bogus advertisements. In short, it is educated Indians who are responsible for all the troubles from which their country suffers at present. The writer would complain not against Government but against his own countrymen and would pray God to grant them a sense of shame and self-respect.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 24th July 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

1. (*a*) Writing on the Allies' reply to the Turkish peace note, the *Siyasat* of the 24th of July says that they have made a trivial amendment in the terms offered to Turkey and called upon her to sign the treaty, which may more fittingly be called a declaration of war, seeing that it is greatly at variance with justice and equity, gentlemanliness and humanity, civilization and righteousness, and the explicit pledges of the Allies, and that no nation can act upon it and still exist. Turkey has been asked not only to sign the proposed treaty, but also to compel Mustapha Kemal and his associates to recognise this disgraceful document, on pain of the Turks being driven out of Europe and Constantinople being permanently occupied by the Allies. The last named know full well that this threat will have absolutely no effect upon Mustapha Kemal, whom the allied cannon guns, bombs, and aeroplanes have so far failed to move. Indeed, the Allies have openly declared that they are not sure of Turkey's ability to fulfil the condition relating to him. Its imposition can, then, mean nothing but that the successors of the late Mr. Gladstone are trying to make good his words that the Turks should be driven out of Europe bag and baggage; and the crusades, in which Richard failed, have now been brought to a successful issue by the inheritors of his kingdom. The Christians have achieved their earnest wish after centuries of waiting and years of struggle and machinations, both open and secret. It is now for the Mussalmans firmly to resolve that until they get back their country from the usurping Christian it is a sin to eat, drink, sleep or rest. If they determine, and act upon the resolution, that they will safeguard the Muslim blood in every possible way and that, if necessary, they will sacrifice their lives and riches, their children and other near ones, in order to establish the glory of Islam anew, their efforts will assuredly

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be crowned with success in the end. In conclusion, the paper says that if the Muhammadans have got any sense of Islamic honour left in them, they should arise at once and defend themselves.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(b) The *Paisa Akhbar*, of the 23rd July says that the tyrannical policy pursued by Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon and other members of the British Cabinet in regard to Turkey has filled the Muhammadans with sorrow and anger. Their entreaties and supplications have proved futile, and there is nothing surprising in their resorting to non-coöperation.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(c) The *Partap* of the 25th July says that the Sultan had better make over Constantinople to the Allies and betake himself to Anotolia. What is the good of his living at Constantinople, when he will be like a prisoner there?

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(d) The *Sidaqat* of the 24th July says that the lamp of an independent Islamic Empire and the caliphate is being put out under the very nose of the Muhammadans, and still orders are being issued to warn them against making any noise. Should they quietly witness their own ruin, and give up the struggle to safeguard their rights? If the continuance of such a struggle is seditious, Great Britain is assuredly the greatest offender in this respect, seeing that she has made unprecedented sacrifices to maintain her political dignity. How surprising it is that while a display of the spirit of sacrifice and devotion by the British is regarded as the noblest act of patriotism, the same conduct on the part of Indians should be held to be seditious. Great Britain has captured our holy places and Arabia with the object only of extending her territories. The Muhammadans look upon this as the greatest insult to their religious traditions. If Mr. Lloyd George considers their desire to maintain the caliphate intact to be seditious, they... are undoubtedly rebels, but they will not sit quiet until they gain their object. They have now no time to think: there are but two alternatives before them. They should either accept Mr. Lloyd George's decision or should prepare themselves to bear all the hardships and calamities which always accompany truth and justice.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(e) A correspondent writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th July expresses the fear lest the harsh and violent language indulged in by the Muhammadan extremists should alienate the sympathies of the British public. He urges them, therefore, to try for an Anglo-Muslim unity, which, he says, will benefit Islam.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

England and Persia.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 21st July says that it appears from the latest news that the Bolsheviks are slowly but surely advancing into Persia. So long as that unfortunate country was not under British protection no one durst cast covetous looks at it. Ever since, however, it came under the sway of the greatest power of the world, the Bolsheviks have let it know no rest. The English have not only failed to render help to it, but have vacated the part of it where Bolshevik forces have poured in. Their behaviour towards Persia has been extremely shameful. The Bolsheviks are conquering a portion of the country while it is under their protection, but they are wholly indifferent to its fate. The present calamity has befallen it because of the English alone. The Bolsheviks are right in demanding that British troops should no longer remain in their neighbourhood [Persia]; and since this is not done they are attacking Persia.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Indians in South Africa.

3. The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd July states that the Union Government has suggested a remedy for the oppression and high-handedness practised on Indians in South Africa, namely, that the Indians desirous of returning home should be repatriated at its expenses. No one will, however, be allowed to bring more than £. 25 with him, and no family, whatever the number of its members, shall take more than £. 50 to India. Is this not an act of open oppression on the Indian settlers in South Africa? It is surprising that our benign Government should not have protested against the imposition of this unreasonable condition and should have let the Union Government trample upon the rights of loyal Indians. The Government of India should see that every Indian desirous of returning to his motherland is able to bring with him all the money earned by him.

Indians in Mesopatamia.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

4. The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st July publishes a communication from its special correspondent in Mesopotamia, who says that "we Indians" have always rendered Great Britain unstinted help in men and money. After, however, her purpose is served we are humiliated and sent to jail over trifles after a court-martial. Fines and severe punishments are inflicted on us, and we are returned to India after being given a bad certificate, when even our warm clothes are taken away from us. Again, the food arrangements for Indians are most unsatisfactory, while their residential quarters are worse than stables. On the contrary, Christians are better paid than we, and practise diverse rigours on us. They are given quarters fitted with electric fans and lights, and are immune from every sort of punishment. Nor is this all; while Indians have to walk to Government offices, some of which are more than one mile distant [from where the writer does not state], Christians are provided with trollies and motor-cars. Commenting, the *Bande Mataram* asks whether our benign Government cannot accord a considerate treatment to poor Indians and provide the same facilities for them as are allowed to Christians.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th July publishes a communication from its own London correspondent, St. Nihal Singh. The writer expresses the fear in the course of his remarks that the appointment of a Joint Select Committee will result in the exclusion of Indian affairs from Parliamentary discussion. The tendency of the Secretary of State, he adds, will be to have only such members of both Houses appointed to the Committee the majority of whom, he is convinced, will support him at all times. Commenting, the paper considers it necessary that an agitation against the Committee should be started in India, and efforts made to rescue the country from its iron grip. The India Office is already a heavy obstacle in the way of the constitutional progress of this country. If the existence of the Committee in question is necesssary, the election of its members should not be in the hands of the Secretary of State, the India Office, the Government of India or any other non-Indian agency, but should rest only with the elected members of the Viceregal Legislative Assembly.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing on non-coöperation, the *Akali* of the 22nd July says that a self-respecting nation of high ideals and ancient civilization like ours should return to the Councils only capable men, who have been making sacrifices for their country and are conversant with political matters. In the Councils chamber, they should plainly refuse to coöperate with Government, while they should resign their seats to mark their sense of disapproval of it. This should be done in connection with every election, and Government should be so harassed as to make it impossible for it to carry on administration. The honour of our nation, country and ancestors and our high civilization compels us to have now nothing to do with Government, the tyrannical Government which has disgraced our mothers and sisters and grossly dishonoured our leaders and whose prominent ministers have not fulfilled their promises. Let us prove to the world that Indians are a living nation, and that some manliness, courage, valour and sense of national honour are still left to them. We should, however, do everything in a calm, patient and lawful spirit.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 25th July publishes a communication from LALA GOBIND RAM, M.A., LL.B., Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee. He says that Lala Lajpat Rai would boycott the reformed Councils owing to the offencing martial law officers being still in service. As for Mr. Gandhi, he suggests this step because of the Khilafat question. The former's position would be weakened if the above officers were dismissed, and his is not the right way to express one's indignation at past events. As regards Mr. Gandhi's position, the writer cannot understand it. Indians are to do nothing for the British Government in the Councils: they have their own work to do there. If we were to look at things from Mr. Gandhi's point of view, we would have to leave our private business on the score of the Khilafat. Public business is as much important as private business, but since the latter has not been suspended, why should the former be treated differently?

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan editor.

(*d*) The *Liberal* of the 26th July writes:—"The membership of a municipal committee should be far more degrading and humiliating than that of the Council, if the hypothesis of non-coöperators may be accepted as true. It is here more than anywhere else that one comes into direct and more frequent contact with the officers of Government, much lower officers than one could expect to meet in the Council chamber; it is under the rose of most of the district officers who preside over our municipalities that the events of April last were perpetrated and it is therefore here more than in the reformed Councils that a non-coöperator's conscience should feel prickly."

PARTĀP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Mr. Sarma's appointment.

6. Writing about Mr. Sarma's appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Partap* of the 21st July says that it will not prove useful for the country, seeing that Mr. Sarma appears to have some love for Lord Chelmsford. He resigned his seat on the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act, but withdrew his resignation at his Lordship's instance. Again, he spoke against the resolution of the Amritsar Congress demanding the present Viceroy's recall.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Dyer debate.

7. (*a*) Writing on the Dyer debate in the Lords, the *Tribune* of the 24th July says:—"[Lord Sinha] was .... entirely wrong in [saying] that his fellow-countrymen desired the vindication of principles and not the punishment of individuals. The punishment of individuals is in this case inextricably bound up with the vindication of principles, and all sections of Indian opinion, including the moderate section, have definitely asked for the punishment of individuals. Lord Sinha has no excuse whatever for being ignorant of this patent fact."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 25th July says:—"Up to the time of writing no one in India knows whether Lord Finlay's motion was carried on the first day of the debate or on the second, and what motion, if any, the House had before it on the second day, if this motion was carried on the first. That the House must have had some other motion before it is fairly clear from the fact that both Lord Milner and Lord Curzon are said to have spoken after Lord Finlay's motion had been carried. Nor is it at all clear from Reuter's summary of the debate why these two leading and influential members of the House should not have spoken on Lord Finlay's motion itself, and why they should have left the task of defending the Government's action to the Under-Secretary of State, ... who cannot be said so far to command even a fraction of the influence which either of them does. It looks, indeed, and we must be permitted to state our apprehension quite plainly, as if the whole thing was pre-arranged, as if the more influential members of the Government had come to an understanding among themselves that the victory of the Government in the Commons should be counterbalanced by a defeat in the House of Lords, so that, on the one hand, the defenders of Dyer, whether in this country or in England might have some satisfaction, however melancholy, and, on the other, the people of India themselves might, after forming a proper idea of the realities of the case, desist from asking His Majesty's Government to take a juster and more adequate view of Dyer's offence and the offence of other officials, both high and low, than they had done so far."

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 26th July writes:—"The *Times* expresses profound regret at the result and considers that Dyer's case must bear evil fruits in India. The *Daily News* expresses the same view in even stronger and more outspoken language when it says that 'the division is a most disastrous blow to the foundations of British rule in India for many a long year.' Of course it will depend very much upon the attitude of His Majesty's Government itself how far the division is to disastrously affect Indian opinion. ... A division in the Lords would not ...., perturb them overmuch unless there were signs that the Government of the day or the ruling classes generally were inclined to attach greater importance to it than they would do in their own affairs. In the present case, the issue is quite clear. Are His Majesty's ministers going to obey the behests of Indian opinion and a considerable section of responsible English opinion as well and to place Dyer on his trial, or are they going to leave him alone? What are they going to do with Sir Michael O'Dwyer and in respect of India's virtually unanimous demand that the responsibility of the Viceroy and Government of India should be brought home to them? How are the other officials condemned in the Hunter and the Congress report going to be dealt with? Are the remaining martial law prisoners going to be released, and the fines and indemnities imposed in the days of martial law or, in connection with it going to be remitted? And lastly, and above all, are they going to repeal the repressive measures and to afford suitable guarantees against a recurrence of the atrocities of last year? If these questions were satisfactorily answered by the responsible authorities, we do not think the division in the Lords would have any serious effect in India. On the other hand, if nothing were done in respect of all or most of these matters, it goes without saying that the lesson of the debate would burn itself into the soul of India and would destroy her peace. Let His Majesty's Government and the House of Commons make their choice while yet there is time." Continuing, the paper says:—"What precisely . . . . . the *Times* means when it says that 'the debate will create a false impression in India that an important section of opinion regards preventive massacre and the degradation of subject peoples as serviceable instruments of the Imperial Government.' In what sense is this a false impression? What other construction can be put by any decent man upon the action of the majority of the House of Lords? . . . . Surely there is no getting away from the fact that a section of opinion does exist in England as among the Anglo-Indian community in India which regards Dyer as a hero, and which approves of the monstrously savage and inhuman methods adopted by him."

The disturbances.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 28th July:—"During the last few days appeals have been made to the people of India from more than one quarter to drop what is known as the Dyer controversy which, it seems, has now become a convenient synonym for the controversy regarding the Punjab occurrences of last year... To all those who have been appealing to us to bury the hatchet... we have one common reply to give. 'The dangerous feud' has not been of the Indians' own seeking and cannot be terminated merely by making an appeal to him... The Anglo-Indian press would have the feuds ended on their own terms. That is not only a futile hope but a hope which they themselves know to be futile. Similarly, the Government seem to imagine that now that the Hunter Committee has submitted its report and they have themselves taken some small action in pursuance of the recommendations in the report and have promised to take some further action, the people should be satisfied and should forget everything about the past. We put it to the authorities that it is not on such terms that disputes between the instruments of official authority and the people, involving so fundamental an issue as that of liberty *versus* frightfulness, have ever been terminated. Here three things are equally essential. In the first place, you must adjust the accounts between official and non-official wrong-doers by inflicting suitable punishment upon the former. Secondly, you must do all that you can to restore the *status quo ante*. Thirdly and lastly, you must give some assurance, in which the people can believe, that the atrocities of the past are not to be repeated in the future. Something has undoubtedly been done in the first two respects, but in all three much, very much, yet remains to be done. It is precisely because the bulk of his countrymen are as anxious as Lord Sinha 'to set themselves to accomplish the great talk of peace and reconciliation' that they are so earnest and so resolute in asking the Government to establish or rather re-establish the conditions that can alone enable them to apply themselves whole-heartedly to the work that lies before them."

Women's Educational Service.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The *Tribune* of the 25th July writes:—"The Government order regarding the formation of a Women's Educational Service with a revised scale of pay and methods of recruitment do not ensure the appointment of a fair and adequate number of Indian women which is necessary to make higher education among Indian women successful. The Government order says that 'owing to the paucity of Indian women no proportion has been fixed as to the number of Indians to be appointed to the Indian Service, but every encouragement will be given for the appointment of qualified women to all posts for which they may be fit.' The difficulty is that the word 'qualified' is not defined, and it is possible that different administrators may interpret it differently. Educated Indian women, few though they are, do not try to 'qualify' themselves for service, so long as their chances of appointment are left to individual ideas of 'qualification.' If a university qualification and good character are enough to qualify one for

service, a fairly large number may be available for service. If teaching experience or other 'qualifications' are required, one may obtain them if definitely stated. The point is that 'qualifications,' if not possessed already, can be acquired, only when they are definitely known, and in this respect the Government order regarding Women's Educational Service places Indian women in a disadvantageous position. It must be remembered that while a high standard of teaching is necessary, and for this purpose European recruitment may to some extent be desirable, the success of the movement for Indian women's higher education is, to a much larger extent, dependent on a liberal admixture of Indian women teachers in schools and colleges. In other words Indian girls should be guided and taught, as far as possible, by their own qualified women graduates. We hope that the Government will keep this aim in view in recruiting Indian women for the Women's Educational Service."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Factory laws in the Punjab.

10. K. A. **DESAI** writes to the *Tribune* of the 28th July:—"Ever since the present Factory Inspector took charge of his office in the Punjab there has been a strong feeling against the methods by which he is operating the Factory Act in the province. In fact there is not a factory in the Punjab, Delhi and Ajmer-Marwar which has not a grievance against his methods and manners."

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Khanewal case.

11. The *Akali* of the 23rd July says that the Khanewal case is very similar to Bhai Chatar Singh's case. The only difference is that while in the latter case one Indian beat one European, in the former four Feringhis beat one Indian. Again, while the Bhai has been transported for life, the Feringhis have only been fined Rs. 45 each There is a difference indeed between a white and black complexion. This shows how the laws can be distorted to suit one's own purpose.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Honorary magistrates.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th July says that the present procedure relating to the appointment of honorary magistrates is defective. A man is appointed an honorary magistrate on the score, not of his honesty or ability, but of his services to Government. We have the right to ask that Government should not mark its appreciation of such services in a way likely to prove a source of trouble for its poor and loyal subjects. As it is, the manner in which honorary magistrates are now appointed is disadvantageous for the public. The majority of these officials are notorious for their incompetence, and make an improper use of their powers to gain worldly benefits. If the institution is to be maintained—

(1) No superannuated official should ever be appointed an honorary magistrate;

(2) An honorary magistrate should possess a competent knowledge of English and Urdu, and should be required to undergo a test in regard to his fitness to perform his duties;

(3) His financial position should be such that there may be no likelihood of his using his powers for personal ends; and

(4) He should be elected by the people of his *ilaka*.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Calcutta University Commission's report.

13. The *Desh* of the 16th July takes exception to the recommendation by the Calcutta University Commission regarding the appointment of Europeans as Principals and Professors of Intermediate Colleges, saying that it means that Indians as such would be debarred from occupying these high positions, and which would be likely to cause serious racial differences.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla, Minhas, editor.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

14. The *Vakil* of the 21st July publishes a communication from one **HABIBULLAH**, Munshi Fazil, of the Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. The writer asks whether the advocates of the Hindu-Muslim unity will prevent Hindus from filling posts renounced by Muhammadans emigrants. Will Mahatma Gandhi, he enquires further, afford proof of the genuineness of the unity by having the Shahidganj mosque of Lahore restored to the Muhammadans?

Kine-killing.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

15. The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th July says that the *Taj* of Jubbulpore reports that an English hide company is going to be floated in the Central Provinces, that the local administration has promised to supply hides to it for tanning at low or nominal prices, that the company's slaughter-house, which will be built at Government expense, is to be located at Ratonar (?) in the Sagar district, and that about 2,500 cattle will be killed there daily. Commenting, the *Bande Mataram* protests against the proposal, which is not only insulting to the Hindus, but is also highly injurious from agricultural and transport considerations. After remarking that there is already a dearth of milk and *ghi* in the country, the paper says that the proposal is highly prejudicial to the future progress of India, and that it is the duty of every Indian to oppose it. While the Amir of Kabul has prohibited cow-killing in Afghanistan in order to please the Hindus, the proposal in question will be certain to shock them. It is the duty of the Government of India to intervene and warn the Central Provinces administration to abandon the project. The National Congress and the Muslim League also should bestir themselves.

The Golden Temple.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

16. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 23rd July publishes a communication in which the writer says that the Golden Temple is the central *gurdwara* of all the followers of Nanak, who number crores and are divided into many groups. The present management of the Temple is right and impartial, which argues kindness on the part of Government. The question is not one of management by Sardar Arur Singh. Whoever the manager may be, he should be appointed by Government. The present arrangement has obtained for several generations and is the best that could have been made. Government cannot now entrust the Temple into the hands of any one sect, especially the limited one which does not look upon crores of Sikhs as such and believes itself alone to be the Sikhs.

The Prince of Wales.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

17. (*a*) The *Sidaqat* of the 16th [received on the 28th] July refers to M. Gandhi's views regarding receptions to the Prince of Wales, and says that those people, whether Muslims or not, who consider Government's conduct in regard to the Punjab occurrences and the Khilafat movement to be insulting and humiliating for them, are wholly justified in asking how they can hold rejoicings to welcome the Prince when they are in mourning and the oppression practiced in this province and the destruction of Turkey have rent their hearts. Will those who hold the contrary view, enquires the paper, participate in rejoicings when their houses are on fire or are being plundered or when a beating of breasts is going on there? Some people say that the Prince has no concern with politics, but it is foolish to think that His Royal Highness's forthcoming visit to India is merely a pleasure trip. The authorities will show him only the bright side of the picture and try to impress on him that Indians are enjoying every comfort, and that if any outcry is ever raised against Government, it is the work of noisy and mischievous agitators. The paper does not mean to say that the Prince of Wales should not visit India: it only wishes that he should see us in our real condition. We are helpless and cannot, therefore, avenge ourselves on O'Dwyer and his disciples. We should, however, tell the Prince or let His Royal Highness know by dissociating ourselves from the welcome offered to him that we are an oppressed people. We should tell him that we can pertake in no rejoicings until deterrent punishment is inflicted on the offending officers connected with the sorrowful occurrences in the Punjab and until the Khilafat question is decided in conformity with the promises of British statesmen.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali, editor.

(*b*) "ATA VAHSHI" of Takia Sadhuan, Lahore, writing to the *Zamindar* of the 21st of July, says that the opinion prevails in some quarters that it would be unseemly to manifest any joy on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit to India, for the reason that the people are now distracted with troubles. The Lahore municipal committee, however, forgets all this and is bent upon presenting an address to His Royal Highness. And when it is suggested that the address should make a mention of martial law, the Khilafat, and the reform scheme, the motion is rejected by the majority of the committee's members, who say that it should contain nothing beyound welcome and hearty greetings. An excellent suggestion indeed! The committee has long been noted for its wrong interpretation of the wishes of the tax-payers. The Rate-payers' Association should awake and bestir itself.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(c) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 25th July:—"We do not see our way to agree with those (including of course Mahatma Gandhi, the author, so to say, of the movement) who propose boycotting the coming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India. We reproduced in our last issue *in extenso* the article of Mr. Gandhi on the subject. To us his views look more sentimental than reasonable. India is traditionally a land of king-worshippers. Hindu, Muslim and Sikh scriptures all enjoin an unswerving devotion to the sovereign of the day. Moreover, a guest should be honoured even though there be a mourning in the host's family. We can cite from the history examples of this sort of noble hospitality. It is for the Prince or those responsible for the step to consider whether or not it is desirable for His Royal Highness to see India when she is not happy and satisfied. But if he come, it is our duty, sacred duty, to accord him hearty reception as the representative and heir apparent of our sovereign. We may continue to express our grievances and go on insisting on our demands for justice; the Prince's visit and our reception of him can in no way affect our position. . . . Moreover, the Prince is coming to grant us something, and however small the gift, it will furnish a good association. We suggest that while he should receive from us a right royal reception, His Royal Highness should be asked to pay a visit to the Jallianwala Bagh and other everlasting monuments to the work of the martial law officers."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 27th July:—"While there may be the widest difference of opinion as to either the necessity or the desirability of the proposal made by Mr. Gandhi that in the event of Khilafat and the Punjab grievances remaining unredressed the functions proposed to be held in honour of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should not be participated in by patriotic and self-respecting Indians, no Indian nationalist will agree with Mr. Montagu in thinking that the proposal is disloyal. The grounds on which Mr. Gandhi based his proposal, whatever else one may think of them, made it prefectly clear that nothing was further from his intention than to show disrespect either to the Throne or the heir apparent. His sole object was to prevent the Government for the time being from utilizing the enthusiasm spontaneously evoked by the visit of the future King for the purpose of creating the impression that everything is for the best in India, that the people have no grievances and that it is only the sheer spirit of mischief on the part of a few educated Indians which keeps the fire of agitation alive. Now one may think what one likes of the method proposed by Mr. Gandhi for attaining his end, and there are many who think that it is neither desirable nor even justifiable to resort to this particular method even for so unexceptionable a purpose, but that is a very different thing from saying that the proposal is disloyal. Disloyalty is a positive and not a negative thing, and disloyalty to the Throne cannot be predicated of a suggestion which is avowedly directed only against the policy of the King's advisers and officers for the time being, and the author of which makes it as plain as language can make it that he yields to no one in his respect for or devotion to the Throne."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Mr. Gandhi.

18. (a) Commenting on the Secretary of State's statement regarding Mr. Gandhi the *Sikh* of the 25th July writes:—"Let us briefly examine the position of Mr. Gandhi. Does he mean to violate and upset order? Is he in favour of violence? Has he ever said a word to excite people? No certainly not . . . It is the efforts of such peaceful person, an angel of peace and order, the enemy of violence and bloodshed that the Secretary of State pronounces as thoroughly mischievous, and allows the Indian Government full liberty to take what steps they consider needful to maintain order. We hope that the Secretary of State will reflect further over the matter and hasten to mend his statement. In case he fails to do so, His Excellency the Viceroy and his councillors, we are sanguine, will not commit the blinder of allowing the same liberty to the local Governments."

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(b) The *Shanti* of the 24th July says that Mr. Montagu's attitude towards the non-coöperation movement started by Mr. Gandhi is apprehended to bring about a revolution, which will be darker than last year's Punjab incidents, and that it is likely that the coming era may still further widen the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. To allow full powers to the Government of India or Lord Chelmsford in dealing with Mr. Gandhi is a serious blunder on the part of the Secretary of State. It is like someone entrusting a quail to a cat, and then going to sleep. It is altogether inexpedient to give such powers to the Viceroy to deal with the leaders for whom he has not the least liking. Next the paper says that it is the duty of the supporters of the non-coöperation movement to conduct themselves peacefully and afford Lord Chelmsford no chance to resort to rigour.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(c) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 26th July says that non coöperation is not intended to cause any disturbance, and it is not, therefore, easy to understand Mr. Montagu's reasons for allowing the Government of India a free hand in suppressing the movement. The people of India can never tolerate that the Secretary of State should hold out threats to Mr. Gandhi or should try to suppress the Khilafat movement. Continuing, the paper says that Mr. Montagu's words go to show that the tyrannies practised in the Punjab during the martial law days have not moved him in the least, and that he, too, is a supporter of General Dyer and O'Dwyer. In conclusion, it urges Indians to display patience and remain peaceful even if the Government of India should arrest Mr. Gandhi.

The Peshawar incident.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

19. The *Sikh* of the 25th July writes:—"In our last issue we reproduced *in toto* the North-West Frontier Province Government's press *communique* giving the account of the death of a *muhajir* at the hands of soldiers at Kachagarhi. . . . The version of the people is quite different from that." After summarising this version, the paper continues:—"We are afraid in abbreviating it . . . we have had to omit much of this blood-curdling account. If the whole version be true (and we wish it should be otherwise, but it has been circulated by the Khilafat Committee, Peshawar), this diabolical murder of an unarmed *muhajir* furnishes another addition to the Jallianwalla and Gujranwala massacres. Now as the murder of an individual in the most callous and cowardly way ever adopted by a warrior, it rather surpasses all instances of inhumanity. It was an act of the most relentless butchery, fires and cuts and thrusts having been made even on the dead body—mind shudders even at the imagination of such a terrible scene! And who denies that it was actually enacted? That the bier was accompanied by about eighty thousand Hindus and Muhammadans, and a *hartal* was observed in the city followed by a mass meeting, shows the feeling of the public about the event. Let us hope the North-West Frontier Province Government, the Government of India and the Secretary of State will give to the matter the attention that it demands."

Indians in cantonments.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

20. The *Zamindar* of the 20th July publishes a communication from LALA SAT DAN SETHI and LALA BHAGWAN DAS CHANDI of Murree and Nowshehra respectively. The writers say that the reform scheme cannot possibly affect the hilly portions of the country, inasmuch as they are inhabited by the mighty British troops whose orders can be defied neither by Mr. Montagu nor by Lord Chelmsford. The rigours, tyrannies, and indignities which shopkeepers have constantly to suffer in the cantonments there can better be imagined than described. The Criminal Procedure and the Indian Penal Codes are applicable to the whole of India only in name: cantonments are outside their purview, "and we who have to deal with British soldiers know full well the worth of British justice in this country." If the soldiers do not agree with the price asked for an article, a torrent of filthy abuse descends on the shopkeeper. Should we, however, make a complaint, to their officers, we are told in reply that we are telling lies and that British soldiers never indulge in falsehood. Continuing, the writers state that only recently a poor shopkeeper at Nowshehra was sentenced to one month's imprisonment on a false charge of having called a British soldier "the son of a pig." Again, a young Sikh called Gurcharan Singh was beaten so severely by a soldier that he lost some blood. Nor is this all; the young man was kept in the lock-up for about two hours, while on a complaint having been made to the officers concerned, the soldier was let off on the strength of his statement that he had beaten the Sikh, as the latter's dog was going to bite him. Such incidents should go to show that the shopkeepers working in cantonments are in a most wretched condition. The press should write on the unholy distinctions made between the whites and blacks there. Commenting, the *Zamindar* says that the Commander-in-Chief should in order to maintain pleasant relations between Europeans and Indians, issue orders to his troops to accord human treatment to His Majesty's Indian subjects.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

Begar in India.

21. The *Jat Gazette* of the 14th July says that, with the exception only of the authorities, there is perhaps no one in India who regards *begar* with favour. Considerations of prestige, it adds, prevail in official circles and constitute a great obstacle in the way of the abolition of *begar*. Impressing labour is a piece of downright oppression, and there should be no hesitation in putting it down. Next the paper describes the evils of *begar*, and asks whether Government will earn the gratitude of the people by ending this troublesome practice.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Dyer Fund.

22. The *Liberal* of the 26th July has the following:—"Following the lead of the London *Morning Post*, the *Englishman* and the *Pioneer* have opened subscription lists for General Dyer, and we dare say the *Civil and Military Gazette* will follow suit. . . . . So long as frightfulness continues in Germany genuine pious horror will be expressed everywhere, but frightfulness at Amritsar is designated by another name, and we are waiting for a national memorial being voted to General Dyer."

SIKH, (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Colonel O'Brien.

23. The *Sikh* of the 25th July has the following:—"Colonel O'Brien of the Gujranwala aeroplane-bombing and machine-gunning notoriety is still in his office, though His Majesty's Government are clear and emphatic enough that these wrong-headed officials should be duly dealt with for the atrocities they perpetrated upon the poor Indian subjects (males, females and children) of His Majesty. No, not that alone; he is now in a far better and more comfortable position now. He is Political Agent, Bahawalpur, which office places him at the head of three important Punjab States—Bahawalpur, Faridkot and Maler Kotla. It is a common saying that when the authorities wish to do some special favour to an official they send him to some State, where he can, at no or little cost, or most cheaply if he be strict to the letter, enjoy the comforts of life. His word there is law and he passes his happy days amidst a "ji huzur" people. So, Colonel O'Brien, who subjected the respectable leaders of Gujranwala to the most cruel treatment that his relentless mind could concoct and invited aeroplanes to bomb and machine-gun the poor loyal people who had supplied him with recruits and money, has received a good reward for the great services rendered by him."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 31st July 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Sayad Habib, editor.

1 (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 30th July says that people conversant with Turkish affairs know full well that the decision that Turkey should sign the proposed peace treaty is only that of the Turks who are prisoners in the hands of the Allies. The fact of the matter is that neither the Turkish nationalists nor the rest of the Turks are prepared to sign the treaty. This is evident from the fact that even a toady like Farid Pasha, the henchman of the English, and his brother ministers have refused to put their signatures to it. Continuing, the paper says that the present condition of Turkey shows clearly enough that even if the Allies force some Turks into signing the treaty, there will, nevertheless, be no peace in the country. Besides, oppression by the Allies means that they are forcing the Turks to rise in sheer desperation. The latter will assuredly do so, nay, they may be said to have risen already. The movement is spreading. History shows that oppression by conquerors leads to painful consequences. The end of the Allies also is to be a painful one. In case, however, they change their policy, a different result will ensure.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the *hijrat* movement, the *Sikh* of the 1st August says:—"[The Muhammadans'] displeasure is about one point—the Allies' treatment of Turkey. But the Indian Khilafat deputation is there to fight the case, thus most suitably representing the part of India in the matter. We therefore fail to understand what justifies the necessity of our Muslim brethren in India leaving their hearth and home to take up residence in one of the most uncivilised and lawless lands in the world. They should judge of the tempting lures of the Amir in their calm moment and compare them with the innumerable blessings of India, which many centuries ago they adopted as their motherland. They had better remain here and continue their constitutional agitation. They could here be of a great help to the Khilafat movement, which they might support with money and men (members), while by going away they would only deprive the cause of the aid they can easily give it in India."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Mesopotamia.

2. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st August says that the Muslim world will be glad to learn that an Arab kingdom is to be established in Mesopotamia. It remains to be seen, however, whether or not this kingdom will flourish. It is also a question when it will be freed from British control and become a responsible and self-governing country.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 5th August reports that, according to Mr. Churchill, there are 14,500 white and 64,000 Indian soldiers in Mesopotamia. What special connection, however, has Jack Sepoy with that country? Have troops from South Africa, Canada or Australia also gone there and has any of those countries paid even a pie towards the military expenditure involved? And if other parts of the Empire do not contribute towards the realisation of its objects in territories under its mandate, why should Indian soldiers be sent to fight against the Arabs, with whom they have no quarrel? This is why the Government of India is being asked to withdraw Indian soldiers from Mesopotamia.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Indians abroad.

3. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th July reports that a deputation of Indian traders from South Africa has arrived in this country under the leadership of Messrs. Abdul Rasul and A. Dasram, and that the latter has stated in the course of an interview with a representative of the Associated Press that the Viceroy has assured the deputation that efforts will be made to secure equal rights of citizenship for Indians in all British Colonies. Commenting, the paper wishes that the Government of India would take practical steps to fulfil the promise which it has so liberally made to the deputation. Past experience, however, tells us that such promises are never meant to be kept. Indeed, if Government had kept its word in the past, poor Indians would not have been so ill-treated in South Africa, Fiji and other British Colonies.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 31st July states that its Baghdad correspondent complains that the Indians employed there in the various departments are not allowed to go back to India, although they joined their posts on the distinct understanding that they would serve only until the end of the war. Again, they have now to pay postage and money-order commission in spite of a promise having been made to them at the commencement of their service that these would not be charged from them.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The reforms.

4. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th July states that Colonel Yate's amendment regarding the extension of franchise to the soldiers who fought in the European war has been accepted. There are now nearly three lakhs of voters in the Punjab: the amendment has increased the number by two lakhs. It is possible that soldiers may now be returned to the new Councils as representatives of the rural population. This makes it very difficult for the educated men who offered themselves for election by rural constituencies to succeed at the polling. It is surprising that while Mr. Montagu states that he wants the best men in the Councils, he is allowing such men to be returned as are uneducated, and unacquainted with political affairs. It is an unhealthy principle to reward military services in this way. The whole country should raise its voice in protest.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 30th July says that, according to the new rules, no one who has been in jail for six months or more, is eligible for election to the Councils. This is calculated to work the greatest harm to the Punjab, and Government had better make an exemption in favour of political offenders. So far there has been a difference of opinion in the matter of non-cooperation, but the above step by Government will have the effect of uniting the people in boycotting the Councils. The word "amnesty" should be correctly interpreted, and nothing should be done to prevent the best Indians from serving their country.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th July publishes an article over the signature of LALA LAJPAT RAI, who says that, according to Mr. Montagu's interpretation of the Council rules, martial law convicts, who were subsequently granted an amnesty, cannot enter the Councils. If this is really so, not only Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, but even Lala Harkishen Lal, Lala Duni Chand, Pandit Rambhaj Dat, Sardar Labh Singh and other Hindu, Muslim and Sikh gentlemen convicted during the martial law days, cannot stand for election. It is the duty of the Punjabis to make it clear to Government that educated men in this province will have no alternative but to boycott the local Council in these circumstances.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(d) The *Vakil* of the 29th July says that it is not proper that the restriction should continue even after the grant of a royal amnesty. What can this amnesty mean, it asks, if martial law convicts are to be held guilty even after the grant of the royal pardon to them? The continuance of the restriction, adds the paper, has furnished another cause for agitation, and will stimulate the suggestion regarding a boycott of the Councils.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(e) Writing about the Sikh deputation's work in London, the *Sikh* of the 1st August says:—"They [the deputation] have done well . . . in protesting against dividing the Sikh constituencies into two classes—rural and urban. This disadvantage is too evident to need comment. If the differentiation is allowed to remain, the result will be our entire inability and failure to return really able and useful representatives; the majority of the Sikh members will consist of landlords and none else. It is said that we have got an addition of two seats further. But that addition is to go to the rural side, while there will be only one urban constituency comprising the whole of the Punjab."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(f) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 25th July says that the reform scheme provides three Indian members for the Viceroy's Executive Council. After remarking that there are already two Indians on the Council, the paper says that if the third is to be a statesman of Mr. Shafi's type, it would strongly demand that Government's choice should fall on some Sikh gentleman.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5. (a) The *Partap* of the 26th July states Lord Sinha recently remarked in the House of Lords that he would leave the non-coöperation movement alone and let it die of inanition. After observing that his Lordship's advice is a wise one, the paper says that if Government resorts to repression in dealing with the propaganda, it will assuredly be crowned with success. The movement is a peaceful one at present, but if Government practises repression there will be kindled a fire which it will be powerless to extinguish.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(b) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th July approves Lord Sinha's advice, and says that if Government does not interfere with the movement in a hurry or make use of force in connection therewith, it will slow down and become weak of itself.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(c) The *Jat Gazette* of the 28th July says that the non-coöperation movement will, if carried into practice, bring about more dire results than the happenings of last year. Mr. Gandhi should remember that he wants to start the movement in a country inhabited, not by gods, but by human beings, who are complete strangers to self-control. The proposed final stages of the propaganda transgress the limits of law, although there will be considerable disorder even before these stages are reached. The end of non-coöperation seems to be bloodshed, destruction, desolation and pillage. Repression, high-handedness, oppression and tyranny by the rulers, and breaches of the peace, disturbances and perhaps conspiracy and rebellion by the ruled will follow in its train. Continuing, the *Jat Gazette* says that those who advocate a boycott of the Councils argue that their sense of self-respect does not allow them to sit in the same legislatures with the officers who perpetrated enormities in the Punjab during the martial law days. The argument is wholly unsound. It may be humiliating for the said officers that such men should enter the Councils and make things hot for the former, but the event can never have the same significance for the latter. Besides, a boycott of the Councils cannot be a punishment for the officers against whom Indians have been venting their indignation.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) One **GOBIND RAM KHANNA, M.A., LL.B.**, writes in the course of a letter contributed by him to the *Tribune* of the 31st July :—" To say that by going into the Councils we will be coöperating with the officials present there is wrong. We have a natural and indefeasible right to administer our own affairs. Every nation has that right and so have we. For a long time we have been forcibly and unjustly kept out of the enjoyment of that right. After an incessant and hard struggle we have won that right, though only partly. Why should we not, therefore, enter the Councils with the spirit of having to exercise our own right, though unfortunately in part only? We are the principal party concerned in the Councils and if others are present there, it is in spite of us and not because we want to coöperate with them. We repudiate that the officials have a right to be in our Councils or have a primary interest in our Government. The element of co-ordination will also be absent. Some may regard the elected members to be in a position of subordination to the official members. I think the elected members, being the representatives of the people, are in a position of superiority to the officials, who are the employees of the people, whose 'bread' they eat. One way or other there is no equality and therefore no coöperation. Coöperation and non-coöperation are not, therefore, suitable words for going into or keeping out of the Councils. We are painfully conscious of the fact that by the rules of procedure, which the Government has framed for the conduct of business, it has very much reduced the benefits that were professed to be conferred by the new Act, and that steps are already being taken which are bound to seriously handicap the efforts of the minister, to initiate reforms in the departments assigned to them. Why should we not, by actually handling the weapon, show to the world its hollowness, instead of sulkily refusing to touch it?"

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(e) The *Akali* of the 31st July says that strictly speaking there can be no coöperation between a foreign Government and a subject people, the latter being no better than slaves. True coöperation is possible only between people of the same position. Indians have no right to interfere in the affairs of Government: they are treated like menials. As long as the administration of the country is not in their own hands, as long as they and Englishmen do not regard themselves as brothers and subjects of the same sovereign and as long as pride of rule and racial prejudice fill the heads of the King-Emperor's [Europeans] servants and are not replaced by a desire for unity, coöperation between the rulers and the ruled is an utter impossibility. Can a people possessing a sense of honour coöperate with those who disgraced their mothers and sisters, who flogged their elderly persons and leaders in public in a state of nudity, who ordered the mild Hindus to crawl on their bellies in a street and who threw bombs on their innocent children and women? We rendered help to Government, but have received beatings in return. The only course now open to us to save our honour is to cease coöperating with Government. If we do not do so we shall suffer badly.

(f) In its issue dated the 5th August the paper complains that, on the one hand, the bureaucracy pays no heed to the demands of the Sikhs. After detailing the stock grievances of the community, the paper says that, on the other hand, Dyer and O'Dwyer, who disgraced the greatest Punjab leaders, had innocent persons fired at and gentlewomen subjected to disgrace, have been not only exonerated but praised for their acts. Continuing, it remarks that the Muhammadans feel exceedingly pained over interference with the Khilafat and that all Hindus and Sikhs share their grief. No heed is, however, paid by Government to the painful cries raised by the entire population of India. In conclusion, the paper says that unless our demands are conceded and balm is paved on the wounded hearts of the Punjab and Muhammadans, it would be obstinacy and shamelessness on our put to coöperate with Government. The Sikh League also should hold a special session and express its opinion on the point.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. Montagu as next Viceroy.

6. Adverting to Dr. Rabindranath, Tagore's suggestion to the *Observer* that Mr. Montagu should go to India as Viceroy, the *Tribune* of the 5th August writes :—"Had Mr. Montagu come out to India as Viceroy a year and a half ago his success would have been sure, of course as success in the office of Viceroy goes. To-day with practically the whole of Anglo-India up in arms against him, with a large section of his countrymen at home only less bitter against

him than Anglo-India, and with Indian opinion itself substantially alienated by his policy of blowing hot and cold with the same breath, by his failure to redress the wrongs of the Punjab, by his omission to utter the right word of sympathy and conciliation in time, and, last but not least, by his certificate to Lord Chelmsford and even to Sir Michael D'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's failure as Viceroy is almost as certain as anything can be in human affairs... He lacks that supreme form of courage which can persist in a course chalked out by reason ... or for such a man it is absolutely impossible to overcome the heavy odds with which Mr. Montagu as Viceroy would have to start. It is only by whole-hearted Indian support that the odds could be overcome, and whole-hearted Indian support is impossible for a statesman who has one eye on India and the other on Anglo-India, who is almost equally anxious to please both, and who, when he has displeased one, thinks that he must displease the other if only to adjust his accounts. The only effect of Mr. Montagu's appointment as Viceroy would be to complete the process already at work."

India's rewards for her war services.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

7. The *Bande Mataram* of the 31st July says that England, France, Greece and Italy secured a prey and divided it among themselves. India helped them in the European war beyond her capacity, but what has been her reward? Only the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and martial law fell to her lot. Again, the Indians residing in East Africa led happy lives under the German rule, and there were no colour distinctions in the colony then. Indians had also the fullest liberty to cultivate land and carry on trade in that part of the Dark Continent. As soon, however, as East Africa fell into the hands of the British Government it was thought essential to impose on poor India all the restrictions to which they are subjected by the whites in South Africa. Such are the blessings of the justice which Indians enjoy under the British Government. In other words, this is the reward which they have received for their military services.

Indian defence.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 31st July:—"To most of us the weakest points in the Government's new scheme for the defence of India are, first, the difference made in it between the European and the Indian community, and secondly the experimental character of that part of the scheme which relates to the latter. As regards the first, the Government have apparently resolved to follow a procedure directly opposed to that which would commend itself to commonsense. The defence of India ought to be the special look out of the people of India, and it is the Europeans in India who should have the option of taking their proper part in it or not as they choose. What the Government of India does, however, is to reverse the natural order of things, and to treat the defence of India as if it were the special concern of the European community, Indians being at liberty to take their proper share in it or not according to their sweet will." Next the paper quotes two extracts, and continues:—"Europeans must come in, if not voluntarily then under compulsion. Indians, on the other hand, are at liberty to come in or not as they please, and the opportunity which the Government are prepared to offer to them will remain open if only they will care to come in inadequate number.... We put it to the Government that this is neither fair to the people of India; nor does it show anything like a proper appreciation on their part of the paramount importance and urgency of Indian recruitment as a part of the scheme of Indian defence. Secondly, the very experimental nature of the scheme is its greatest drawback. No nation or Government that desires to live under modern conditions can afford to look upon the problem of its defence as an experimental problem. You can neither put enough heart in a scheme of recruitment for the army yourself, nor induce others to attach due weight and importance to it, unless you show that you are terribly in earnest.... Men would not willingly offer themselves for a service, in which they have to carry their life in the hollow of their hand so to say, in response to an half-hearted offer on the part of a Government that seems to be looking all the time to others to defend both itself as well as the people entrusted to its care."

Repression.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

9. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th July says that ever since Government has granted the people the liberty of speech and writing all secret movements have, so far as the public is aware, become extinct. Now, however, the direction

of the wind has again changed. The Governor of Bombay has threatened the people of Sind with the enforcement of the Seditious Meeting Act in their part of the country. Again, the period for which the Act was enforced in Delhi has been extended by three months. In the Punjab the *Zamindar* press has been required to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000. These facts go to show that restrictions are again to be imposed upon writing and speaking. After remarking that Mr. Gandhi's non-coöperation movement has been declared to be reprehensible and dangerous, the paper says that it will not be surprising if the present excitement among the people should assume a dangerous form in the event of his not diverting it into a peaceful channel. The Dyer Fund and the speeches of Lord Finlay and others, it adds, are already irritating the people, and repression by Government will naturally cause further uneasiness. If Government wishes that Indians should behave peacefully it can gain this object, not by demanding securities from newspapers, stopping public meetings or putting patriots into jails, but by treating the people like human beings, granting them the elementary rights of citizenship and making efforts to fit them for self-government. In other words, it should pacify them in every way and not wound their hearts.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) Adverting to the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi for a period of three months, the *Siyasat* of the 28th July asks whether this does not show in an inequivocal manner that Government regards Indians as mere foolish boys and wants to please them with toys? They do not want reforms: they wish that Government should look upon them as human beings and grant them their natural rights. No reforms can be acceptable or a source of pleasure or thankfulness to them when they have been deprived of the liberty of writing and speech and of holding meetings and openly expressing their feelings.

PARTAP (Lahore): Krishna, B. A., editor.

An All-India national fund.

10. The *Partap* of the 30th July publishes a communicated article urging the public to start an All-India national fund and asking the leaders to collect at least fifty lakhs of rupees for it. After remarking that the Khilafat and Punjab questions and our love of liberty call for money, the writer says that every Indian shou'd contribute towards the fund on all festive and mourning occasions.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

The Dyer debate.

11. (*a*) Referring to the adoption by the Upper Chamber of Lord Finlay's motion, the *Partap* of the 26th July says that the event will have a very bad effect in India. The faith of Indians in British justice had already been shaken. The enforcement of martial law last year, the gross oppression practised under it, the fact that none of the guilty officers have been punished, and the dismissal of the appeals filed by Ratto and Bagga in the Privy Council were sufficient to bring about that result. The House of Lords' action has, however, given a shock to our faith in British justice which can never be remedied. The impression that India can expect no justice from England is fatal for the British *raj*. If it is desired that British rule should become permanent in India, efforts should be made to remove this impression. People can do anything in a state of despair.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 28th July the paper states that Lord Curzon enquired in the course of his speech whether in the event of the Dyer doctrine being applied to the quelling of any civil riot in Great Britain and such action being taken and condoned, any British Government would stand for forty-eight hours. After remarking that his Lordship did well in placing this aspect of the matter before his country, the paper asks why, if no Government can stand there after doing what has been done in India, should any be allowed to stand here? Why should not Lord Chelmsford go back and why should not the officers responsible for the introduction of martial law be dismissed? Again, why should not punishment be inflicted on the officials who misused martial law? If Government continues to ignore the voice of the people it will have to resort to repression in the end, which will have the effect of increasing unrest in the country. The time will come when the people will be so strong that a Government opposing their wishes will be unable to stand for forty-eight hours. The change is inevitable, and we pray that it may be a peaceful one.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(c) The *Akali* of the 29th July says that the Indians have now lost all confidence in British justice as well as in Britons. The Dyer debate in the Upper House has made it clear to them that the proud Lords do not look on them as human beings. British statesmen should now exercise some prudence; for, otherwise, the result will prove to be very bad. In conclusion, the paper says that a step-mother [the reference is to the British Government in its relation to Indians] cannot change, however strong feelings of love she may show for her step-sons.

(d) In its issue dated the 30th July the paper says that a severe blow has been dealt to British rule by the Hunter report and the Dyer debate. The people of this country have now lost all confidence in British justice. If the English are a sensible nation, if they wish to maintain British rule in India and if they do not want to convert India into another Ireland, they should promptly change their present policy.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(e) The *Siyasat* of the 26th July says that the House of Lords has granted permission, so to speak, to military officers to shoot unarmed, loyal and devoted Indians at their will, and then to put forward the plea that they have acted in good faith. The House has made it clear to the Punjabis what value British statesmen place on their lives, and that also in spite of the military services rendered by them. Next the paper takes Lord Sinha to task for his advice to the Punjabis to forget last year's incidents.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(f) The *Liberal* of the 2nd August writes :—"The House of Lords has done the greatest disservice to the Empire and has shocked Indian public opinion. If there has been a deliberate intention to undermine the faith of India in British justice it could not have been carried out better. The hysterical exhibition in India may be overlooked, but the division in the House of Lords is an affront which cannot be forgotten."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(g) The *Tribune* of the 6th August writes :—"One statement made by Mr. Montagu in his speech is so wholly incorrect and without foundation that it is really astonishing how he could have been led to make it. 'Nobody ever suggested' he said, 'no Indian has suggested, as far as I know, no reputable Indian has suggested, any punishment, any vindictiveness or anything more than the repudiation of the principles upon which General Dyer acted.' Now this is not merely not true, but is the exact reverse of the truth. Every Indian who has had anything to say on the subject, every reputable Indian certainly, has insisted that suitable punishment be inflicted upon the offending officers, not as a matter of vindictiveness, of course, but as the one definite and unmistakable way of repudiating the principles on which Dyer and others acted, and also as the only sure method of preventing a recurrence of similar atrocities in future. Mr. Montagu's conception of 'reputable Indians' must be very peculiar, if it excludes the whole body of Indian journalists with the single exception of the editor of the *Indian Mirror*, the whole body of Congressmen, led by the distinguished Congress Commissioners, every public body of any importance in the country, including such bodies as the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian Association of Calcutta, and lastly the whole body of Moderates, with the possible exception of a few Knights and neo-moderates. All these have, with one voice, urged that the offending officers should not only be punished but should in some cases be made examples of, so that no officers in their position may ever again dare to act in the way they did. Mr. Montagu has no excuse for being ignorant of this patent fact."

The disturbances.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

12. (a) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 29th July states that Lord Sinha and the Sheriff of Calcutta are of opinion that the Punjab question should be dropped now. The sense of sympathy and foresight which has actuated them to give the valuable piece of advice deserves appreciation. Indians are already doing nothing beyond protesting against the inadequate punishment inflicted on General Dyer. The cold-blooded murder of which the General was guilty is the most objectionable incident of its kind and calls forth feelings of the strongest indignation and resentment. Nevertheless, it seems proper to let the matter drop.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

(b) The *Shanti* of the 1st August says that the question is whether or not the ruled can ask for justice from their rulers. We are asked to drop the matter, but we would ask our advisers whether our blood has no value and whether the murder of our innocent children was no murder. We could forget Dyer, Dwyer, etc., if it were possible for us to forget flogging wounds, the crawling on bellies and our national humiliation. It is idle to look for impossibilities: the advice given to us is useless before we get full justice.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

The Courts.

13. **LALA UTTAM CHAND**, of Rawalpindi, writing in the *Shanti* of the 20th July, says that we are weak and helpless. No one listens to us. The oppression practised by the English courts forms part of their duties. Our complaint [against it] constitutes an act of sedition. We should give up all hope of obtaining justice in these courts, and should ask for it from God alone. The money we earn by the sweat of our brow should not be wasted in them. The people should collect very large sums of money and infuse a spirit of awakening into the country. They should boycott foreign goods, put on mourning clothes, discard luxury and spend every pice earned by them in furthering the well-being of the country. If you are courageous, lay down your lives, and carry on passive resistance within the bounds of law, and appreciate every article made in your land, although it may be bad-looking. Cannot you boycott the courts of those officers who practised oppression upon you? No lawyer should appear in their courts, however high a fee may be offered to him. If any case happens to be filed [in any of them] both parties should apply for a transfer saying that they have no hope of obtaining justice in it. If the application is not granted, the case should be settled outside the court by [some of] the able leaders in the country. It would be fortunate for India if *panchayats* were established even in villages to settle our disputes. The *panchayats* should boycott those people who cause unrest in the country. They should not be allowed to enter any society and should always be regarded with contempt. They should not be admitted into any religious institution, and their dead bodies should not even be touched. Their alms should not be accepted and they should be brought into infamy, it being proclaimed to the public that they are not human beings, but beasts of prey, who sucked the country's life blood and enriched themselves by taking bribes.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The postal rates.

14 (*a*). The *Desh* of the 29th July states that the Postal Enquiry Committee has recommended an increase of pay for postmen and other postal employees. It has been proposed at the same time, adds the paper, to enhance the rates of inland postage. The Post Office yields such a large income, however, that it is considered to be the most lucrative of all the Government departments. If, therefore, the rates in question are to be raised at all, they should be enhanced in the case of parcels, registered letters, etc., and not in that of post-cards or newspapers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 3rd August writes:—"We have hitherto enjoyed a low and fixed rate of postal charges which have yielded during the past a steadily increasing amount of revenue to the Government of India. . . . . But now at the first opportunity of increase in expenditure they threaten to enhance the postal rates. We do not understand why the postal rates should be increased at the time when the surplus revenue from the department is much more than the estimated increase in expenditure due to the revised pay of the staff. The postal service being one created for public benefit, and not one devised for revenue purposes, it is absolutely necessary that the cheap rates, which are very appropriate in a country where the people are very poor, and illiterate, and where economic resources are largely undeveloped, should not be disturbed. If the Government of India require revenue for other purposes than to meet postal charges, they must look to the purely revenue departments for additional revenue. We are sure that the people of India will strongly protest against the proposed increased postal rates, on moral as well as economic grounds, and we hope that the Government will drop the suggestion."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Income-tax Act.

15. One **PAIRA RAM**, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 30th July complains that in these days income-tax is assessed on imaginary incomes. Formerly, he adds, appeals against assessments were heard by Deputy Commissioners. Under the amended Income-tax Act, however, such appeals will be heard by Commissioners. And in the event of a Commissioner rejecting an

appeal no further relief can be sought. One can only file a petition for revision with the Deputy Commissioner's permission.

Free Primary education.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

16. The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th July publishes a letter from CHAUDHRI BINDRABAN, a *rais*, of Sarai Aurangabad, near Jhelum. He says that Government provides free primary education for sons of zamindars in return for the payment of land revenue by the last named. But there are also other people, adds the writer, who pay large sums of money in taxes, local rates, and the like. Are not their sons, too, he asks, deserving of the same privilege?

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Proposed slaughter-houses in the Central Provinces.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

17. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th July writes:—"Messrs. Davenport and Co., of Calcutta have taken in hand the formation of a commercial company for the manufacture of hides and tannery in Saugar and other places in the Central Provinces. It is further stated that the company has secured 843 acres of land from the Government at a nominal price and valuable concessions from the Forest department. It is said that it is proposed to slaughter daily 2,500 cattle on an average. Apart from the religious aspect of the question, the policy of subsidizing—for the action of the Central Provinces Government amounts to nothing less—a business which involves the killing of as many as 2,500 cattle daily, is bound to be resented by both Hindus and Muslims on economic grounds. Milk and *ghi* scarcity has already begun to react on the health of the Indian masses. Add to this the fact that the agricultural operations in a country like India depend very largely on an adequate supply of cattle. In view of the dearth of milch cattle and bullocks for agricultural purposes in India, it is surprising to learn that the authorities have actually gone out of their way to help a company like the Calcutta firm referred to above. . . Public meetings convened jointly by Hindus and Muslims should be held throughout the country to protest against the formation of the company and particularly against the action of the Central Provinces Government. The case, in our opinion, is one eminently fitted for the intervention of the Government of India, and we hope Lord Chelmsford's Government will rise equal to the occasion."

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Satyjug* of the 28th July says that it is an act of gross injustice to practise oppression on cattle in India before the very eyes of Hindus. Government should think, adds the paper, how long it will be able to live in comfort after lacerating the hearts of the ruled. The Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs should make united efforts to prevent the [coming] common loss. If 2,500 cattle are to be killed daily in each slaughter-house for purposes of trade, the day will come when "mother cow" will have been swept off the earth's surface. This being so, all should unite to have an end put to this merciless work, which is calculated to ruin our country and religion.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

(*c*) The *Shanti* of the 29th July says that India being an agricultural country, the matter is one of great importance. It is the duty of every thoughtful Indian strongly to protest against the establishment of the firm in question. The proposal should not only be opposed in the press and on the platform, but should also be taken up in the country's councils.

YUVATI aur YUVAK, (Amritsar); Gurbakhsh Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Yuvati aur Yuvak* of the 28th July says that the people have not as yet forgotten the oppression practised under martial law, while they feel pained over the caliphate question. The patronising by Government of the company in question will serve only to add fuel to the fire The crores of Hindus who regard the cow in the light of mother, can never tolerate that 2,500 cattle should be killed daily in the proposed slaughter-houses. They should remember that if the above company proves a success they will be responsible for the daily slaughter of 2,500 cows. The country belongs to them and they should have control over its government. In conclusion, the paper says that so long as we do not enjoy full powers of government, we cannot defend our religion.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*e*) The *Desh* of the 2nd August says that while the Hindu public has been clamouring that protection should be afforded to kine and the export of cattle from India stopped, the Central Provinces administration is moving in the contrary direction. If the Government of India does not intervene and nip the evil in the bud, serious discontent will be caused among the Hindus.

VAKIL (Amritsar);
Abdu'lla Minhas, editor.

The Bakr-Id and cow-sacrifice.

18. The *Vakil* of the 28th July says that it is absolutely necessary to put into practice the resolution adopted by the Muslim League against the sacrifice of kine on the occasion of the *Bakar 'Id*. After remarking that the resolution has been seconded by the Amir of Kabul in a practical manner, the paper suggests that the necessary arrangements should be made for the sacrifice of sheep and goats at the coming *'Id*, that of cows being avoided as far as possible. The editor also tells his Hindu friends that if the above resolution is disregarded anywhere, they should not take this as being intended to injure their feelings, and should try to settle the matter in a peaceful and amicable manner with the help of the local leaders.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIKH (Lahore);
Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Prince's visit.

19. (*a*) The *Sikh* of the 1st August writes :—"To our mind . . . it does not appear suitable or proper that if redressing of our wrongs is delayed by the bureaucracy in India, we should refuse to welcome the heir-apparent in our midst. We cannot deny the Sovereign's love for us which has several times been demonstrated with all the rigid restrictions of a limited monarchy. So even though we may be in the vertex of despair, it does not become us to turn our back to the Royal guest who is coming to grant us the first instalment of self-government. Giving a hearty reception to the Prince cannot in the least adversely affect our demands regarding the Punjab atrocities, nor can it hide from the world the present Muslim dissatisfaction with the Ministers' action *re* Khilafat. We therefore hope that Mr. Gandhi will reconsider his position and give up his unhappy intention."

PARTAP (Lahore);
Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 2nd August says that Mr. Montagu recently stated in Parliament that Mr. Gandhi had started a disloyal movement to boycott the Prince of Wales. Even those Indians, however, who disagree with Mr. Gandhi will not admit that the movement is disloyal. And if it makes Indians disloyal or rebellious, millions of them will be ready to join hands with Mr. Gandhi. The paper then goes on to say that a large number of people consider it grossly outrageous to boycott the Prince of Wales, seeing that he has nothing to do with politics. After remarking that it shares this view, it says that there is also another reason why His Royal Highness should be welcomed, namely, that the relations of the martial law convicts, who are still in jail, expect their release on the occasion of the Prince's visit. It is also possible that Government may do something at the time to remove the prevailing unrest. The paper sincerely desires that His Royal Highness should visit India and be her guest. A committee of leading Indians should be formed to welcome him.

TRIBUNE (Lahore);
K. N. Roy, editor.

Security from the Zamindar press.

20. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 31st July writes in connection with the demand of security from the *Zamindar* press :—"It had been hoped that the Royal Proclamation had sounded the death-knell of the practice of putting newspapers on the security as a means of punishing them. . . . The demand of a security from the press which prints the *Zamindar* . . . . . . comes as a rude awakening and reminds all, who might otherwise be disposed to go to sleep over the existence of repressive measures in the confident belief that they were as good as dead, that there can be no security and, therefore, no slackening of effort so long as those obnoxious measures are on the statute book. The individuality of a ruler may and does mean something either one way or the other. But a system the essence of which is the complete absence of responsibility to the people, can never be relied upon to pursue a uniformly liberal policy, so long as it has at its disposal measures by which it can unduly interfere with the liberties of the people or the rights of individuals."

SIKH (Lahore);
Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 1st August :—"There can be no denying that Government after a very brief and short-lived policy of patience and forbearance . . . seems bent upon reverting to its former repressive policy . . . There has so far been absolute calm in the province, and the Khilafat movement—even with all its boundless enthusiasm, has not affected it . . . The speeches or remarks of some rare over-enthusiastic (mostly irresponsible) persons, who have certainly no following, can be easily overlooked with the magnanimity of a good and affectionate ruler. Such very rare exceptions cannot upset the general rule, and their enthusiasm should be allowed to die its own death . . . Some say that the present reversion is due to the present personnel in the Punjab Government Secretariat. But we don't admit this, for we are sure that Sir Edward judges for himself. . . Others think that it is an earnest of the policy stated by Mr. Montagu the other day in the course of his remarks about Mr. Gandhi. But we have reasons to disbelieve this too."

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(c) The *Sidaqat* of the 1st August says that the Government has demanded the security owing simply to its unwillingness to hear unpalatable things. This means that it wishes to remain ignorant of the condition and views of the people. The authorities know full well, however, that such ignorance has proved the ruin and destruction of even the most powerful governments. The recent revolutionary doings in Persia, Russia, and certain other countries constitute an instructive commentary on this ignorance. Continuing, the paper remarks that the political horizon of India is about to be darkened again. The rulers and the ruled are prejudiced against each other: the Punjab incidents and the Caliphate question have created an impassable gulf between them.

The new manual of martial law.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

21. (a) The *Tribune* of the 1st August writes :—" Replying to Brigadier-General Cockerill Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India were preparing a draft manual of martial law, and that steps would be taken to ensure that the instructions in the manual did not conflict with the principle that an unlawful assembly might be dispersed forcibly if necessary, even though it had not committed an act of violence. Perhaps the authorities will append to the clause an explanation of the words, so that no equivocation may be possible on the part of a Dyer, and no future Dyer may massacre hundreds of innocent subjects of the King, simply for fear that if he sent them away instead of massacring them, they would come back and 'laugh at him' ! As regards the manual itself may we suggest it to the authorities that it would not be a wholly bad or unnecessary thing for them to take enlightened public opinion into their confidence and profit by its advice and criticism in preparing this important document ?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(b) Referring to Mr. Montagu's statement in the Commons that the Government of India is preparing a new manual of martial law, the *Zamindar* of the 1st August says that even peaceful demonstrations will not henceforth be immune from gun fire and bayonet charges. The Indian Government should feel happy now, seeing that the Secretary of State has fulfilled his promise to give it a blank cheque.

Export of grain from India.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

22. The *Satyjug* of the 28th July says that while the children of wheat-producing India cannot obtain wheaten bread, Government does not stop the export of wheat from the country. Ralli Brothers, it adds, can, if they so like, starve India by buying up the entire quantity of grain produced here. Continuing, it asks that if Government takes no step in this connection, should we also behave likewise ? We should request villagers and big Indian traders to take pity on their countrymen and abstain from selling wheat to foreigners at the rate of even one seer a rupee. We should continue the movement, no matter howsoever long a time it may take to succeed.

Begar.

JAT SEPOY (Rohtak); Kesra Devi, editor.

23. One NEKI RAM SHARMA writing to the *Jat Sepoy* for June [received on the 3rd August] dwells on the evils of *begar* and the sufferings entailed by it. Avaricious Government servants, he adds, are in the habit of using their official position to overawe people into doing *begar* work. The writer asks the people to refuse to do this work, and says that shopkeepers should make no supplies except on payment. If any official refuses to pay for an article, they should complain to the higher authorities.

General Dyer.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

24. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 30th July :—" Here is an extract from an English newspaper dated July 1 :—' Sir A. Williamson informed Mr. C. Palmer that General Dyer had been relieved of his command and con-

sequently he was now on the retired list. He was in receipt of the retired pay due to his rank.' This is exactly what we have been suspecting all along. The fact that Dyer has only been retired, and that too not compulsorily, can only mean that he is in receipt of a pension. The question which public opinion in India will ask is, is this pension to be paid out of the Indian revenues, as is the usual practice in the case of officers retired from the Indian army? If so, we can think of no decision more outrageously offensive or insulting to India, or more wholly unjustifiable from the point of view of sound principle and policy. Here is a man whom the whole body of India's articulate and self-conscious people regard as a common murderer, actuated by motive which only added to the enormity of his misdeed, and whom they have been loudly and insistently calling upon the authorities to place on his trial before a competent criminal court on a charge of cool and calculated massacre. The authorities have not only not done this so far, but have not even dismissed him from the army... If Dyer is to be paid a pension, it should be paid not out of the revenues of a country whose people are to a man dead opposed to paying him a farthing more, but out of the revenues of England where there seems still to be a difference of opinion regarding the degree of his criminality. If His Majesty's Ministers will not take this obvious course they will have to hear more about the matter presently and in a particularly unpleasant form."

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

A complaint.

25. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd August states that it is reported that certain officials, if people go to them with a complaint, tell them to take it to Gandhi or Malaviya for redress. Such remarks, comments the paper, are open to objection on the score of propriety, and also creates estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, in addition to bringing disgrace on the culture of which the English feel so proud.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 7th August 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 8th August says that article 22 of the League of Nations provides that every nation is free to elect its own ruler. It has, however, been violated by France, who invaded Syria and subjected its peace-loving people to great trouble. She turned out Amir Feisul and realised one crore of francs from the Syrians by way of damages. Feisul's father, Sharif Husain, has recalled his representative from the League of Nations by way of protest, and has appealed to Great Britain to intervene. It is a pity, however, that he should have been unable to realise as to whom he is appealing to. Is not Great Britain doing the same thing in Mesopotamia? Is it possible, besides, that France could have overrun Syria without her consent? Great Britain and her allies sought help against Germany by saying that there would be peace in the world in future. The allied troops are, however, disturbing this peace far more than the German soldier did, and that also in the name of liberty, equality, freedom, justice, equity and other high-sounding things.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th August publishes an open letter from Khawaja Hasan Nizami to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Referring to the arrest of Pir Mahbub Shah of Sind, the writer says that the event is likely to pave the way for a dangerous and world-wide upheaval. If other provinces follow suit and arrest religious leaders, India will witness a bloody and revolutionary change. There is a great difference between political leaders and religious guides: the latter occupy a place in the hearts of the masses and their arrest upsets their followers, who are reckless of consequences. Continuing, the writer says that the conduct of the Sind authorities in arresting the Pir is likely to offend the innumerable loyal people who have so far kept aloof from agitation. He believes that the majority of them will now become openly hostile to Government. He adds that in India those Governments which tortured *pirs* or religious leaders were soon overthrown. The last king of the Slave dynasty, the first Islamic Government in India, lost his throne owing to his proceedings against religious leaders. The founder of the Khilji dynasty met his doom for executing Saiyid Maula, a well known *pir*, on political suspicion. King Qutab-ud-din Khilji would oppress Khawaja Nizam-ud-din, with the result that he was murdered and the Khilji dynasty came to an end. The Tughlaq kingdom came to naught owing to Muhammad harassing religious leaders. Humayun would not have regained the sceptre of India, if Salim Shah had not executed Sheikh Alai, a renowned *pir*. Similarly, the decline of the Mughal empire is ascribable to Aurangzeb having sent Sufi Sarmad of Delhi to the gallows. In conclusion, the writer says that the arrest of the Sind *pir* will give an impetus to the non-coöperation movement. He fears that such proceedings will divest the movement of its principle of non-violence, and that there will be bloodshed all over the country.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 4th August publishes a poem written by one Ghulam Muhammad, Asim, a draftsman at Amritsar, who says that only one way is now left us to mend our evil fortune, namely, by giving our lives for Islam.

PAIGHAM-I-SARIN (Lahore); Dogar Mal, editor.

England and Persia.

2. The *Paigham-i-Sarin* of August 1st says that just now Persia is between two fires. England stationed troops on its northern frontier, ostensibly for its protection but in reality for her own gain. When, however, the time came for effectively guarding Persia, *i. e.*, when the Bolsheviks advanced into the country, England hastened to withdrew her forces. The fact that her soldiers did not resist the Bolsheviks can only mean that she wishes to convert Persia into another Egypt, and to bring about the same state of affairs there as existed in the days of the late Czar, when northern and western Persia were under the influence of Russia and England, respectively. And if this actually comes to pass, there will be no end to the misfortunes of Persia: she will have to pass her days in subjection to Russia and England. The League of Nations has recognised Persia as a free country, but apparently she is not to remain so, being situated in Asia.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Naraukar Singh, editor.

The reforms.

3. (*a*) The *Satyjug* of the 4th August says that the coming reforms are harmful for the country. They betray a spirit of trickery and deception at every step. The condition relating to the income of candidates for Council elections constitutes a piece of sharpness, which has been knowingly practised to discomfit Indians. Government knows that rich men in India are either toadies or wholly ignorant of politics, which unfits them to become leaders of the people. If such men are, therefore, returned to the Councils, official members will find no difficulty in having things their own way. The second stratagem is that Council seats have been divided among different religious communities, which will result in the election even of most incapable men with the help of their denominational societies. The country will, therefore, lose and not profit by the proposed reforms. The third piece of trickery is that those who have undergone imprisonment exceeding six months cannot stand for election till five years after their release. This means that patriots like Lala Harkishen Lal, Pandit Rambhaj Dat, Lala Duni Chand, Doctor Satyapal and Doctor Kitchlew will not be able to enter the Councils; while traitors like Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Sundar Singh Majithia and Arur Singh, Manager of the Golden Temple, will find their way into them and will apply the knife to the throat of their fellow-countrymen by agreeing with the bureaucracy. The fourth stratagem is that all the Indian soldiers who have fought in the European war have been granted the right of vote. On the one hand, Government says that it has established the Councils for the good of Indians, and asks the people to return capable men to them. On the other, however, it is conferring the right of entering the Councils on men who are utter strangers to political affairs. If it is greatly pleased with the services rendered by military men, it can satisfy them by granting land, *jagirs* and titles to them. It is unjust to make special concessions in their favour where our rights are concerned. Only those can share our rights who have been serving us. Continuing, the paper says that disputes will arise not only between villagers and townsmen, but between military and non-military men also. Are Indians,

it asks, prepared to coöperate with Government even now that they see through these frauds and stratagems.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of August 7th says that all the Punjab graduates of seven years' standing are entitled to vote for candidates for the University seat. Shastries, Munshi Fazils, and Gianis have, however, been debarred from this right, which is grossly unjust. The election is not very far off, but there is sufficient time yet to right the wrong.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 13th August writes :—" The following special cable . . . appears in to-day's *Bande Mataram* :—' Specially interviewed Col. Wedgwood says that . . . [in] answering him in the debate on the Rules Mr. Montagu definitely stated that only those who had been pardoned would be permitted to stand for election . . . Mr. Montagu clearly indicated that while a large number of prisoners had been released under the terms of the amnesty none had been pardoned.' . . . We need scarcely say that the cablegram will be read with a sense of profound disappointment and dissatisfaction from one end of the country to the other. As Col. Wedgwood pithily puts it, if this interpretation of the amnesty granted to the Punjab leaders is to stand, there is not the ghost of a chance of the reforms succeeding in the Punjab. It would be tantamount to the declaration of a policy of non-coöperation with the people on the part of the bureaucracy in the working of the reforms, for coöperation with the people can have neither meaning nor reality if the men whom the people want more than others, who are undoubtedly the best and the truest representatives of the people, are to be debarred from seeking election to the Council. We have in these columns taken strong exception to the proposal to boycott the Councils, but the Councils *will* stand boycotted by all that is good and true in the province, if the released martial law prisoners are disqualified, and this for no fault of the people. The responsibility will lie solely on the head of the Government."

Non-coöperation.

SANATAN DHARAM PARCHARAK (Amritsar); Rallia Ram, editor.

4. (*a*) The *Sanatan Dharam Parcharak* of the 1st August deprecates Mr. Montagu's threat to Mr. Gandhi, but concedes that the non-coöperation movement will lead to serious consequences. Mr. Gandhi can, besides, achieve no success in the task which he wishes to accomplish. His non-Muslim followers or the Muhammadans will be unable to carry it through. They are also likely to commit violence on occasions ; while in the event of non-coöperation being carried into practice we should be ready to witness a repetition of the Jallianwala Bagh incident.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali, editor.

(*b*) One MAULVI MUHAMMAD SADIQ writing to the *Zamindar* of the 5th August refers to the war services of India, and says that her efforts to secure Home Rule resulted in the Secretary of State preparing a scheme of reforms. After remarking that it is intended to serve as eye-wash for Indians, he writes that under it a few of them will get commissions in the army, some sycophants' sons will have the honour of entering the Civil Service and a few quiet men will decorate the Council chairs. The central Government will be the guiding spirit in this drama, as the Indian Councillors have no power to take a single farthing from the public exchequer to spend for the good of their country and nation. Continuing, the writer says that if the authorities had intended to carry the proposed reforms into practice they would have, instead of pursuing a tyrannical policy, tried to win the hearts of Indians. As it is, they have begun to practise still greater oppression with the object of crushing the spirit of freedom which has recently been created in Indians. The latter sacrificed their lives in France, Belgium, Africa and Mesopotamia for the sake of the English, but their war services were rewarded with martial law. They were also flogged and made to crawl like worms, while their women were unveiled. Now they are being asked to forget these tyrannies and coöperate with the authorities in the working of the reform scheme. Can the scheme remove our grievances and make the enforcement of martial law an impossibility in future ? Indians do not wish their condition to go from bad to worse, and will pursue the policy of non-coöperation until their grievances are redressed.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*c*) Referring to the renunciation of their title, medals and pleadership by S. Al-i-Nabi of Agra, Mr. Gandhi and Muhammad Safdar of Sialkot, respectively, the *Sidaqat* of the 8th August congratulates these gentlemen on the moral courage displayed by them. After remarking that a man's character is the real source of honour and respect, the paper asks whether Muhammadan title-holders can take pride in the honours conferred by the present Government, which has taken the greatest part in bringing ruin upon Islam.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Special session of the Congress.

5. The *Siyasat* of the 4th August says that a momentous question like non-coöperation is to be decided at the special session of the Congress. A large number of delegates from this province should attend the session, seeing that it will be devoted chiefly to the consideration of the Punjab incidents. For the Muhammadans it is almost a matter of duty to participate in the deliberations, because of their decision to carry non-coöperation into effect. It is true that Mr. Gandhi is with them in this matter, but other Hindu leaders, as respected and influential as he is, do not see eye to eye with them.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

Repression.

6. Commenting on Mr. Montagu's statement about Mr. Gandhi the *Dard* of the 2nd August says that England's victory over Germany has made British statesmen arrogant. Mr. Montagu's threat to Mr. Gandhi means that Indians should say nothing about the tyrannies perpetrated on them, and that, otherwise, the excitment prevalent among them over the Khilafat question and the oppression practised in the Punjab last year will be designated as rebellion and scenes of Dyerian and O'Dwyerian rule will be re-enacted where the blood of martyrs is still to be seen. Continuing, the paper says that Indians can no longer quietly put up with blow after blow. It is wrong to think that the country will feel discouraged and lose its national spirit because of threats like the one in question. Threats and repressions have now made India so strong that she no longer cares for them. Government may hang a few men and crush Mr. Gandhi's physical body, but it cannot suppress the spiritual force which now actuates the country.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

Europeans and Indians.

7. (*a*) *Al-Munir* of the 1st August complains that Indians are not given as high salaries and posts as fall to the lot of Englishmen. Again, as compared with the latter, they are accorded very humiliating treatment in courts, railway trains, etc., and the position assigned to them is only a little better than that of animals. After remarking that all this is calculated to wound the feelings of the public, the paper says that the responsiblity for the things referred to, rests with those European officials who totally disregard the interest of the State in the pursuit of their personal ends. Indeed, it is these very men who bring about disunion and estrangement between the rulers and the ruled.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Satyjug* of the 4th August publishes a poem written by CHETAN [this is the editor's *nom-de-plume*], who says amongst other things:—

What troubles have befallen us?
These Feringhis have practised extreme severities on innocent persons.
Pillage, plunder, fraud and deception,
Constitute the present day statecraft.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

Punjab affairs.

8. The *Akali* of the 12th August says that, on the one hand, we are being asked to bury the hatchet. On the other, however, innocent Punjabis are writhing in the Andamans, while tyrannical officers are enjoying themselves in the hills at the expense of Indians. This being so, how can there be a reconciliation [between the people and the authorities]? Again, while the Bengal Government is arranging to find employment for released political prisoners, in the Punjab such men are being subjected to various troubles to prevent their making a living. Is this attitude likely to pacify the people and will a reconciliation be effected in this way? Does the bureaucracy think that distressed people can coöperate with it with a sincere heart? Will those whose innocent brothers are writhing in jails become prepared to help Government by enlisting in the army? Will this state of affairs in no way affect recruitment in villages? Yes, it certainly will.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Dr. Sapru's appointment.

9. Writing about the appointment of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as an ordinary member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Tribune* of the 13th August says:—

"The appointment is one on which we have no hesitation in congratulating the authorities concerned. Dr. Sapru is a man of great ability, of unimpeachable patriotism and of unquestionable independence. His appointment as Law Member will give genuine satisfaction to the people."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The offending martial law officers.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 12th August:—"As far as we recollect at this moment, the names of five officers, besides that of Dyer, were mentioned by the Government of India in their despatch, as those who had acted in an 'injudicious' or 'improper' manner. These are Colonel Johnson, General Campbell, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob. Of these, the first has been released from duty on the disbandment of his regiment, and at least one Anglo-Indian newspaper has stated with an air of authority that instead of being censured he was actually thanked by the Government of India while laying down his uniform. Of the others only Mr. Bosworth Smith is known to have left India on long leave preparatory to retirement. How far this is a punishment at all we cannot say, and in any case its inadequacy is perfectly obvious. In none of the remaining four cases has action of any kind been taken so far within the knowledge of the public. We can think of nothing more extraordinary or better calculated to alienate public sympathy from the administration. And yet every day the public is sermonised both by a class of officials and by the extremist Anglo-Indian press on the duty of removing all bitterness from its mind."

The Kacha Garhi incident.

Aftab (Lahore); Wajahat Husain editor.

11. (*a*) Referring to the prohibition to Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan to enter the Frontier Province, the *Aftab* of the 9th August says that if he had been afforded an opportunity of enquiring into the Kacha Garhi incident, his report would have satisfied the general public, and the Muhammadans and the rest of the people would have found it easy to form a correct opinion regarding the event. The public will now be led to think that the authorities in the Frontier Province wish to conceal the truth.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 11th August states that an official *communique* announces that the British soldier charged with the murder of the emigrant killed at Kacha Garhi will be tried by court martial. The editor is, however, of opinion that the accused should be tried in the ordinary courts of justice. He adds that the *communique* makes no mention of the officer who gave the order to fire and committed certain other acts.

Compulsory primary education.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. The *Tribune* of the 12th August writes:—"The Compulsory Primary Education Act has been passed in several provinces of India permitting local bodies to adopt a system of compulsory free education for boys and girls within their jurisdiction. . . It would be interesting to know what progress has been made in this direction and what zeal the generality of local authorities have displayed in taking advantage of the opportunity given them to adopt compulsory education. At the Bombay Legislative Council on Monday last, the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye stated that not more than two municipalities in that presidency had adopted compulsion and the rest were either still hesitating or felt unconcerned in the matter. We are afraid that the results in the Punjab and other provinces are hardly more satisfactory, and it is necessary to find out the causes of this lethargy in the local bodies. Surely it cannot be that the local bodies are not anxious to adopt compulsory education within their area. Nor are the financial resources in all cases wholly unequal to the task. One reason seems to be that before the Government is formally asked to sanction the introduction of compulsion within their areas, municipalities have to make elaborate preliminary enquiries and satisfy the Government as to the maintenance of the prescribed standards, as to school buildings, equipment, qualified teachers, etc. . . Another reason probably is that municipalities not having a superfluity of funds deem it prudent to wait until pressure has been brought to bear upon them by the man in the street. We cannot think of a greater or more mischievous error. Neither Japan nor England waited till the man in the street felt convinced of the justice of compulsory education. Nor would they have had compulsory education if they had so waited. It must be the same in India."

character is the real source of honour and respect, the paper asks whether Muhammadan title-holders can take pride in the honours conferred by the present Government, which has taken the greatest part in bringing ruin upon Islam.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Special session of the Congress.

5. The *Siyasat* of the 4th August says that a momentous question like non-coöperation is to be decided at the special session of the Congress. A large number of delegates from this province should attend the session, seeing that it will be devoted chiefly to the consideration of the Punjab incidents. For the Muhammadans it is almost a matter of duty to participate in the deliberations, because of their decision to carry non-coöperation into effect. It is true that Mr. Gandhi is with them in this matter, but other Hindu leaders, as respected and influential as he is, do not see eye to eye with them.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

Repression.

6. Commenting on Mr. Montagu's statement about Mr. Gandhi the *Dard* of the 2nd August says that England's victory over Germany has made British statesmen arrogant. Mr. Montagu's threat to Mr. Gandhi means that Indians should say nothing about the tyrannies perpetrated on them, and that, otherwise, the excitment prevalent among them over the Khilafat question and the oppression practised in the Punjab last year will be designated as rebellion and scenes of Dyerian and O'Dwyerian rule will be re-enacted where the blood of martyrs is still to be seen. Continuing, the paper says that Indians can no longer quietly put up with blow after blow. It is wrong to think that the country will feel discouraged and lose its national spirit because of threats like the one in question. Threats and repressions have now made India so strong that she no longer cares for them. Government may hang a few men and crush Mr. Gandhi's physical body, but it cannot suppress the spiritual force which now actuates the country.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

Europeans and Indians.

7. (*a*) *Al-Munir* of the 1st August complains that Indians are not given as high salaries and posts as fall to the lot of Englishmen. Again, as compared with the latter, they are accorded very humiliating treatment in courts, railway trains, etc., and the position assigned to them is only a little better than that of animals. After remarking that all this is calculated to wound the feelings of the public, the paper says that the responsiblity for the things referred to, rests with those European officials who totally disregard the interest of the State in the pursuit of their personal ends. Indeed, it is these very men who bring about disunion and estrangement between the rulers and the ruled.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Satyjug* of the 4th August publishes a poem written by CHETAN [this is the editor's *nom-de-plume*], who says amongst other things:—

What troubles have befallen us?
These Feringhis have practised extreme severities on innocent persons.
Pillage, plunder, fraud and deception,
Constitute the present day statecraft.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

Punjab affairs.

8. The *Akali* of the 12th August says that, on the one hand, we are being asked to bury the hatchet. On the other, however, innocent Punjabis are writhing in the Andamans, while tyrannical officers are enjoying themselves in the hills at the expense of Indians. This being so, how can there be a reconciliation [between the people and the authorities]? Again, while the Bengal Government is arranging to find employment for released political prisoners, in the Punjab such men are being subjected to various troubles to prevent their making a living. Is this attitude likely to pacify the people and will a reconciliation be effected in this way? Does the bureaucracy think that distressed people can coöperate with it with a sincere heart? Will those whose innocent brothers are writhing in jails become prepared to help Government by enlisting in the army? Will this state of affairs in no way affect recruitment in villages? Yes, it certainly will.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Dr. Sapru's appointment.

9. Writing about the appointment of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as an ordinary member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Tribune* of the 13th August says:—"The appointment is one on which we have no hesitation in congratulating the authorities concerned. Dr. Sapru is a man of great ability, of unimpeachable

patriotism and of unquestionable independence. His appointment as Law Member will give genuine satisfaction to the people."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The offending martial law officers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 12th August:—"As far as we recollect at this moment, the names of five officers, besides that of Dyer, were mentioned by the Government of India in their despatch, as those who had acted in an 'injudicious' or 'improper' manner. These are Colonel Johnson, General Campbell, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob. Of these, the first has been released from duty on the disbandment of his regiment, and at least one Anglo-Indian newspaper has stated with an air of authority that instead of being censured he was actually thanked by the Government of India while laying down his uniform. Of the others only Mr. Bosworth Smith is known to have left India on long leave preparatory to retirement. How far this is a punishment at all we cannot say, and in any case its inadequacy is perfectly obvious. In none of the remaining four cases has action of any kind been taken so far within the knowledge of the public. We can think of nothing more extraordinary or better calculated to alienate public sympathy from the administration. And yet every day the public is sermonised both by a class of officials and by the extremist Anglo-Indian press on the duty of removing all bitterness from its mind."

The Kacha Garhi incident.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Husain editor.

11. (*a*) Referring to the prohibition to Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan to enter the Frontier Province, the *Aftab* of the 9th August says that if he had been afforded an opportunity of enquiring into the Kacha Garhi incident, his report would have satisfied the general public, and the Muhammadans and the rest of the people would have found it easy to form a correct opinion regarding the event. The public will now be led to think that the authorities in the Frontier Province wish to conceal the truth.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 11th August states that an official *communique* announces that the British soldier charged with the murder of the emigrant killed at Kacha Garhi will be tried by court martial. The editor is, however, of opinion that the accused should be tried in the ordinary courts of justice. He adds that the *communique* makes no mention of the officer who gave the order to fire and committed certain other acts.

Compulsory primary education.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. The *Tribune* of the 12th August writes:—"The Compulsory Primary Education Act has been passed in several provinces of India permitting local bodies to adopt a system of compulsory free education for boys and girls within their jurisdiction. . . It would be interesting to know what progress has been made in this direction and what zeal the generality of local authorities have displayed in taking advantage of the opportunity given them to adopt compulsory education. At the Bombay Legislative Council on Monday last, the Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye stated that not more than two municipalities in that presidency had adopted compulsion and the rest were either still hesitating or felt unconcerned in the matter. We are afraid that the results in the Punjab and other provinces are hardly more satisfactory, and it is necessary to find out the causes of this lethargy in the local bodies. Surely it cannot be that the local bodies are not anxious to adopt compulsory education within their area. Nor are the financial resources in all cases wholly unequal to the task. One reason seems to be that before the Government is formally asked to sanction the introduction of compulsion within their areas, municipalities have to make elaborate preliminary enquiries and satisfy the Government as to the maintenance of the prescribed standards, as to school buildings, equipment, qualified teachers, etc. . . Another reason probably is that municipalities not having a superfluity of funds deem it prudent to wait until pressure has been brought to bear upon them by the man in the street. We cannot think of a greater or more mischievous error. Neither Japan nor England waited till the man in the street felt convinced of the justice of compulsory education. Nor would they have had compulsory education if they had so waited. It must be the same in India."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and the I. E. S.

13. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 27th July:—"Simla gossip says that the Government of India has asked the Punjab Government to submit six more names in connection with six promotions from P. E. S. to I. E. S., May we hope that the just and long-neglected claims of the Sikh community will not once again be relegated to the back-ground, and that deserving Sikh educationists like Sardar Sahib Sardar Bishan Singh will be given the lift they pre-eminently deserve?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Railway Companies and the public.

14. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 12th August:—"The *G. I. P. Railway Magazine* attempts to justify the indifference of the Railway company to the comforts and convenience of third class passengers by saying that the company divides railway profits with the Government and the former's share of benefit being small, it does not apparently feel much interested in the question. If this is the position and attitude of the company-managed railways in India, it is perfectly clear that this divided responsibility is not conducive to public welfare and the question of efficient railway management should be settled immediately one way or the other. The public cannot be subjected to hardships caused by lack of interest or indifference on the part of either of the two agencies which direct railway affairs.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

A railway complaint.

15. "A CONTRACTOR" writing to the *Shanti* of 31st July states that the Railway Department levied a special tax during the war on all goods booked for distances exceeding ten miles. Now, however, that the war is over, it is wholly improper to retain this impost. Chambers of Commerce should draw the attention of the Railway Board to the matter. It would be better still if some member raised the question in the Viceroy's Council.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar, Khan, editor.

The coming *'Id*.

16. (*a*) The *Sidaqat* of the 8th August suggests that the hides of all animals sacrificed on the occasion of the approaching *Bakr 'Id* should be made over to the Khilafat Committees, which should remit the sale proceeds to the emigrants who have left India for the sake of their religion. After calling on the press to pay special attention to the matter, the paper asks the Muhammadans to keep in view the resolution adopted by the Muslim League last year on the subject of sacrifice. Since it is not obligatory on them to sacrifice kine and other animals can be had for the purpose, they must abstain from giving the least offence to the Hindus.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 13th August:—"Although the action just taken by His Exalted Highness the Nizam in prohibiting the slaughter of cows in his dominions on the occasion of Iduzzuha is based on purely economic grounds, it is sure to give genuine and universal satisfaction not only to His Highness's Hindu subjects, but to the Hindu community generally. . . . Apart from the strength, the genuineness and the universality of Hindu sentiment in this matter, India being a principally agricultural country, and agriculture being largely dependent upon bullocks, neither the sacrifice of cows for religious purposes, where there is an alternative, nor the slaughter of cows for food, can be said to have the smallest justification."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

The Golden Temple.

17. (*a*) Commenting on the Punjab Government's Press *communique* about the management of the Golden Temple, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 27th July writes:—"In our view the most suitable way of ascertaining [Sikh wishes] is to consult not only the gentlemen who will be elected for the Legislative Council as representatives of the political interests of Sikh constituencies in the province, but also those who are already successfully representing the different religious bodies that are pre-eminently interested in religious affairs. No one can seriously hold that the political leaders of any party are necessarily its religious leaders. It therefore clearly follows that it is not so much the political representatives only that should be consulted as the religious representatives such as the Chief Khalsa Dewan, various Takhts, Babas, Mahants and central Singh Sabhas. It is these latter bodies and persons like Sant Attar Singh, Sant Teja Singh, and others that can really and effectually voice the religious, spiritual and social requirements of the nation, and not only those

who in certain cases are inspired by the sacred sentiment of popularity-hunting and manage to get returned to the new Councils. We are sure the Government will take this important point into consideration. And if the Government do this, then in our opinion, there should not be any necessity of waiting till elections, but we can begin the work of consulting popular wishes even now by inviting the considered proposals of the persons and bodies mentioned above and then resorting to the method, suggested by the majority, of directly electing members for the Sikh Religious Trusts Committee, in whose hands the management of the Golden Temple as well as of any other endowments . . . . may rightly be given."

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

(*b*) A correspondent writing to the *Punjab Darpan* of the 4th August says that thoughtful people among the Sikhs who have not as yet forgotten Government's empty assurances to, and its unjust treatment of, [their community] will discover no ray of hope in the Punjab Government's *communiqué* regarding the Golden Temple. Until the present detestable principle of nomination in connection with the management of the Temple is given up, the Sikhs should not feel reassured at the publication even of a thousand such *communiqués*. If Government is really desirous of applying a remedy to their wounded hearts, it should forthwith hand over the Temple to them.

A Sikh *gurdwara* in Assam.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

18. The *Panch* of the 4th August states that it has received a complaint that a tax has improperly been levied on the property attached to the Dhobari Sahib *gurdwara* in Assam. The *Mahant* has so far had the courage not to pay the tax, but there is an apprehension of his being involved in trouble. It is, therefore, extremely necessary that the Sikh community should protest against the act of injustice in question.

The *kirpan*.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

19. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 28th July states that one Balwant Singh, Granthi of the Singh Sabha *gurdwara* Baliganj, Calcutta, sends the painful report that a Sikh named Bachan Singh was recently arrested by the police there for wearing a *kirpan*. The writer told the officers concerned that the Sikhs were allowed to keep *kirpans*, but received the reply that this was not permitted in Bengal. Commenting, the paper says that Government has issued a circular exempting the *kirpan* from the operation of the Arms Act, but that police officials seem to know nothing of this. Government should direct the Inspector-General of Police in every province to have a copy of the circular posted at every *thana*.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Tonk State and Khilafat agitation.

VAKIL, (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

20. A correspondent writing in the *Vakil* of the 7th August reports that many respectable people in the Tonk State have been arrested by orders of the Nawab, simply because they evinced a keen interest in the caliphate movement and tried to collect money in its aid. Some others, he adds, have been turned out of the State, while a few have been sent up for trial. The cases of a large number are under investigation.

Export of cattle.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

21. Commenting upon Government's decision to impose no restrictions on the export of cattle from India, the *Bande Mataram* of the 6th August expresses its inability to understand why Government should disregard the interests of the people. If Mesopotamia requires milch cattle, adds the paper, they are provided from this country. Again, different firms in South Africa export thousands of cows from India. Government does not, however realise that the very life of Indians is being exported. On one side, it is bent on the destruction of cattle, and, on the other, allows their free export. It should be easy to understand how long Indians can survive in these circumstances.

The Burma Oil Company.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

22. The *Tribune* of the 10th August writes :—" During the year 1919 the Burma Oil Company, which is the chief source of supply of kerosene oil to India, made a huge profit, so much so that the directors have, after declaring a dividend of 50 per cent. on the ordinary shares, allotted large sums of money for research, provident funds and general reserve. . . . It is reasonable to

ask, whether the people of India, who have paid for such heavy profits, are not to have a share in the advantages, in the form of a cheaper supply of oil, considering the fact that the oil wells belong to Burma, though the exploitation of this wealth is the result of British skill and capital. Why does not the Government of India, which has levied an import tax on foreign oils to benefit the Burma Oil Company and given various other concessions to them, induce the Company to sell kerosene oil at a cheaper rate to the Indian consumers? .... We hope that some members of the Indian Legislative Council will take up the question and move a resolution on the subject."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Dyer fund.

23. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 7th August writes:—"The Madras Government has informed its servants that they cannot subscribe to the General Dyer fund, as such subscriptions will be in contravention of Government Servants' Conduct Rules. The Madras Government has taken a step which every local Government ought to have taken long ago. Indeed, the subscriptions to the fund not only contravene Government Servants' Conduct Rules, but are as much a deliberate affront to the Government, which has convicted Dyer of 'frightfulness,' 'terrorism,' and 'racial subordination' .... No Government which values its own good name or respects the feeling of the people of India can for a moment allow any of its servants to be either directly or indirectly associated with such a movement."

(*b*) In its issue dated the 12th August the paper says:—"When are the other Local Governments going to move in the matter? ... On the Punjab Government the duty is even more incumbent than on any other, for the obvious reason that nowhere is Dyer a more hated name than in the Punjab, and nowhere do the people more strongly resent this movement on the ground of its being a deliberate affront to them and a deliberate outrage upon their sentiment."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The *Khalsa Akhbar*.

24. The *Sikh* of the 8th August writes:—"We hear that security is demanded from the new press at which it is now arranged to get the *Khalsa Akhbar* printed .... The Sikh demands are very limited and it is unjust to call them political demands. The present agitation of the Sikh press even in its intensest form cannot go beyond the mildest lines of moderation. ... We demand what is due to us as subjects of the British Crown. We ask that, among other things, Royal clemency may be extended to the cases of the Sikh political prisoners who are still rotting in jail and whose families are therefore in a state of direst adversity. The *Khalsa Akhbar* has simply been emphatic in such a constitutional and lawful demand. It is therefore quite a mystery why it is again proposed to place a handicap on it."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 14th August writes :—"With the signing of the Turkish treaty, what have been called the Turkish peace terms become a settled fact. A settled fact, however, is a very different thing from a settled question, and in the present case the question clearly is not settled by the mere signing of the treaty. The bulk of the Muhammadan world, outside official Turkey, has not accepted these terms, and the Mussalmans of India have definitely and unequivocally declared that they will not accept the present or any other terms which they do not consider consistent with their religious obligations or with the honour of Islam. . . . . The signing of the treaty, therefore, whatever else it may mean, does not mean peace either within the British Empire or as between Islam and the Christian powers of Europe."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 14th August says that the treaty has been signed under undue pressure. The justice-loving world cannot help thinking, it adds, that the door has been thrown wide open for the destruction of Turkey.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 15th August the paper says that the sort of treaty which has now been concluded had been anticipated by far-sighted people ever since the armistice was signed and the allied powers violated their explicit pledges. The Allies have practised such unseemly rigour and tyrannies on Turkey and the Turks that they clash with civilisation and humanity and constitute an ugly blot on their name. The treaty has been signed under undue pressure and is no genuine thing.

RAILWAY (Lahore) Labh Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Railway* of the 16th August asks whether the world will enjoy real peace now. After answering the question with an emphatic no, it says that forty crores of Muhammadans regard the treaty as the source of great mischief and trouble. They consider the injustice done to Turkey to be unbearable. It is feared lest the treaty should prove the forerunner

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of a new war. The world does not regard the Turks who have signed it as true representatives of their country. On the contrary, it looks upon them as the Allies' henchmen, who are selling Turkey at the instance of the allied powers. It remains to be seen what the final consequences will be.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(e) The *Siyasat* of the 16th August says that the fact of Turkey having signed the peace treaty should not be taken to signify her acceptance of the terms embodied in it. Those who have affixed their signatures to the treaty are, far from being representative Turks, supporters of England and her allies. Neither the Islamic world nor justice-loving non-Muhammadans can ever accept the Turkish peace treaty, which is wholly opposed to the spirit of humanity, justice and equality. Nor is it calculated to end war, nay, it lays the foundation of constant and dreadful fighting. Indeed, far-sighted Englishmen themselves believe that its terms can never be fulfilled, and that it is more harmful for the Allies than for the Turks.

AL HAKAM (Qadian); Yaqub Ali, editor.

(f) *Al Hakam* of the 7th of August says that party feeling, differences and boycotts had already weakened the Muhammadans. To make matters worse, it adds, the leaders of the community have brought the *hijrat* question into prominence. Are not the Muhammadans, asks the paper, who are migrating from India, weakening the powers of the rest of their co-religionists in the country? Nor is this all; a new movement has now been started to urge non-coöperation with Government. How strange it is that the rights over which a fight is going on should be cast away, and that people should be induced to forego acquired rights. They are being persuaded to give up Government service, starve in idleness at their homes, and cause mischief in the country. Can all this, asks the editor, injure Government in any way? Hindus will fill the seats on the Councils vacated by Muhammadans. They will also occupy the parts of the country abandoned by the latter. Next the editor expostulates with his community, saying that the Hindus are turning out, not the English, but the Muhammadans. It is extremly to be regretted that the Muhammadans should gladly boycott Muslim rulers, but should bow down their heads to Gandhi, simply because he shares their views. It is not easy to understand why they should consider the passing of the kingdom of the Hedjaz into the hands of the Sharif to be grossly unjust or why he should be regarded as deserving of death. The kingdoms of Amir Feizul and other Arab rulers are in the hands of Muhammadans, and still the Indian Musalmans are in mourning. In conclusion, the editor warns the Muhammadans against the misguided actions of their leaders.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(g) Writing about the *hijrat* and non-coöperation movements, the *Shanti* of the 13th August says that if the thousands of Muhammadans who have emigrated from India had remained in the country and adopted non-coöperation, much greater effect would have been produced on Government than that which has come to pass. If there was a feeling of resentment among the Muhammadans, it was against the British Government and not against Mother India. They ought, therefore, to have boycotted Government and not their country.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(h) The *Dard* of the 13th August complains that although thousands of Muhammadans are migrating from India over the Khilafat question, still Government is inclined to repression and is sending to jail such great *pirs* in Sind to guard whose lives and honour, thousands of Muhammadans would become ready to sacrifice themselves. After remarking that its object in doing this is to maintain its prestige, the editor says that although the Muhammadans would patiently bear all hardships and remain within constitutional limits, still they are being goaded [? into violence]. Those given to placing worldly pleasures above religion, may not care for this, but how can the Muhammadans, who have been sacrificing their lives to protect their religion, put up in silence with an insult to Islam? What does Government mean by harrassing them for no reason when they want to remain within constitutional bounds even after suffering a great disappointment?

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(i) "A HINDU" writes to the *Liberal* of the 16th August:—"Professor Ruchi Ram, whose moderation in politics is well known, has given concrete proof of his sympathy with the cause of Khilafat, by relinquishing his title of Rai Sahib at the request of Khilafat workers. It is really striking that a Hindu gentleman should have been the first to bid good-bye to his title in a province where the majority of the population is of Muslim extraction. Is it not up to the Muslim community now to ask its leading members to demonstrate their sympathy and grief, if they have any, with and over the troubles of Islam by returning their shining credentials of honour? Relinquishment of titles is a matter over which there cannot be any two opinions. Why then, does no Muslim leader set a precedent or follow the lead given in this province. Many of my community complain that the Muslim community of this province must itself show some action before it can call on the Hindus to coöperate. The complaint is in my opinion legitimate."

Indians abroad.

INDIA (Gujranwala); Shamsher Singh, editor.

2. (*a*) *India* of the 7th August says that it draws tears from one's eyes to hear of the tyrannies and oppression practised upon the Indians in Fiji. The coercion and repression to which they were subjected during the recent martial law regime, were far greater than that which the Punjab witnessed last year. It makes one's hair stand on end to read an account of the audacity with which the Fiji officials insulted, and tyrannised over, Indian women. Indians are subjected to all sorts of insults in their own home, and, when hard pressed by hunger they go abroad, they meet with even harsher treatment there.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) Commenting upon the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of Indian traders from South Africa, the *Zamindar* of the 1'th August says that, on the one hand, it is asserted that India is a partner in Great Britain's vast democratic Empire. On the other, however, laws making invidious distinctions are framed in the British colonies, and Indians are being disgraced there. And if a protest is made against these laws, the Government of India puts forth the indefensible plea that it cannot interfere in the affairs of the colonies

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

3. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 14th August has the following:—"We need scarcely say that the answers which Colonel Wedgwood has so far succeeded in eliciting by his questions in the House of Commons regarding the legal status of the released martial law prisoners have created a situation of the utmost gravity. . . . On the first occasion the Secretary of State stated that 'only those who had been pardoned would be permitted to stand for election.' On the second occasion he clearly indicated that 'while a large number of prisoners had been released under the terms of the amnesty, none had been pardoned.' . . . . Mr. Montagu can have no idea of the effect of his interpretation upon the experiment on which the Punjab, along with the rest of India, is about to embark. . . . In three different directions it is bound to seriously prejudice the successful operation of the reforms. In the first place, it will exclude from the Council many of the very best men we have in the province, men who represent the people better and more truly than most other would-be candidates. This, in itself, is a serious thing, for no one knows better than Mr. Montagu that if the somewhat intricate and novel scheme he has devised is to be a success it is absolutely essential that the best men in the country should participate in its working. Secondly, the exclusion from the Council, on the ground of their continuing to be tainted in the eyes of the bureaucracy, of all but one or two of the greatest and most popular of the Punjab leaders would be a decisive obstacle in the way of the creation of that atmosphere in the Punjab and indirectly in the country as a whole, which is absolutely essential to the success of the reforms. . . . . It will tend to perpetuate the existing bitterness, to strength and deepen the existing forces of discontent Thirdly and lastly, it will in all likelihood accentuate, though we believe on a definite and limited scale, the non-coöperation movement itself. . . . . We can imagine no difference of opinion among patriotic and self-respecting people as to the jutification for non-coöperation narrowed down to this definite and limited issue. We can only hope that Mr. Montagu will have the wisdom, the oversight and the statemenship to avert what will, we are absolutely convinced, be a constitutional crisis of the gravest magnitude."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 15th August says that there can hardly be any Punjabi who will not feel pained and disappointed at Mr. Montagu's announcement. It is strange that impracticable restrictions should be imposed in regard to the working of the reforms, thereby reducing the scheme to an empty show. The Punjabis had hitherto been divided as to whether they should adopt the policy of non-coöperation. The restrictions in question are, however, forcing them to resort to it. No far-sighted and patriotic Punjabi can take part in making the reforms a success if worthy Indians and popular leaders like Lalas Harkishen Lal and Duni Chand, Pandit Rambhaj Dut, Diwan Mangal Sain, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal and Sardar Labh Singh are to be debarred from entering the Councils. Continuing, the *Desh* says that the people of this province should see that no Punjabi joins the local Council in the event of the leaders remaining out of it.

Dard (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Dard* of the 15th August states that Mr. Montagu recently announced in the House of Commons that although many persons convicted under martial law had been released still none of them had been pardoned. This means that they are not entitled to enter the reformed Councils. It would have been far better, therefore, if they had boycotted the Councils beforehand. It can have no effect if they take this step now. Continuing, the paper says that the people had better adopt Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion and abstain from entering the Councils unless justice is done to the Punjab, the Caliphate is maintained intact and offending martial law officers are sent about their business.

Akali (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Akali* of the 16th August says that the reforms can hardly prove a success in the Punjab, seeing that almost all patriotic Punjabis have been to jail. If our real leaders cannot be returned to the Council, it is regrettable if any other Punjabi does so. Can any of them sit on the Council after suffering such national disgrace? We are surprised to see that while we are asked to forget the past in order to make the reforms a success, patriotic Punjabis should not be permitted to enter the Council.

(*e*) In its issue dated the 19th August the paper says that if the Sikhs had not helped the British Government during the dreadful mutiny of 1857, no vestige of the English would have been left in India. Subsequently they fought for England in China, Burma, Afghanistan, Africa Egypt and other countries on a salary of only Rs. 11. Next the paper refers to the replies given to the Sikh deputations by the Lieutenant-Governor and His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject of the Sikhs' share in the administration of the country. Continuing, it says that the reply which the Secretary of State has now given to the Sikh deputation in London constitutes an insult to the Sikh community at large. It is a slap dealt not only to the deputation but also to all the followers of the Gurus. The editor then addresses the Sikhs as follows:—O, you who sacrificed sons, brothers and fathers for British rule! You are being disgraced in these days under this very rule in a manner which no self-respecting community can tolerate even for a moment. There was a time when songs of your bravery were sung in order to place you in front of cannon. Now, however, the Sikhs are disgracefully wandering from door to door to secure seats on the Councils. O [my] community, if time-serving officers have no sense of shame and if those officers who used to praise thee have broken their promises and brushed justice aside, hast thou also no sense of shame left in thee? Thou shouldst realise even now that thou canst never reach thy destination by coöperating with the clever bureaucracy. How long can a decrepit person walk with the support of another? Thou shouldst now be up and doing and look after thy own home Proceeding, the *Akali* says that the Sikhs should completely boycott the Councils, and that those of them who have offered to stand for election should withdraw their names.

Waqt (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

(*f*) The *Waqt* of the 17th August says that those who were opposed to non-coöperation should know that Government cannot even let public leaders enter its Councils According to the new regulations, people who were convicted by the so-called martial law tribunals cannot stand for election. For whom should the public vote, if those in whom it reposes confidence are not fit to enter the Councils? There is no need for the Councils, if mere nobodies are to be sent to them. There is now no alternative left to the people but to refuse to send their representatives to the Councils. No one should, besides, vote for persons who, though well aware of the recent tyrannies, are standing for election.

Akhbar-i-'Am (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

Non-coöperation.

4. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 13th August says that the non-coöperation movement is a loyal propaganda. Those alone who are in the habit of agreeing with the authorities or who abstain from expressing their true feelings through fear of

the latter, may call it a disloyal movement. Continuing, the paper asserts that the movement will gain in strength if Government is led to throw obstacles in its way. It should not, therefore, interfere with the propaganda.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath editor.

(*b*) The *Dard* of the 15th August remarks that non-coöperation may be impracticable or some cowardly and easily-overawed persons may not like it, but the majority of the people are undoubtedly in its favour. There can also be no doubt that it is the only remedy for the troubles in which we are involved. On the one hand, seven crores of our brothers are groaning because of the ruin of their religion and caliphate. The arbiters of our destinies make promises to them, but do not keep their word. Deputations and memorials have proved no better than begging by mendicants. Again, the oppressed Punjab bears witness to the fact that the lives of thousands of us are not worth even a shell. A white-skinned person firing on an assembly of thousands can easily escape punishment, nay, be held up to admiration. In these circumstances, it was necessary for us to devise a remedy for the evil. The only effective remedy is that we should have no connection with Government, which can remove our troubles but would not do so, until it takes this step. Non-coöperation is a national movement and its failure would be of a national character. We are sorry that some cowardly and foolish people, as also those who do not feel the nation's troubles, are opposing it. They should, so far as possible, be excommunicated, because if they associate with us they will cause us more injury than good.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 16th August publishes a letter from one R. S. NIMBKAR, who writes :—" Mahatma Gandhi has opened a new chapter in the poltical history of India by introducing the non-coöperation movement on August 1st. It is a duty of every Indian, whether a male or a female, child or adult, loving his motherland to withdraw from any office in life ; by means of which, directly, or indirectly, he or she coöperates with the Government. The wrong done to the Muslims and the shameless farce of martial law in the Punjab have shaken our faith in British justice and statesmanship. Even the innocent students of schools and colleges have begun to feel this ; and shortly a time will come when even academical institutions will be void of students."

Lord Sinha's new appointment.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. (*a*) Writing about Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor of Behar and Orissa, the *Tribune* of the 17th August says :—" We have no doubt the better mind of India, with scarcely a dissentient voice here and there, will unanimously welcome the appointment. We cannot, indeed, say that the announcement will evoke anything like the outburst of enthusiasm that would have greeted it a couple of years, perhaps, even a year ago, but this is due partly to the fact that India has within the brief space of twelve months covered the track of a decade, perhaps a quarter of a century, and partly to the deeply troubled state of the public mind owing to the Khilafat decision and the Punjab trouble. Nevertheless everybody will realise that the departure which the appointment signifies from the policy of the past is as momentous as any that has ever been made in the history of British India, with the single exception of the announcement of complete responsible government as the goal of British policy in India and the Act of Parliament in which it is now embodied."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 17th August says that the appointment of an Indian as a Governor is a great thing indeed. If the event had occurred five or ten years earlier, there would have been no limit to the joy and satisfaction of Indians. Now, however, they have come to realise that unless the people obtain full control over the bureaucracy, the appointment of one or two Indians to high posts can have no meaning. Besides, not infrequently such Indian officials prove more harmful [for the country] than independent-minded Englishmen. We cannot, therefore, regard this appointment in question as a very great boon for India.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th August says that both Lord Sinha and His Majesty's Government deserve congratulation on the event. The appointment, adds the paper, fulfils the long-cherished wishes of the people of India. It is true that they differ from his Lordship in certain matters, but, in view of his superior abilities, he is undoubtedly deserving of a Governorship. Continuing, the paper says that during the Mughal rule Hindus were appointed governors of provinces and commanders of the army, but that under British rule no Indian has so far been promoted to the post even of Brigadier-General. Let us see when the time will come when Indians will command armies in their own country.

RAILWAY (Lahore); Labh Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Railway* of the 19th August says that when immediately after Lord Sinha's appointment as Under-Secretary of State shots were fired in the Jallianwala Bagh and the grievances of the Punjabis went unredressed, we came to realise that it was wholly absurd to express joy over such appointments, seeing that the country can derive no benefit from them. After remarking that his Lordship has now been appointed a Governor, the paper says that it remains to be seen what will happen this time. Probably, it adds, martial law will be enforced to make Indians give up non-cöoperation.

VAKIL, (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

Dr. Sapru's appointment.

6. The *Vakil* of the 19th August says that the appointment of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru to the Viceroy's Executive Council will be viewed with approval throughout the country. The Indians recently appointed to the Imperial and provincial Executive Councils, it adds, belong, without a single exception, to the moderate camp. The public should know, however, that its rights will in every way be safe in the hands of Dr. Sapru He is undoubtedly a moderate, but every moderate need not necessarily be a traitor.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Freedom of speech and writing.

7. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 17th August:—"For some time it has looked as if the Government might be betrayed into an attempt to suppress the comparatively stronger expressions of the strong opinions held by the community both on the Khilafat and the Punjab question. . . That things have not gone very far yet may be readily admitted. But experience shows that when a beginning is made in this particular direction, the rest is only a question of time . . . . The inevitable effect . . . . would be not only to prejudice the working of the reforms, but generally to create an atmosphere unfavourable even to the healthiest, the least objectionable and the most imperative forms of coöperation between the Government and the representatives of the people. Yet nothing seems easier than to avoid such a contingency. . . . After all you cannot treat India any longer as a subject country, and the existing law and procedure in India regarding the liberty of the press and the right of public speaking are admittedly intelligible only on the ground of India's political subjection. If India is to be a partner in the Empire, a free and equal partner, it is not only in the fitness of things, but is clearly essential, that she should have the same freedom in these vital matters that England and her self-governing Dominions have. . . . Nor can it for a moment be contended that the operation of this freedom is not as safe and as conducive to the public interest as is the operation of freedom in England. . . . It is only when official authority intervenes that opinion, at any rate vocal opinion, tends to run along one single channel, that of opposition to Government."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Imposition of an indemnity on Delhi.

8. (*a*) Commenting upon the announcement regarding the imposition of an indemnity on the residents of Delhi, the *Vakil* of the 15th August states that Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali and Mr. Rauf Ali have decided not to pay the impost. Indeed, the people of Delhi are generally opposed to its payment, and their objection is quite reasonable. Why should an indemnity be realised from them when neither any Government official lost his life nor any Government building was damaged?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 18th August writes that the time has come for Delhi to display her moral courage and set an example to the whole country. It is to be hoped that the Delhi people will not pay a single pice without a struggle. If Government files suits against them, they should not make a defence. None should, besides, buy the property attached and auctioned in satisfaction of the decrees given by courts. Again, if anyone is sent to jail in default of the payment of fine, he should have no hesitation in going there.

The Kacha Garhi incident.

Zamindar (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan editor.

9. A correspondent writing to the *Zamindar* of the 11th August says that the press *communique* regarding the decision to court-martial the murderer of an emigrant at Kacha Garhi is most unsatisfactory. The European commissioned officer who ordered the deceased to be shot and bayonetted has, along with some soldiers, been exonerated. This is downright injustice. Undue partiality has been shown to the accused, and the public is in a state of excitement. The Kacha Garhi incident is a repitition of the Jallianwala Bagh drama. A veil is being thrown over the facts, and there is no hope of justice being done in the case. Commenting the *Zamindar* states that the writer also sent it a telegram, which has not, however, reached it. The message was probably stopped by the authorities.

Railway fares and postal rates.

Shanti (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

10. The *Shanti* of the 12th August says that the Railway Department considerably enhanced the rates of fare soon after the commencement of the European war. These should now have been reduced to the pre-war figures; but, instead of this having been done, the railway authorities wish to raise them still further, which appears to be wholly unjust and uncalled-for. Is it not an act of high-handedness, asks the paper, that the public should suffer because of an increase of pay to railway employees? Next it refers to the proposed enhancement of postal rates, and enquires whether the increase will not work still greater injury to the country's trade.

Passenger Superintendents.

Shanti (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan, editor.

11. A correspondent writing to the *Shanti* of the 12th August says that the Railway Department employs some retired military men to assist passengers in purchasing tickets, etc. The arrangement is very good, but the appointment of retired military men is not satisfactory. Almost all these men are illiterate, as also ignorant of the railway rules and regulations. Nevertheless, they hold posts carrying a salary of about Rs. 250 a month. There are many well educated Indians of good birth who would gladly serve in these appointments. If the Railway Board really wishes to minister to the comfort of passengers, it is necessary that military men should be replaced by educated Indians. The former have proved of no use in the past, and there can be no hope of a better result in future.

The Sikhs and the Finance Department.

Loyal Gazette (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

12. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 15th August complains that not a single Sikh has as yet succeeded in entering the Finance Department, although some most capable and deserving Sikh account officers are available. The Finance Department, adds the paper, is full of Hindus, while many Muhammadans also have come to be included in the general list on promotion from subordinate posts. It is a matter for regret that the claims of the Sikhs should be ignored in every branch of the public service.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Cow-killing in the Central Provinces.

Dard (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

13. Referring to the proposed establishment of some slaughter houses in the Central Provinces, the *Dard* of the 13th August says that it wishes to tell Government that it is going to commit a serious blunder. It is not unaware of the feelings of the Hindus in regard to the cow, while it is pledged to non-interference in the religious matters of Indians. The proposed company's programme shows unmistakably, however, that it has been resolved to crush the feelings of the Hindus for ever. The news is as yet confined to particular circles, but how will it affect village Hindus when it reaches the masses? There will be such a storm of indignation as will remain memorable in the pages of history. And since the Muhammadans are now hand in glove with the Hindus, there is every likelihood of their joining with the latter. In conclusion, the paper asks the Hindus whether they will continue silent spectators of the ruin of India. Have they become devoid of all feeling and love of religion? If this is not so, they should tell Government with one voice that if it persists in its proposal, it should expect no sympathy from them.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Prince of Wales.

Dard (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

14. Referring to the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to India, the *Dard* of the 13th August says that for India to welcome His Royal Highness would be tantamount to expressing pleasure and satisfaction at bowing her head before

the British Crown. In the present circumstances, this conduct on her part would admit of two interpretations,—(1) that we accept the principle of a dynastic imperial rule for all countries under the British Government, and (2) that we are satisfied with the present Government and quite willing to remain part and parcel of its territories. After remarking that the sole object of the Ministers in sending the Prince to visit this country is to strengthen the faith of Indians in their King, to tighten Government's chains [round them] and to use the reception accorded to His Royal Highness to convince the world of their loyalty [to] and satisfaction [with British rule], the paper passes on to a consideration of the question of monarchical rule, and says in the course of its remarks that it is impossible for Indians to have personal attachment for the King of England, and that an assertion to the contrary by an Indian denotes gross deception and cowardice on his part. We accept monarchical rule, not on principle or on the score of personal attachment, but from motives of personal good and political expediency. So far, therefore, as this aspect of the matter is concerned we have no objection in according a reception to the Prince of Wales. It would, however, be no ordinary thing to express pleasure and satisfaction at remaining a part of the present British empire in our existing condition. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre, coupled with the Delhi tragedy and the humiliation of our women, makes our blood boil in our veins. Again, the Hunter Committee's report drives us to the conclusion that, as compared with the prestige of English officers, the present Government places no value on the life and honour of Indians. Moreover, the Turkish peace terms have lacerated the hearts of crores of Indians, and a powerful section of the people has started the non-coöperation movement. We also see that proud personalities now in power are unjustly treating Ireland, Egypt Mesopotamia, Persia and Russia. Nor is this all; hundreds of our brothers are dying of starvation in Behar before our shameless eyes, while about half the population of the country are living a life worse than death, eating only one meal a day and having only rags to cover their private parts. In these circumstances, any act by Indians expressive of satisfaction with the British Government or of pleasure in their continuing its slaves, can be nothing short of deceiving the world as well as themselves, killing their conscience and perpetuating their slavery and cowardice. On their behalf, therefore, we are strongly opposed to any reception being accorded to the Prince of Wales. During the last 150 years, we have accorded receptions to numerous Europeans, but the only result has been that our chains of slavery were tightened from day to day and there was an addition to our sufferings. We should openly tell the Prince and the Ministers that we are now deeply aggrieved with Government and those who run it, that we are in trouble and pain and determined to adopt non-coöperation in the event of our wrongs not being righted, that His Royal Highness' visit to India at the present time will aggravate our miserable condition, and that the country is now in mourning and her wounded heart, which was crushed under the heel of a boot, has no room for his reception.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Ban on Zafar Ali.

15. Adverting to the prohibition to Maulvi Zafar Ali to enter the North-West Frontier Province, the *Partap* of the 18th August says that it has been admitted by Government that the *hijrat* movement has been free from all violence. This being so, how far is it justifiable for the Frontier Government to prohibit Muslim leaders from entering the territories administered by it?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. (*a*) "GHAWWAS" writing in the *Vakil* of the 22nd August refers to the terms of the Turkish peace treaty, and says that the signing of the document bodes great danger, which connot be met unless we act on the principle of self-sacrifice, on which the foundations of Islam rest. No price, he adds, can be said to be too high for the protection of honour.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

(*b*) A correspondent writing to the *Shanti* of the 19th August says that the existence and stability not only of Turkey but of all Asiatic powers is politically of great importance for India. As a nation, therefore, the people of this country are very closely connected with the Khilafat question on political grounds. Those who have thought over the important happenings of the past century will be driven to the conclusion that the west wishes to make the east its slave. The westerners look upon the orientals as semi-savages, who have been created to serve them like animals. If the east does not offer a stubborn opposition to the west now, it will be overpowered once for all. It is, therefore, the duty of all the eastern nations to be ever ready to help one another. They should establish cordial relations with one another and concentrate their energies in order to present a united front to the west. In conclusion, the writer says that Indians should consider all present questions—both political and otherwise—not from a national but an international standpoint. Herein lies the secret of India's future well-being and prosperity.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*c*) The *Vakil* of the 22nd August says that funds are wanted for the Khilafat agitation, and suggests that the hides of all the animals sacrified on the occasion of the *Bakr-'Id* should be made over to the Khilafat committees. The sale proceeds, it adds, should be used to defray the expenses involving on *mahajrins*. It is our duty to lighten the burden of the Amir of Afghanistan and to render every help to emigrants. Special arrangements should be made for collecting hides in cities, towns and villages.

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PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*d*) Commenting upon the apology tendered by Pir Mahbub Shah of Sind and his consequent release from prison, the *Partap* of August 23 says that it is very injurious for the Khilafat movement to apologise in order to regain one's liberty, although the proceeding is very useful for Government. The movement in question will lose in strength in proportion to the number of people obtaining their release by asking Government's pardon. Such a procedure will also have the effect of greatly disheartening the people.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Mesopotamia.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th August states that the *Pioneer's* Baghdad correspondent reports that the General Officer Commanding there has prohibited the holding of meetings to celebrate the Prophet's nativity, which had been held every Friday for some time past and were used to prejudice the people against the British Government. After stating that political meetings also have been forbidden to be held in contravention of the Turkish law and without permission from the Military Governor and Political Officer of Baghdad, the paper says that the news is most deplorable indeed. When General Moude entered Baghdad he issued a proclamation, in which the people were told that they had been rescued from Turkish oppression and were being afforded an opportunity to govern themselves. The promise has not, however, been redeemed up to the present; and, but for this, there would have been no commotion in Irak-i-Arab. As it is, frequent reports of rebellion are received from every part of that country and the British forces there have been reinforced. If British rule is better than the Turkish rule, why do the people of Irak-i-Arab create disturbances again and again, and that also in spite of thousands of them being killed by British forces. Continuing, the paper takes exception to the policy of British statesmen to take possession of all the Islamic countries, although it may not be possible to please any of the Muhammadan peoples concerned. It is true that the British Government possesses both power and the sword, but these alone can make no rule successful and enduring.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

Egyptian independence.

3. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 27th August:—"While the independence of Egypt under the agreement that is said to have been reached in London between the Milner mission and the Egyptian mission, can scarcely be said to be complete, it must be frankly admitted that it is a great step forward towards real independence..... If and when the terms of this agreement are given effect to, the position of Egypt will probably be midway between that of a country which is completely independent and, say, the self-governing colonies of Great Britain at present. We are not certain that such a position can in the case of Egypt be either stable or permanent, but it is difficult to think of an arrangement wholly free from the drawbacks of this position, from the point of view of complete independence, so long as the integrity of Egypt from foreign aggression has to be guaranteed by Great Britain, in other words, so long as Egypt has not an army and navy sufficient for the purposes of her defence."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Indians abroad.

4. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th August says that it has deeply pained it to learn from the *Herald*, a Newzealand paper, that recently a party of Indian labourers entered the city of Masterton to pass the night there, but that although they offered to pay a reasonable rent, no one would permit them to lodge in the city owing to their being Indians. Their sight proved the signal for a hostile crowd of whites to gather together, and it grew so dangerous that the police experienced the greatest difficulty in saving the Indians, who had to pass the night outside the city. How painful it is, comments the *Paisa Akhbar*, that Indians have long been ill-treated by British colonists in spite of both being subjects of the same sovereign, and that Government has so far been unable to remove the troubles of the former. Until self-government is granted to India in the fullest measure and severe restrictions are imposed on the entry of colonials into this country, it is impossible to prevent them from ill-treating Indians.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

Great Britain.

5. The *Dard* of the 19th August says that Great Britain sings the melodious songs of equality, but lags behind other countries in carrying the principle into practice. She has not stood the test, and champions the cause of freedom only

verbally as a piece of cleverness, through political expediency or as a matter of policy. It is still more to be regretted that she has proved to be a dissembler in the matter of applying the principles of justice and equality to other countries. She has never acted with fairness in this respect in dealing with the peoples under her. She has never acted with liberality in applying the principle of equality to India, upon which her prosperity, ease and comfort depend. Euopeans even of ordinary and low position shoot Indians like beasts of prey and escape scotfree by putting forth absurd and lame excuses. Next the paper quotes some instances to show how Europeans shooting Indians from time to time are never punished.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The reforms.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Sikh* of the 22nd August writes:—"The reply of Mr. Montagu [regarding the ineligibility of martial law convicts for election to the Councils] seals the fate of the poor Punjab if Sir Edward Maclagan does not intervene in time, it being evident that the province cannot be adequately represented in the sense of the Reforms if its acknowledged leaders and luminaries remain out. We are sanguine that His Honour will do all he can to save the Punjab from the disadvantage ... It is really curious that while some of them have resumed their practice as lawyers and others their seats in their respective municipal committees as freely as if they had never been convicted, the bar against their going into the provincial Council still remains."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st August says that the release of the Punjab leaders was a strange one indeed, seeing that it deprives them of their unassailable rights. The event constitutes another insult to the Punjab, which was subjected to unheard-of indignities at the hands of O'Dwyer. The insult is keenly felt by Indians; it has grievously lacerated their already wounded hearts If Sir Edward Maclagan does not act with his customary tact and foresight in getting this grievance redressed, it will necessarily add to the unrest already prevailing in India.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 20th August says that it is the religious duty of the Muhammadans to send no representatives to the Councils. Those Hindus and Sikhs also, it adds, who possess the least sense of honour can never forget the indignity and humiliation which the Punjabis had to suffer last year for no fault, and in respect of which justice has not been done up to the present. They, too, should therefore abstain from sending their representatives to the Councils.

The special Congress.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

7. The following occurs in the August number of the *Vedic Magazine* on the forthcoming special session of the Congress:—"The question of non-coöperation is to be decided at this session. If the Congress fails to give a lead to the country at this conjuncture of time, it will have forfeited all moral right to claim that it represents Indian public opinion. The Congress must record the vote of the majority boldly, courageously and fearlessly or arrive at a compromise acceptable to all parties and not susceptible of a dubious interpretation.... To us it appears that, in the present chaotic state of public opinion on the subject, when the whole question of our political work is in the melting pot, this is the only reasonable course for the country to adopt."

The Viceroy on coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. (*a*) Commenting on the Viceroy's speech in the Supreme Legislative Council the *Tribune* of the 24th August says:—"It is characteristic of Lord Chelmsford that at a time when the atmosphere that surrounds him, whether official or unofficial, whether European or Indian, is surcharged with the spirit of strife and bitterness, he should make an appeal to us to forget our differences..... His Excellency made an appeal to his hearers to cultivate and to exercise the virtues of faith, hope and charity.... In the first place, we would respectfully remind His Excellency that no one is in a better position to set an example in the exercise of charity than the Government of which he is himself the head, for the simple reason that it is the repository of all power. After all, those who constitute His Majesty's opposition in India are bound in the very nature of things to exercise the qualities of charity and self-restraint.... There is obviously no such restraining influence on the other side. Take the

familiar case of the imputation of motives. If a writer or speaker imputes an unworthy motive to the Government or even to some individual official exercising the powers of the Government for the time being, there is the law of sedition to take good care of him, and failing that, there are the Defence of India Act and the Press Act. And yet how frequent is the practice of imputing the worst of motives to non-officials on the part of high officials.... His Excellency expressed his confidence that so far as honourable members were concerned their wish was to write upon a clean slate and leave the past behind. We can assure him that this is the wish not merely of honourable members of his Council, but of the Indian community generally, to whom nothing is dearer than peace. But before this wish can be realised, whether in the case of the one or the other, the Government must do justice. With the offending officers in the Punjab still in the enjoyment of their power and position and with so many of the traces of last year's happenings still uneffaced, all our wish to write upon a clean slate must be a futility."

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Akali* of the 25th August asks whether Lord Chelmsford can assure us that the events of past year will not be repeated. Will not General Dyers, Colonel O'Briens and Frank Johnsons, it enquires further, fire bullets at ignorant people in future? Will they not fire machine-guns at, and throw bombs on, unarmed people? Will they not disgrace our mothers and sisters? Will they not strip respectable people naked and flog them in public? Will they not be able to issue orders commanding Indians to crawl on their bellies? Will not the proud bureaucracy act arbitrarily and in defiance of the united voice of the Indian public? Will not noble-minded Indians be kicked in future after being called blacks? If the Viceroy cannot give us satisfactory answers to these questions, there is no meaning in loudly calling on Indians for coöperation. If the bureaucracy is prepared to put aside pride of authority, racial prejudice and colour distinctions and to rule India for her good, the people would always willingly cöoperate with Government.

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

The English in India.

9. (*a*) The *Waqt* of the 19th August says that what has chiefly enabled the English to obtain possession of so many foreign countries is that they have always loudly beaten the drum of justice and equality. Indians also were deluded by their false promises that impartial justice would be administered under their rule and no one would be allowed to oppress another. The people of this country had got tired of war and gladly accepted the yoke of England. The desire for liberty, however, is a natural one and cannot be repressed. Far-sighted Englishmen were aware of this, and they made use of this to make the late Queen Empress issue the famous proclamation called the Magna Charta of India, by which the English and Indians were given the same status. Those who were fond of exercising power could not, however, bear to see Indians placed on the same footing with them. Besides, in spite of the existence of the above proclamation, they oppressed Indians, thereby affording proof of their foolishness. These people, intoxicated with power and blinded by the wine of authority as they were, did not know that their tyranny would prove instrumental in bringing about the fall of their nation.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue dated the 21st August the paper says that the members of the Civil Service not only placed obstacles in the way of Indians to regain their liberty, but also usurped all the natural rights of the latter. It was also at their hands that the health, industries, and education of Indians suffered so much as to become almost ruined. They did all this, not because they were incapable men, but simply to ruin the Indian nation. The paper then goes on to say that the English not only established a bureaucratic government in this country, but also made the people to understand that they were not to talk of liberty. The truth is, it adds, that the decline of the English commenced from the very day on which they unjustly took possession of the Punjab.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The next Viceroy.

10. Adverting to the memorial to the Premier which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is promoting to urge the appointment of Mr. Montagu as the next Viceroy, the *Liberal* of the 23rd August writes:—"Dr. Rabindranath's proposal has been made in the best and highest interests of both England and India, and to disregard it will be a grave disservice and danger to both

countries . . . . . Large reforms have been announced, the King's Proclamation and the royal clemency announced on Christmas eve last year deeply stirred the heart of India, and yet the unrest in the country is on the increase. The reason is that the spirit of the administration has not shown the slightest change or improvement. Statesmanship is bankrupt and the bureaucracy is as hidebound as ever. The issue at the present moment is so tremendous and so fateful that no convention or rule should be allowed to stand in the way of a genuine effort to solve the present grave situation in India, and we firmly believe that the appointment of Mr. Montagu as Viceroy will have an excellent and soothing effect on India. . . . The present unrest in India is independent of any individual leader, and the real palliative, if not remedy, is that proposed by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore."

Dr. Sapru's appointment.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

11. Writing about the appointment of the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the *Liberal* of the 23rd August says :—" Dr. Tej Bahadur is a known man and a tried man and we are sure of him as a sincere patriot to whom honour has come unsought. . . . All Indian nationalists will rejoice at his appointment and he may be trusted to do his duty by his country truly and well."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Dyer debate.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

12. Writing on the Dyer debate in the Lords, the *Vedic Magazine* for August says :—"The resolution of the House has produced a most unfortunate impression in India. The unsatisfactory decision of His Majesty's Government in the Dyer case and the inaction of Lord Chelmsford's Government in the matter of giving effect even to the decisions thereof had deeply stirred popular feeling in this country. The action of the Lords has stimulated the non-coöperation movement as nothing else could have."

Offending martial law officers.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

13. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 19th August states that Lord Sydenham has written a letter to the *Times*, in the course of which he says that if General Dyer is punished no loyal Indians will in future help Government officers in times of difficulty. As a matter of fact, however, every Indian—be he an extremist, a moderate or a sycophant—condemns the General's doings from a political point of view. And if tyrants like him and other offending matial law officers are not duly punished, all Indians will feel aggrieved. The worst aspect of the oppression practised in the Punjab was that even those who helped Government by contributing to war loans and supplying recruits, nay, even those who were considered to be sycophants, were subjected to harassment. Government taught them the lesson that however important their services might be they should never feel proud of them, and that loyalists and extremists would be treated alike on such occasions. If it wishes that these men should help it in future in its hour of trouble, it should punish the officers who oppressed them last year.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Ray, editor.

(*b*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 21st August :—" It is now about three months since the Hunter report was published, but Government appears to be in no hurry to take any action in regard to the officers whom even the majority report was constrained to condemn. Leaving apart Dyer's case, so far only Frank Johnson and Bosworth-Smith have gone, although even in their case no public pronouncement has so far been made. This delay coupled with the previous policy of the Government of India in regard to martial law has created a most unfortunate impression on the public mind. The Punjab Government has during recent months more than once emphasized the need for the rehabilitating of normal relations between the rulers and the ruled. This can only be done if both Government and the people undertake to do their duty, and it cannot be said that in the matter of the punishment of the guilty officials, the authorities have acted with half the promptitude and thoroughness which the occasion demanded."

(*c*) Elsewhere the paper writes in the course of its comments on the Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council :—" His Excellency spoke of the need for coöperation between the Government and the people, the desirability of beginning with a clean slate. He must be grievously mistaken if he imagines that either coöperation or mutual understanding is possible in any real or genuine sense of the term, until proper steps are taken by the Government to restore the *status quo ante,* and the first and most important thing in this connection is clearly to take suitable action in the case of the offending officers."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

Martial law and students.

14. The *Partap* of August 23 says that a very large number of students were awarded different punishments during the martial law regime. They were pardoned subsequently, and it was taken for granted that the order debarring them from Government service had been rescinded. It would appear, however, from the many complaints the paper has received that the restriction is still extant. It is the height of injustice to close the doors of Government employment on poor, innocent Punjabi youths, especially at a time when the Bengal Government is providing suitable posts and other means of leading a peaceful life for released internees. Sir Edward Maclagan should have mercy on these young men and lay them under an obligation by cancelling the order in question.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Delhi indemnity.

15. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th August states that attempts have begun to be made to realise the indemnity imposed on Delhi in consequence of last year's disturbances. On the one hand, adds the paper, Government claims that it is trying to conciliate the people, but, on the other, it does not allow old wounds to heal. Delhi is the capital of India, and its disquietude means disquietude for the whole of India, while mal-administration there implies mal-administration throughout the country. If the Viceroy makes no efforts to check the brewing storm, it will prove a real storm indeed.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 21st August says that Government's oppressive act in realising the indemnity will again cause general unrest in the country. If the authorities do not realise their mistake, the state of affairs will go from bad to worse. The people of Delhi are determined not to pay the fine.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Dard* of the 22nd August praises the people of Delhi for their decision not to pay the indemnity. So far from doing any damage, it adds, they themselves suffered loss and were fired on and harassed by the military and police. How far is it just, then, that they should now be required to pay an indemnity? They should fight this injustice with law, courage and perseverance.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 20th August:—"The question of fixing the responsibility for the disturbances is still an open one and is bound to remain so, probably for all time, inasmuch as the official and the popular viewpoints in this regard differ so radically. As a matter of fact with regard to Delhi, even confining ourselves to the evidence before the Hunter Committee, the balance is decidedly in favour of the popular view. But apart from the question of responsibility, on general grounds it appears to us unwise on the part of Government to persist in a course of action which, connected as it is with a highly controversial subject, is bound to be keenly resented by the people. It seems that the people of Delhi have decided upon resorting to passive resistance. We hope Government will drop the matter altogether and abstain from further pursuing a policy which is sure to end in unpleasantness both to the authorities and the people."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Munsifs in the Punjab.

16. The *Tribune* of the 27th August writes.—"Munsifs in this province suffer from very serious disabilities. In other provinces, Munsifs are regarded as members of the provincial Civil Service, judicial branch, and the recent re-organisation schemes in Bengal, Behar, the United Provinces and elsewhere have considerably added to the position and prospects of this hard-worked body of officials. A time-scale has been fixed, and the initial salary has been raised to Rs. 250 in some provinces and Rs. 275 in others. But the Punjab .... is custom-ridden not only in its administration of personal laws but also in its appointments to judicial posts. And so the poor Munsifs are left where they were, say, half a century ago... There is no reason why discrimination should continue to be made against the Munsifs and the latter be condemned to a scale of pay quite unworthy of their offices. We believe that the question of the re-organisation of this humble branch of the judicial service is under the consideration of the Government and we hope the Government will deal with it in the same liberal

spirit as it has done with several other services. The best thing would be to henceforth recruit the Munsifs wholly from the bar and to make the existing cadre a part of the judicial branch of the provincial Civil Service.

The Commissioner's court at Ambala.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

17. The *Liberal* of the 23rd August writes :—"When Delhi was separated from the Punjab, the Commissioner of Delhi became the Commissioner of Ambala Division. Though all or the vast majority of the lawyers here live in Ambala city and all litigants from the other districts of the Division having business in the Commissioner's court stop in Ambala city to arrange for their food, etc, and to engage counsel, the Punjab Government, in spite of the representation of the Ambala bar to the contrary, built a costly residence and a court house for the Commissioner in Ambala Cantonment, at a distance of nearly two miles from the Cantonment railway station and of more than five miles from the city. The request of the local bar was that the Commissioner's court house should be built in the city where the District Judge, the Deputy Commissioner and other officers hold their courts. This request was, however, too reasonable to be accepted by the autocrats. Now, everyone having business in the Commissioner's court has got to go to Ambala Cantonment. But things are moving further than that. The present Commissioner sometimes does not come to the court house and holds his court at his residence. This is entirely against the orders of the Government and the policy of the law. According to the rules of the Ambala Bar Association, no member of the said bar can attend court at the house of any officer. The District Judge, the Deputy Commissioner and other officers respect this rule of the Bar Association. The result so far as the Commissioner's court is concerned, is that some times the lawyers go to the Commissioner's court and are told that the Commissioner will take up cases at his house. They send chits to the Commissioner's Reader informing him that they are waiting at the court house, but, in spite of this, the Commissioner decides cases away from the court house and the lawyers come back without attending to their cases, for the Bar Association inflicts severe punishment on those members who break its rule. The conduct of the Commissioner in holding court at his residence is very objectionable. The lawyers suffer and the litigants suffer by that officer sometimes not holding court at the court house, which is situated at a very short distance from his residence... The Commissioner's court is held for a few days after an interval of two or (?) months. Surely it should not be difficult for any officer to work in his court under such circumstances."

Railway accidents.

TRIBUNE (Lahore) K. N. Roy, editor.

18. The *Tribune* of the 27th August writes :—"Mr. Chanda's question [in the Imperial Council] regarding the number and frequency of railway accidents and collisions in India within recent times elicited a lengthy reply from Colonel W. D. Waghorn on behalf of the Government ... 'In all cases of accidents involving loss, danger, or injury' he said, 'notice of the enquiry was sent to the District Magistrate and to the senior Government Inspectors, both of whom attended the enquiry'.... 'In this way' he added, 'the interest of the public *seemed* to be fully protected and the Government saw no reason for a change of practice.' This is very unsatisfactory, indeed. The public cannot accept as adequate a *seeming* protection offered to them by paper regulations. The railway is the most autocratic of public departments, though, in reality, it should be the readiest to adopt public suggestions and show the greatest solicitude for public welfare. Official enquiries into railway accidents show that many of them are due to negligence on the part of ill-paid, incompetent railway employees and the greater part of the casualties are preventible. What has the Government done to enforce greater care and caution in railway working? Colonel Waghorn's conclusions cannot be accepted as the last word on the subject. We must see that public opinion is duly represented on the Railway Board and railway administration."

The Kacha Garhi case.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

19. The *Zamindar* of the 14th August publishes a telegram specially sent to it by one Safdar who complains that all the proceedings so far taken in the Kacha Garhi case are unsatisfactory. No reliance, he adds, can be placed on a court martial. Again, although there were nineteen shot, sword and bayonet wounds [? on the body of the deceased *mahajir*] still only one soldier has been placed

under arrest. Eye-witnesses state that one officer and three soldiers were implicated in the occurrence.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Waqt (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

Kine-killing.

20. (*a*) The *Waqt* of the 19th August publishes a cartoon displaying a map of India and a hatted man holding a cow. The letter-press is as follows:—

The extirpation of the cow means the ruin of India. There can be no doubt that the semi-official slaughter-house [in the Central Provinces] will bring ruin on India. Arrangements are about to be made in the Saugor district for the annihilation of cow.

Mother India.—Ah, my sons, I am ruined. Do something to save your aged mother.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 27th August:—"Mr. Khaparde asked a series of questions [in the Imperial Council] regarding the slaughter of cows in the Central Provinces and the proposed assistance of the Local Government to a Tanning and Trading Company in Saugor district. Mr. Sharma replying to the question said that the information on the points should be sought in the Central Provinces Legislative Council and the Government of India did not propose to interfere with the discretion of the local administration. These replies are framed in stereotyped official phraseology, which does not disclose any intelligent appreciation either of the depth of popular feeling in the matter, or of the grounds of popular opposition to State-aided slaughter of cows for private profit. At a certain stage, and the earlier the better, the Government of India can and must interfere with the 'discretion' vested in the Local Government—when it finds that the discretion is exercised to the injury of the public and public interests. . . . Just at a time when the Amir of Kabul and the Nizam of Hyderabad have issued orders restricting the slaughter of cows for economic reasons, a Local Government in British India has actually made itself a party to an arrangement which, it is generally believed, will lead to an increased slaughter of cows. The Government of India is surely interested in preventing any such increase."

Dard (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Dard* of the 21st August states that the Government of India has informed the Marwari Association, Calcutta, in reply to a petition from the latter that there is no necessity at present to prevent the export of kine from India. After asking when this necessity will arise, the paper enquires whether this will happen when cows will have become extinct in the country. The attitude of Government in the matter of cow-protection has been not only cruel, but also very despicable and provocative in the eyes of religious-minded people. Akbar realised the importance of the cow and stopped kine-killing, which the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Amir of Kabul also have done. The English have been ruling here for the last 150 years, but have not as yet changed their attitude in the matter. This indifference on their part is making the people suspicious as to their intentions. The British authorities see the oppression already practised [on the cow], and still they have granted permission for the daily slaughter of 2,500 cattle at Saugor. The reprehensible policy pursued by Government should not continue, and such an agitation should be carried on against it that Government may be constrained to attend to the needs of the country. The Hindus should not now rest content simply with the submission of petitions to Government. The paper then exhorts them to rise and go to the rescue of the cow. Government, it says in the course of its remarks, has no necessity to look to their food, ease and comfort. Why should it overlook the good of Englishmen [*lit.*, its brethren] for their sake? On the contrary, it will, as far as possible, make arrangements for having mother cow slaughtered and extirpated before their very eyes, seeing that it finds these arrangements to be beneficial for it. If this is not so, how can it sanction the slaughter of an animal in thousands to which the Hindus apply the epithet "mother." The Hindus should consider how far their religion allows them to coöperate with such a Government. They should tell it that they cannot coöperate with it until kine-killing is put an end to.

Shanti (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

(*d*) The *Shanti* of the 22nd August says that the question of kine-killing is as important now as it was in the days of the Muslim kings of India. Nay, it has acquired still greater importance in these days, and the British Government would do well to follow the example of the past rulers of this country. It would be better for both Government and the people if kine-killing were prohibited by law.

Jhatka shops.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

21. The *Akali* of the 20th August says that painful reports are daily received from different places about the Muhammadans getting *jhatka* meat shops closed. After stating that some time back they had the shop at Muktsar closed, the paper reports that Bhai Jagat Singh, *Pardesi*, writes that six or seven days previously a *jhatka* shop was opened at Peshawar, but that about two hundred Muhammadans repaired to it, and the poor shopkeeper was obliged to close it. The Sikhs feel greatly pained at this high-handedness on the part of the Muhammadans.

The *kirpan*.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

22. The *Panch* of the 11th August asks the Sikhs to bear in mind that the danger which attends the wearing of the *kirpan* in the military department is likely to arise in the civil departments also. This being so, they must raise such a strong voice in the matter that military officers may cease interfering with their religious freedom. Is this the only reward for the conspicuous military services rendered by the Sikhs that pain should be caused to them by interference in their religious liberty and no heed should be paid to painful protests by them? The improper and intolerable severity practised by military officers in the matter of the *kirpan* suggests to us the question whether the Sikhs are no longer required in the army. If injustice is to be done to them in the military department, the officers concerned should not expect a large number of Sikhs to enlist in the army.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Increase of water-rates in Lahore.

MUNICIPAL GAZETTE; (Lahore) Din Muhammad, editor.

23. Referring to the proposal to increase water-rates in Lahore city and the Landa Bazar, the *Municipal Gazette* of the 19th August says that it is extremely undesirable to effect the increase in these days of high prices. In case, however, the rates must be enhanced, the city and the civil station should be treated alike. The latter is inhabited by well-to-do people, who require a large quantity of water for their gardens, etc., and can afford to pay enhanced rates. The people of Lahore city should hold meetings strongly to protest against the proposed increase.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Export of cattle.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

24. Referring to the Government of India's decision not to prevent the export of cattle to foreign countries, the *Satyjug* of the 18th August expresses its inability to understand why Government should subject Indians to a series of troubles. It is causing cattle to be killed by having slaughter-houses established in the country, paying no heed to the fact that these animals are badly needed for supplying milk and *ghi* and producing grain in a hot and agricultural country like India. After asking whether it wishes to deprive Indians of these blessings, the paper says that the decision referred to will prove far more terrible for India than the plague and influenza have done and will gradually so weaken the country as to bring about its extinction.

Begar.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

25 (*a*). The *Desh* of the 22nd August publishes a communication from DAULAT RAM GUPTA, Joint Secretary, District Congress Committee, Rohtak. The writer strongly condemns the practice of *begar*, and says that most of the villagers in the Rohtak district are in great trouble because of it. Next he advises his fellow-countrymen immediately to stop doing any *begar* work and making supplies at reduced prices. They should sell articles at full price at their shops and charge the full amount of wages for any labour done by them.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharam Dev, editor.

(*b*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 19th August says that the *begar* system should be stopped in these days of enlightenment. There is no reason why wage-earners should be required to work gratis or why any article should be taken from a shopkeeper free of charge. Is it not an act of high-handedness and oppression to exact *begar* from people? Does such a practice exist in any other civilised country?

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

Gurmukhi script in the army.

26. One B. S. CHATRATH writes to the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th August :—"Your readers will perhaps remember that previously Gurmukhi was recognised along with Urdu as the medium for promotion examinations and tests in the army, and consequently the Sikh officers and other ranks easily kept all the accounts and their records in Gurmukhi. But you will be shocked to hear that the Government of India has disallowed Gurmukhi as the medium, and thus Urdu remains the sole mistress. Will the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the Sikh League or any other representative body of the community take up this matter and approach the Commander-in-Chief. I think the military Khalsa perhaps expected and certainly deserved some better reward for their precious sacrifices."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh editor.

The *Haq*.

27. Writing about the efforts of the Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, to have the resolution of the local district board not to patronise the *Haq* rescinded, the *Sikh* of the 22nd August says :—"The *Haq*, under the editorship of Khan Sahib Abdul Aziz, has proved an utter failure so far as its present policy is concerned. It opposes in season and out of season all that concerns the true interests of the people. When such is the case, why should the people be compelled to contribute towards the maintenance of such a paper? The United Provinces Government, too, have got a journal which—since the end of the war—has been converted into a purely educative magazine. Its policy is guided by such popular Indians as the Hon'ble Mr. Y. Chintamani, editor of the *Leader*, and others. But the element at the helm of the so-called *Haq* is absolutely anti-public. So the less the public patronise it the better."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 28th August 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) Writing about the Turkish peace treaty, the *Sidaqat* of the 24th August says that if Europe has decided to solve all its problems with the aid only of gun-powder, Asia also will pay it back in the same coin. The treaty in question pronounces the sentence of death on Turkey. England and France will, however, discover very soon that the death of Turkey is the sign of a new life and fresh awakening in Asia. This awakening has already created such dreadful difficulties for England in Asia that it is beyond the intellectual power of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues to form an accurate idea thereof. What is now happening in Mesopotamia should be sufficient to open their eyes.

SIYASAT (Lahore): Syed Habib, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 25th August says that the Muhammadans should now make a great sacrifice, *viz.*, they should prepare themselves to sacrifice their lives, property, wealth and families in order to end the troubles of their co-religionists, to save the Khilafat from the enemies of the Islamic faith and to recover Mecca and Medina from rebels and mischief-makers. The best way to do so is to act on the policy of non-coöperation. The Muhammadans will have to disregard worldly comfort and power, which human beings hold very dear. But Islam demands this sacrifice from them, and no true Musalman can shirk his duty. They will have to go to jail and to suffer internment. Their lands will be attached and put to auction. If they wish to please God and serve Islam, however, they should not hesitate to sacrifice their lives and property for their sake.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Egypt.

2. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th August says that the news about Great Britain having recognised the independence of Egypt will afford satisfaction to the Islamic world. It is true that Egypt has not become independent in the true sense of the terms. We should hope, nevertheless that she will gain complete independence when perfect confidence has been established between her and Great Britain.

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partab* of the 27th August cannot say whether the nationalist party in Egypt will accept the conditions which have been coupled with the grant of independence to its country. Nor can the paper foretell what results the operation of these conditions will produce. It can assert, however, that the stipulations are good enough for Egypt to accept. It is evident that she cannot stand on her own legs. England has undertaken to protect her, and if she reserves certain rights for herself in return we cannot call this unreasonable.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th August says that Egypt has not of course obtained complete independence What she does get, however, is very much like it. Indeed she has obtained what she never expected to get so soon. We wish we could heartily congratulate the Egyptian nationalists on the brilliant success achieved by them European diplomacy is so crooked, however, that we do not feel quite certain that there is no move at the bottom of the agreement. We will, therefore, await full details. Continuing, the paper says that Indians are engaged in internecine feuds. Again, some of them so hunger after power and influence that they are satisfied with whatever they may get and fall on it like famine-stricken people. When they extend their hands, however, they find nothing but rotten leavings in the shape of dry bones. We wish that they also had, like Egyptian nationalists, displayed political intelligence. No one among the Egyptians has been appointed an Under-Secretary of State, but they have obtained independence without securing that honour. They can distinguish imitation from reality.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar), Mohan Singh, editor.

The reforms.

3. (*a*) A correspondent writing to the *Kalsa Advocate* of the 31st August says:—"The most inadequate share allotted to the Sikhs in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State surely cannot in the least help them in their lookout to safeguard their interests. . . These grievances could be mitigated to a certain extent by giving them one out of the three seats in the Viceroy's Executive council. But that also has not been done. The only way that now remains is to give the Executive membership in the Punjab to them. The two ministerships may be given to Hindus and Muhammadans. This will help the Sikhs so far that in the provincial Government at least their interests will be secure, and as the opinions of Local Governments weigh much in the decisions of imperial questions there will be at least good representation from the Local Government which has an eminent Sikh on it. There is no dearth of men and a stereotyped reply to that effect will not now hold good. Let us hope that the Government will try to compensate the Sikhs in this way and do away with some of the disappointment caused by the blank and unsympathetic denial of their legitimate claims."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the Reuter telegram that the India Office has informed the Sikh deputation that the Government of India has not agreed to allow the Sikh claims, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 22nd August enters an emphatic protest against the reply vouchsafed to the deputation, and assures Government that a strong agitation will be started against this trampling on the rights of the Sikhs, and that it will not cease until the authorities have acceded to Sikh demands. The Sikhs have always given practical proof of their loyalty to Government, but the bureaucracy's attitude towards them is most disloyal. It has not at all appreciated the loyalty, services and sacrifices of the Sikhs, and its treatment of them is not just. It is a pity that the bureaucracy has not been able to display the same generosity in dealing with the Sikhs as it has done in the case of the Muhammadans.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Sayad Habib, editor.

Lord Sinha's new appointment.

4. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 22nd August says that the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Behar and Orissa cannot prove useful for the country. The continual

and unexampled showering of official favours on his Lordship shows that he is a Government officer of the most finished type. It was he who as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council had the Press Act passed, and thus throttled nationalist newspapers. It would have been much better if the Governorship had not been conferred on an Indian rather than that it should have gone to a man who placed the horrible noose of the Press Act round the neck of his country's freedom in order to ingratiate himself with his masters. As Under-Secretary of State, Lord Sinha listened to violent speeches in support of General Dyer, but attempted only a most uninteresting and shameful reply. And when the House of Lords passed a resolution in defence of the Halaku and Nero of this age his Lordship did not so much as open his lips. If his sense of self-respect had not been tinged with worldly considerations, he would have considered it a duty—gentlemanliness also demanded it—to throw up his appointment. The elevation of such a person to a Governorship cannot please his country. If Government is not prepared to grant the liberty of speech and writing to Indians, to repeal the Defence of India Act, the Arms Act, the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act, to free municipalities from the influence of District Magistrates and to respect Indian public opinion, it cannot please India by giving her the toy of the reforms and appointing its own men as Governors. So long as it can intern or imprison any person it likes, pays no heed to the voice of 32 crore Indians and can pass any oppressive law, it makes no difference to Indians whether a Lord Sinha or a Lord Sydenham is appointed a Governor.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Sidaqat* of August 24th says that formerly the appointment of an Indian to the post even of Deputy Collector used to be regarded as a great favour from Government. Whatever is now given to Indians, however, adds the paper, falls short of their demands. Continuing, it remarks that the English have, aften a reign of 150 years, appointed an Indian as ruler of a province. In other words, it is after one and a half century that they have taken an Indian into their confidence, while the Moghul emperors afforded proof of their magnanimity and large-mindedness by conferring the highest position even upon their worst enemy after he had fallen. Lord Sinha's past services are not such that we can feel proud of them. The Indian Press Act is the most regrettable memory of the time his Lordship was on the Viceroy's Executive Council. In connection with the Punjab affairs, he displayed extreme weakness in his speech in the Lords.

Lord Sinha and Dr. Sapru.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

5. The *Dard* of the 25th August says that Lord Sinha has been appointed a Governor and Dr. Sapru a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The former will prove a greater supporter of the bureaucracy than even Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon, because, being a member of an enslaved nation, he cannot have the courage to go against the policy adopted by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State from time to time. We think that when Government adopts a repressive policy in future, for the most part it will make Lord Sinha instrumental in carrying it out. He will be the first Governor to follow the bureaucracy's policy of repression, seeing that he will naturally have to make a return for Government's kindness in elevating Mr. Sinha of Raipur to the Governorship of Behar and Orissa. As for Dr. Sapru, it will not be surprising if it is he who drafts a law for the suppression of non-coöperation in the same way as Lord Sinha was entrusted with the drafting of the Press Act. These appointments cannot, therefore, prove useful for the country. India is preparing for non-coöperation, and it is a strange method which Government has adopted to defeat the movement. It should bear in mind, however, that the policy with the aid of which it gained success ten years ago cannot prove successful in the least now, inasmuch as the eyes of Indians have now been fully opened.

Lord Chelmsford.

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

6. The *Partab* of the 29th August refers to the opinion held in certain quarters that the Viceroy should be accorded no reception on the occasion of his intended visit to Jubbulpur. Commenting, the paper says that the King and his representative are entitled to every respect from us. This holds good, however, only when they look upon the ruled as their children. It is unnecessary to speak of the sort of treatment which Lord Chelmsford has accorded to Indians. His Excellency passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of united opposition from the Indian leaders. He also permitted the promulgation of martial law in the

Punjab and passed the Indemnity Act. Such a person cannot be said to be the representative of the King.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Viceroy's Council speech.

7. (*a*) Writing on the Viceroy's recent council speech, the *Sikh* of the 29th August refers to His Excellency's remarks about the Duke of Connaught's forthcoming visit to India, and says:—"We regret that ill-health should have stood in the way of the Heir-Apparent visiting India, and heartily join His Excellency in the prayer that he may be restored to complete health and full vigour. The Duke of Connaught is already too familiar with India to call for a detailed note in these columns. As a member of the Royal Family and the representative of our beloved Sovereign, he will, we are confident, receive a most hearty welcome from the teeming millions of Indians, coming as he does to inaugurate in this country the first instalment towards self-government." Next the paper quotes Lord Chelmsford's observations about the Hunter report and writes:—"The 'verdict of history' is evident, and it can be foreseen and predicted at this juncture. The hundreds of lives lost at Jallianwala Garden, the *zulum* perpetrated through the crawling and salaming orders, the caning of the innocent *baratis*, the treatment of students made to walk 16 miles a day, the bombing and machine-gunning of peaceful subjects of His Majesty, and last but not least the unveiling and maltreating of females in broad daylight by an officer of no less rank than Deputy Commissioner—all these atrocious acts have gone unpunished. Only General Dyer has been made a scapegoat, while all others—Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Colonel Frank Johnson, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Jacob, Rai Sri Ram Sud, Malik Sahib Khan (who took special pride in calling himself Aurangzeb II) and many others—escape absolutely scotfree, notwithstanding that His Majesty's Secretary of State has definitely put it that they should be duly dealt with. Some of them, Colonels Frank Johnson and O'Brien, have not refrained from adding further insult to injury, the former by making a most arrogant speech at Rangoon, which abundantly testified to his being as unrepentent as ever, and the latter by sending or causing to be sent threats to newspapers, being supported in all this by other responsible officials. Still we anxiously wait when the Government of India see their way to deal with these offending officials, for, needless to say, it is by doing so that they can change the 'verdict of history' and secure it in their favor. The sending off of Mr Bosworth Smith on long leave preparatory to retirement is, we submit, no punishment."

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper says:—"His Excellency the Viceroy, as is characteristic of him, made a fervent appeal for coöperation.... For our part, we have always been in favour of coöperation, and have to the best of our arguments and resources.... opposed the theory and practice of non coöperation. But with all this we are of the opinion that His Excellency's appeal for coöperation would have been by far the most effective, if the Government had done all they could to redress the grievances of the afflicted Punjab. His Excellency's appeal seems to be addressed to both sides, the officials and the people, but has anything been done to convince the minds of the latter that in future they would receive adequate justice if the former wronged them in any way? Have the present official offenders been punished as an example? No, even that scapegoat, General Dyer, has been finally exonerated by the Lords. Nor has Royal clemency been extended as liberally as was desirable. Indemnity is still demanded from the people, and nothing from the officials."

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

(*c*) The *Waqt* of the 25th August says that if His Excellency had been cognisant of the religious traditions of the Hindus and Muhammadans and had possessed some knowledge of their sacred books he would have known what course they are enjoined to adopt when the axe is laid to the root of their religion. His Excellency is proud of British airships and machine-guns, and can, therefore, pay no regard to the religious susceptibilities of Indians. He thinks that the British *raj* can know no waning, and this is the intoxication that prevents him from listening to the true things said by the ruled. At any rate, we consider it our duty to point out to those who are enamoured of the bureaucratic Government of India that the non-coöperation movement will prove a success, and that in this respect the oppressed will triumph and the tyrants will sustain a crushing defeat.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 28th August refers to popular demand in connection with the Punjab incidents, and says that although it disapproves of some of the proposed stages of non-coöperation, still it would enquire from the Viceroy how His Excellency can be justified in asking the people to coöperate with Government while the said demands and those in regard to the Turkish question remain unsatisfied. The editor wishes that bygones should become bygones, still he cannot be indifferent to the legitimate grievances of his fellow-countrymen.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 27th August says that both Lord Chelmsford and Lord Ronaldshay appeal to the Indian people for coöperation. We do not wish to be disrepectful to them, still we would tell them that mere words will lead to no results. Lord Chelmsford's speeches are fascinating no doubt, but no efforts are made to redress the legitimate grievances of the people. So far as the introduction and operation of martial law is concerned, there is not one single action by the Government of India which might have served as balm to lacerated hearts. The officers who tyrannised over the Panjabis, as also those who oppressed the people to take money out of their pockets, are still carrying on their avocations with impunity. And still it is hoped that the Punjab would be pacified. Next the paper refers to the ineligibility of the martial law convicts for election to the Councils, and says that, not only in the Punjab case but also in every other matter, Government's point of view seems to be different from that of its subjects.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The Dyer debate.

8. The *Sidaqat* of the 24th August says that Babu Bhupindra Nath Basu, a moderate member of the Secretary of State's Council, has remarked that the Dyer debate has made him feel that colour prejudice renders it quite possible for India to pass out of the British Government's hands, and that Parliament has, strangely enough, pushed India to the side of Sinn-Feiners. Commenting, the paper asks whether the eyes of the bureaucratic Anglo-Indian authorities have not been opened even now. If they still fail to change their attitude, the political leaders of Ireland and Moscow will certainly succeed in increasing the number of their Indian followers. If India passes out of the hands of Great Britain, her strength and greatness will irretrievably be lost.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Punjab disturbances.

9. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 31st August writes:—"The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha asked a number of very important questions at the last meeting of the Indian Legislative Council on the subjects connected with the events of last year . . . . We have no hesitation in saying that some of the answers will be read with a sense of profound disappointment and dissatisfaction all over the country. The most important of these, of course, is the reply to the question about Dyer." Next the paper summarises this reply, which states in conclusion that the penalty imposed upon General Dyer by Government was removal from the appointment and forfeiture of the tenure of his brigade. Commenting, the paper says:—"This, then, is all the punishment which the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have seen fit to impose upon a person responsible for a crime which Mr. Asquith described as one of the greatest outrages in British history . . . But the inadequacy of the punishment, monstrous as it is, is a matter of much less importance than the announcement, now for the first time made, that Dyer's pension or allowance or by whatever other name the amount he will receive is to be called, is to be found by India. The Government of India cannot be unaware of the strength, the intensity and the absolute unanimity of Indian opinion in this matter. If in spite of this they have come to this decision, they must be prepared for the outburst of indignant protest which is sure to greet the announcement from one end of the country to the other. Such a decision, amounting to a complete disregard of the wishes of the whole of articulate India, arrived at on the very eve of the introduction of a measure of responsible government cannot, to say the least of it, fail to cause the most painful surprise, and accentuate the bitterness that already exists on the subject . . . . No less disappointing is the decision of Government not to release any more martial law prisoners . . . . The reason why public opinion is so insistent on a different method and policy being followed in this case is that the times were not ordinary and the circumstances were such that, on the one hand, even those actually guilty of the offences were not fully

responsible for their actions, and on the other, there was grave risk of wrong persons being punished. We do not for a moment minimise the steps the Government took at a later stage to review the sentences or ascertain the guilt or innocence of the convicted persons. But let not the Government forget that these steps did not amount to a retrial of the persons; nor were they afforded the facilities by which alone such of them as were innocent could have cleared themselves. Nor is the fact to be overlooked that what the Government is being asked to do is only to release the men in the exercise of the Royal clemency. The only relevant considerations in this case are whether the crimes were political and whether their release would be compatible with the public safety. It was on this interpretation of the amnesty clause that the Local Government actually released a number of persons convicted of acts of violence. Surely it is not too much to ask the Government to carry a principle which they have themselves followed to its logical consequence. Lastly, the contrast between the policy which the Government seem to favour in the case of these men and their treatment of Dyer and other official wrong-doers will not escape the notice of the Indian public."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) DR. SATYAPAL wires to the *Tribune* of the 3rd September:—"I have just learnt with deep regret that the Punjab Government has agreed to the imposition of an terminal tax, in which is included the indemnity tax, and has approved the schedule. Some time ago the local Municipal Committee made the mistake of taking upon itself the collection of the unjustifiable, illegal, unwarrantable and unfair indemnity tax by including it in the terminal tax. The indemnity tax, which is about Rs. 20 lakhs or perhaps more, has been imposed upon the city by the District Magistrate without holding any public inquiry or giving the people a chance to scrutinize the wild and extravagant claims made by people to benefit whom such a heavy amount is being collected from the poor, innocent and law-abiding subjects of His Majesty. The tax has been levied absolutely arbitrarily. It is a pity that the Punjab Government has not given due consideration to a matter of such importance and far-reaching consequences. Public opinion conveyed to Government through the press, resolutions and telegrams has been ignored and treated with utter indifference. All our protests in this direction have been a cry in the wilderness, and the voice of the people has not been considered to be of any significance. The decision of the Committee to be a party to the collection of such a tax is deeply deplored; a representative body of the public ought not to have made such a blunder. Leaving aside that aspect of the question, I say it is no function of the Municipal Committee to collect a tax imposed by any authority other than itself and is prevented by law from collecting or imposing any such tax which is not to be used solely for the benefit of tax-payers. The resolution of the Committee has placed us in an awkward situation, because, while perfectly willing to pay a terminal tax imposed for municipal purpose, we refuse to pay any compensation or damages. While on the one hand, the appeal is being made by responsible high officials, I say even the highest, that we should forget injuries inflicted on us, fresh injuries are being inflicted and the sources of bitterness and discontent are allowed to continue. The Punjab Government would be well advised to cancel this tax if it seriously wishes to have the coöperation of the public in the working of the reforms and ushering in the new era. . . I have not the slightest hesitation in saying in unmistakable language that continuance of such a tax would be a stunning blow to any harmony that may have been brought about. In the presence of such a crushing tax the already very difficult task of forgetting the martial law regime characterised by tyranny and high-handedness would be rendered more difficult, if not absolutely impossible."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Kheri murder.

10. Writing about the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri, the *Desh* of the 30th August says that the crime deserves the severest condemnation. The madness of the criminal, it adds, cannot prove so injurious for himself as it will for his fellow-countrymen in their efforts for political progress. The advancement of India rests with those who worship the goddess of peace and not with people who insult her.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Indian prisoners.

11. The *Partap* of the 29th August states that those prisoners in England who conduct themselves well will in future be permitted to witness cinema shows once a week. What, however, asks the paper, is the condition of jails in

India ? Common prisoners apart, even political prisoners in this country are treated like dogs.

Muhammadan prisoners.

12. *Ar-Rai* of the 13th [received on the 25th] August says that Government has directed that Sikh prisoners should be given a *pagri*, instead of a cap, to wear. Although, it adds, Islam lays the greatest stress on the wearing of a beard, still Muhammadan prisoners are forced, immediately on their entering a jail, to get their beards shaved.

AR-RAI (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

Increase in postal rates.

13. The *Vakil* of the 27th August says that it has been announced that no unregistered value-payable packet or parcel will be accepted with effect from the 1st September. This means that henceforth an addressee will have to pay annas 3 and not one anna on account of money-order commission in respect of a value-payable article. In other words, postal charges for value-payable packets have been trebled. And this is the first instalment of increase in postal rates. Rumour has it that the price of the post card is to be raised to two pice and that of the embossed envelope to one anna. It would be very cruel to effect this increase. Besides, it would naturally lead to an enhancement of postage for newspapers, which will entail loss not only on subscribers but on newspapers also. Continuing, the editor says that, so far from sustaining any loss, the Postal Department has been making considerable savings every year. The excuse that the rates are being enhanced in consequence of increase in the pay of postal employees cannot, therefore, be accepted as valid. If a portion of the profits now realised is utilized for increasing salaries, what harm can this do to the Postal Department ? A voice of protest should be raised from every part of the country against an increase in postal rates.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Sub-Registrar, Zira.

14. A "SUFFERER" writes to the *Tribune* of the 3rd September :—"The post of Sub-Registrar, Zira, has been lying vacant for more than two years, since the death of Lala Jawala Parshad. This arduous work has been entrusted to the local Tahsildar and Naib-Tahsildar in addition to their own manifold current duties. These officers get no remuneration for this extra work and are therefore naturally inclined to relegate it to some odd hours, which entails unnecessary hardship on the public. There are presistent rumours that people resorting for registration have to experience innumerable difficulties, which cannot be found in the case of a man solely running this department. We cannot comprehend any sound reason for the inordinate delay in finding a suitable man for this vacancy."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Sikhs and higher appointments.

15. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 31st August writes :—"Our readers will be shocked to read that there is only one Sikh Inspector of Schools, no Assistant Inspector, one or two District Inspectors and not more than half a dozen Assistant District Inspectors. Now we ask a plain question in this connection. If Sikh graduates can be found to work as responsible heads and head-assistants of well-established institutions of long and continued repute, why cannot they be 'discovered' for the purposes of examining and scrutinising educational work ? We can cite at least half-a-dozen cases in which non-Sikh teachers and headmasters from secondry schools, have been given lifts and been brought over on the inspecting staff of the [Education] Department; why cannot that be done in the case of Sikhs also ? There are at least a dozen Sikh headmasters of sterling worth and commanding ability in the Rawalpindi and Lahore Divisions, and they could very well be selected by the authorities as District Inspectors or Assistant Inspectors, but this is not done to the great detriment of the Sikh educational cause and to the utter disappointment of the Sikh community, whose future depend upon education more than on anything else. Now, take another department. Throughout the length and breadth of this land of five rivers, there are not more than a dozen [Sikh] Naib-Tahsildar and Tahsildars. We may calculate the same number of Munsifs and Extra Assistant Commissioners and we do not know of any Sikh Judges. Is it that capable Sikh graduates and lawyer cannot be found ? Are there no loyal, respectable families of Sikhs whose youths may be selected for these appointments ? If at the selection time, in the case of non-Sikhs, due notice is taken of communal claims and interests why do not the same considerations obtain with regard to Sikh candidates ? . . . Have not Sikh youths served gloriously in the last war and what has become of the pro-

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

mises that were given of the preference of war-services over other claims? Again, take the railway administration. How many Sikh Assistant Traffic Superintendents and Claims Inspectors are there and how many Travelling Ticket-examiners and Station Masters? Do not capable Sikhs apply for these posts? Is efficiency the one invariable guide to these incumbencies? Does the Anglo-Indian applicant unfailingly show merits infallibly superior to those of his brother candidate? How many Sikh Postal Inspectors are there! We know of several brilliant graduates who applied for these posts and were told that there were no vacancies or that their names had been registered for vacancies which were only to occur on Doomsday, while all the while vacancies were being filled up by Lahore men. In saying all this, we never for a moment assert that Sikhs are always particularly and deliberately excluded from occupying these higher and subordinate appointments. But we do state simply this much, that the Sikhs are not always, in view of their being an important minority that deserves special protection, particularly and deliberately, in accordance with the scope of their share based on numbers, political importance and above all their loyal meritorious services, included in the lists of eligible candidates."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. Amir Chand Bombwal's case.

16. The *Tribune* of the 31st August writes:—"Sir William Vincent's statement [in the Imperial Council] that the Viceroy had not received any telegram from Mr. Amir Chand Bombwal of Peshawar, an internee under the Defence of India Act, making serious allegations against the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, can only mean that the telegram was not allowed to proceed to the Viceroy .... It now seems that either the telegram was never sent at all or it was suppressed somewhere on the way. This in itself is a serious affair, and calls for an immediate enquiry. Surely no one has a right to stand between a subject of the King-Emperor and his representative in India, provided the former wishes to approach His Excellency in a lawful way. The Government of India, said the Home Member, did not propose to enquire into the allegations or direct the internee's release, pending the enquiry .... The first thing for the Government of India to enquire about is why the telegram has not reached His Excellency. Has that enquiry been made? And then on what ground of justice or equity can the Government of India say when serious allegations are made against the authorities of a province directly under their control and having no Legislative Council of its own that they will not even enquire into the allegations? Is not this carrying the theory of relying on the man on the spot to an impossible length?"

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Cow-sacrifice.

17. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th August says that the abandonment of cow-killing being absolutely necessary for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim entente, the idea is gaining ground among the Muhammadans, especially among the educated and broad-minded section of them, to refrain from cow-sacrifice. The community in general cannot, however, accept a decision which has been arrived at without the unanimous approval of the *ulemas*. It is, therefore, necessary that a conference of the latter should be held during the Congress days or thereabout to decide the question, so as to avoid, for ever, all danger of complications arising on the occasions of cow-sacrifice. They should decide on a course of action which should completely satisfy the Hindus, on the one hand, and keep the Muhammadans in good humour, on the other. The matter admits of no delay or procrastination, and should be decided without further delay.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Rikabganj *gurdwara*.

18. The *Akali* of the 1st September states that one Sant Teja Singh recently went to Delhi to make inquiries concerning the Rikabganj *gurdawara*. The substance of the information supplied by him is that the wall which was dismantled in 1914 is still in the same condition. No steps have as yet been taken either by the Sikhs or the local authorities to rebuild it. The committee which came to a decision [in the matter] on the 1st March last consisted of the Deputy Commissioner, the Chief Engineer and four or five contractors. But how could the contractors freely give their opinion in the presence of the Chief Engineer, to whom they always look for the expansion of their business? The decision which this strange committee came to without consulting the Sikhs means that some land beyond the great wall (which belongs to the *gurdawara* itself) should be attached to the *gurda-*

wara and a low wall be erected around it, and that this wall be caused to be gradually pulled down later by the Sikhs on some pretext or other. This move constitutes a round-about way of accomplishing the proposal contemplated in 1914. The bureaucracy is joking with the Sikhs, considering them to be so many blockheads. The question is now one of honour for the Sikhs, and their honour can be preserved only if the dismantled wall is released from Government [control] and the *gurdawara* is freed from all interference for the future, no alterations being made in it by orders of Government. In case, however, Government does not get the wall rebuilt the Sikhs themselves should do so and thus establish a living memorial to Government's hollow friendship [for them]. It will show that Government did not even have a wall, which was dismantled by it, re-erected in recognition of their innumerable sacrifices and true friendship for it.

V.—EDUCATION.

Sikh educational institutions.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

19. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 24th August writes :—"Forgetting the backwardness of the Sikh community and the admirable courage with which its members are trying to remove the bondage of ignorance, with not much help from the Government, by opening up indigenous institutions, and ignoring the past glory of the community and its present political importance and the countless loyal services of its members, the authorities, mainly local, impede or strike at the very root of their development and progress. We could cite half-a-dozen instances in which the short-sightedness of jealous communal bias has removed at all or at least stunted the growth of Sikh secondary schools. Recognition is denied on very meagre data; aid is not granted on inconsiderable technical grounds; rival and unhealthy competition is allowed to grow . . . . We cite the cases of Chakwal, Kahuta, Sahiwal, Muktsar and Kallar out of many others, just to shew that the suggested clash has actually taken place and a regrettable state of affairs exists or is ripening into active existence . . . . We hope our popular Director of Public Instruction will come to the rescue of these struggling indigenous efforts, will consider their cases individually on their own merits and will take decisive steps to ensure the wide protection that their legitimate interests fully deserve at his hands . . . We are informed that to some of these schools, recognition and grants-in-aid are more than overdue, and to others the unedifying spectacle of the installation of unnecessary rival competitors backed up by local educational or executive authorities faces frighteningly."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Hyderabad.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

20. The *Siyasat* of the 25th August says that when Sir Ali Imam was appointed Premier of Hyderabad the well-wisher of the State expected its condition to improve. It is a pity, however, that the expectation has not been realised. The peaceful Khilafat movement was crushed in Hyderabad in a most tyrannical way before Sir Ali Imam's eyes and probably with his advice. The supporters of the caliphate were, without rhyme and reason, interned, imprisoned and deported. Hyderabad used to be noted for its broad-mindedness, but high-handedness has now become its special feature. It is highly necessary that the Nizam should clear Hyderabad of this enemy of his State.

Europeans and Indians.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, edtior.

21. The *Dard* of the 25th August complains that wherever a European and an Indian happen to meet, the former adopts an arrogant tone, views the latter with hatred and contempt, uses insulting words towards him, and sometimes awakens, with a kick, the Indians sunk in the sleep of slavery. Next the paper quotes from the *Bande Mataram* two cases in which Indians are said to have been insulted by Europeans on railways. Commenting, it asks whether this [? the conduct of Indians in putting up with such treatment] should be ascribed to gentlemanliness or cowardice. If the former, Government should punish such headstrong Sahib Bahadurs and try to remove such complaints in future. In case, however, it does not wish to displease them in this way, it should whisper in our ears that we can set them aright in any way we like. No Sahib would then venture to act in the way complained of. The cowardice of Indians consists in not replying to a blow with a blow and in hastening into court. But since blacks seek for justice, regarding their cowardice as gentlemanliness, why does Government send them to the right about and thereby create feelings of racial prejudice in their hearts?

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

Gurmukhi in the army.

22. The *Akali* of the 1st September says that the Secretary of the Educational Committee of the Chief Khalsa Diwan writes that when under the Army Order No. 65 Urdu was recognised as the common language of all Indian troops, the Commander-in-Chief was requested, in resolution No. 13 of the 12th [Sikh Educational] Conference, to have Gurmukhi taught to Sikh soldiers, on the ground that all their scriptures were in Gurmukhi and that the Sikhs generally conducted their correspondence and business in that language. In reply an assurance was given on behalf of His Excellency that all this would be borne in mind. We have, however, received several complaints to the effect that Gurmukhi has ceased to be taught in the army. Villagers could obtain good promotion in the army after studying Gurmukhi, but Urdu has now been inflicted on the Sikhs there. If the matter is not attended to, the Sikhs in the army will be overtaken by a great difficulty.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

General Dyer.

23. The *Panch* of the 18th [received on the 30th] August says that the whole of India calls Dyer a sinner. The British Government also looks upon him as guilty, while he has been considered to be a tyrant in America and other countries. But see what the British nation is doing for him. At some places funds have been opened in his aid. At others he is being honoured by the presentation of rewards, and strennous efforts are being made to raise a memorial to him. In view of these facts, the Sikhs should consider whether they should raise no memorial to the brave men who returned to India by the *Komagata Maru* and sacrificed themselves for their country and nation, as also to the other heroes who have given their lives to preserve the honour of both.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

24. The *Tribune* of the 28th August writes:—" We associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the appeal [for further funds in aid of the memorial] issued .... by Lala Girdhari Lal, the energetic Secretary of the Jallianwala Bagh committee. The raising of the memorial is a sacred duty which we owe as much to ourselves as to the dead. We hope there will be a liberal and prompt response to the appeal, thereby enabling the committee to proceed with the sacred work it has undertaken. "

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 4th September 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

1 (*a*) DR. SAIF-UD-DIN KITCHLEW writing to the *Zamindar* of the 29th August contends that it is wrong to say that Turkey was guilty of treachery in siding with Germany in the great war. The truth is that both England and France deceived her and left her in a state of helplessness, which compelled her to fight against them against her will. The writer quotes Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, the United States Ambassador at Paris, in support of his contention. It is now time, he adds, that Sir Reginald Craddock and other high personages left scoffing at the commonsense of Muhammadan and Hindu patriots. They should realise that by trying to deceive others, they are only deceiving themselves.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 8th September reproduces the remarks made by the chairman of the reception committee of the special Congress about the determination of the Hindus to stand by the Muhammadans in the Khilafat agitation, and comments as follows:—"The Muhammadans themselves should take .... no step which means or implies that they are prepared to place any other secular ideal above that of a common, self-respecting and self-governing nationality. We say this in all humility, but quite plainly, because what some Muhammadans have been saying about the religious obligation of Muhammadans to sympathise with, instead of resisting, a Muhammadan invasion of India undertaken in the interests of the Khilafat is absolutely incompatible with a 'common national feeling' or with that Hindu-Muhammadan amity on which Mr. Chakravarti dwelt with such eloquence and passion. But this is the single limit. As long as the Mussalmans confine their activities within lawful, constitutional limits and retain their allegiance to India, so long will the Hindus do everything in their power to make their cause their own."

Egyptian independence.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

2. (*a*) In a note headed "Long live Egypt!" the *Zamindar* of the 28th August says that Egypt has become independent in the end, although her independence has been coupled with some such conditions as British imperialism wanted to impose in its final attempt to take away [her] liberty. In view of the excitement

prevalent among the Egyptians, we have no hope, however, that they will agree to any conditions amounting to an obstacle in their way of becoming free. We congratulate them on the splendid and memorable success achieved by them: they are a source of pride to the whole of the east. But we cannot offer congratulations to the British Cabinet on the conditional justice which it has done to Egypt. Continuing, the paper says that the policy of the mailed fist has failed in Egypt: her national spirit survived machine-guns and bayonet charges. By its new policy towards her, it adds, the British Cabinet has set a dangerous example for the east. The Indian mind is now agitated over the question whether the methods adopted by Egypt are not the only means of obtaining justice from the Britons, and whether constitutional means are not the heritage of those foolish, weak and starving people whom a responsible ruling body has become accustomed to use as an instrument for achieving its ends.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(b) In its issue dated the 3rd September the paper publishes a communication from one HAKIM RAM LAL RAM NARAIN, No. 28, Ferrar Road, Bombay. After expressing joy at the Egyptians having obtained freedom, the writer says that it is not out of generosity that England has made them free. She has been forced to do so: the Egyptians practised such effective non-coöperation that Lord Milner had to submit to their demands. The writer wishes that Indians, who decry and condemn non-coöperation as dangerous and harmful to their country's interests, would renounce their acedemic degrees, which makes beasts of them, and would rely upon their conscience and act in a way beneficial for their nation and country. If the Egyptians have secured freedom by means of agitation, cannot our united agitation lead to a similar result?

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(c) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 29th August remarks that the Egyptians have secured independence only in a few years. In spite of centuries of British rule, however, India is not deemed fit for self-government. Her children are ahead of the Egyptians in culture and education. She should not be forced to remain in her present condition any longer. Indeed, she should have been given *swaraj* before Egypt. It should now be her turn to receive self-government.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

(d) The *Satyjug* of the 1st September says that Indians should learn a lesson from Egypt and make strenuous efforts to secure freedom for their country. The population of India far exceeds that of Egypt, and were it to gird up its loins to obtain independence, it would easily gain the end.

(e) In its issue dated the 2nd September the paper says that it is through non-coöperation alone that Egypt has won her freedom. It is the selfsame non-coöperation which Mr. Gandhi, the recognised leader of India and the lover of his nation, has suggested to his fellow-countrymen as their last resort. The Egyptians suffered every kind of severity, but stuck to their guns, declaring that they would not coöperate with the English unless the independence of their country was recognised. Some traitors among them sided with the English, and the latter paid no heed to memorials from the nationalists, whose claims to be representatives of their country were not accepted. Just as in India, Government did not consider the late Mr. Tilak to be a representative of the people, the English in Egypt held the true leaders and representatives of the Egyptians in contempt. This did not, however, damp the spirits of the nationalist party.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

(f) The *Dard* of the 1st September says that when even small countries like Egypt are being made independent it will be an insult to India to keep her out of Home Rule. If she is not granted *swaraj*, the people will draw the inference that the British Government listens to, and concedes the demands of, only those who assume an arrogant attitude towards it. To create such an impression in a country like India would be tantamount, not only to shaking her ancient spirit of devotion to kings, but also to throwing obstacles in the way of the future administration of the country.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharam Dev, editor.

(g) The *Arya Gazette* of the 2nd September says that it is possible that there may be some trick behind the understanding arrived at between Lord Milner and Zaghlul Pasha, seeing that the Egyptian nationalists were accorded a very harsh treatment on the conclusion of the great war. After remarking that the people of Egypt always insisted on complete independence, the paper complains that Indians do not know how to work unitedly. The desire for personal advancement and high position does not allow some of them even to condemn a person betraying and proving untrue to their country. It is most disgraceful that we should have achieved nothing during the last century and a half, and should have allowed ourselves to be outstripped by the Egyptians. What is needed is that we should learn a practical lesson of self-sacrifice.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*h*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd September writes that it cannot be said at present how the agreement reached between the Milner and Egyptian missions will effect the Egyptians in the matter of fiscal autonomy or in that of keeping an army of their own and regulating their military resources. After stating that they will have to agree to the occupation of the Nile Valley by British troops, the paper says that since an integral part of Egypt, as also the Suez Canal is to be occupied by the British all talk about her having obtained complete independence is meaningless and absurd. The proposed agreement is only a straight step in the direction of Egypt getting from England what is her natural right. Some bigoted British newspapers have, nevertheless, started a clamour over it. Egypt will not, however, sit still unless she has secured complete independence, and that as early as possible. Great Britain will have no alternative but to accede to her demand.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*i*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd September says that Egypt has attained her goal. She has not gained it, however, by passing resolutions or by begging. Just as she has achieved unusual success under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha, the Irish have made the same achievement under De Valera. The Egyptian and Irish nationalists have been so affected by Great Britain's policy of repression that they have spurned Home Rule.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

England and the world peace.

3. The *Zamindar* of the 29th August says that, in his recent speech at Dacca, Lord Ronaldshay spoke of the unrest now prevailing in the world. His lordship has not examined the question closely: it is the selfish policy of the Allies which has caused the evil. Is it not their disregard of the universal will in regard to the Khilafat which caused a tumult in the Muslim world, especially India? The responsibility for the prevailing unrest lies, not on the vanquished, but on the victorious, and there can be no peace unless justice, equity and freedom reign supreme in the world. Again, it is Great Britain who is chiefly responsible for the present state of affairs. The policy pursued by Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues does not make for peace. They should abandon their anti-Muslim attitude and remember the promises made by them during the war.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

Indians in Fiji.

4. The *Dard* of the 1st September says that in reply to a recent question in the Viceregal Council regarding the oppression practised on the Indians in Fiji it was stated on behalf of Government that the despatch of the Governor of Fiji on the subject had rendered it unnecessary to appoint a commission of inquiry. The cruel tyrannies practised on inoffensive Indians in the Fiji Islands, adds the paper, make one's hair stand on end. Bullets were fired on them and their houses were plundered, while the chastity of their women was violated. The last insult could not have been endured by any people except the degraded Indians, whose blood was not fired owing to their having led a life of slavery for a long time past. They are slaves, and a slave is assuredly honoured no where in the world. The heart-rending Fiji incidents have shown what sympathy the Government of India has for its subjects.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

DARD (Amritsar); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

Coöperation with Government.

5. (*a*) The *Dard* of the 29th August says that we are asked by Anglo-Indian papers, moderates, British statesmen, the Secretary of State, members of Parliament and even in the King's proclamation to forget the past and coöperate with Government. Next the paper refers to the popular demands in connection with the Khilafat question and the operation of martial law in the Punjab, and complains that every legitimate demand made by us has been rejected and our sentiments have been trampled under foot. In spite of all this, however, we are asked to forget our wrongs and work in coöperation with Government. Unless her demands are met, India is not going to abandon the non-coöperation movement.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 28th August says that Lord Chelmsford wishes to create unity by talk. In his latest Council speech he addressed an appeal to Indians to forget all past bitterness. Has His Excellency taken any practical step, however, in that connection? Certainly not. The reason for this is that he is not governing Indians in the spirit of love. Continuing, the paper says that if feelings of hatred for the English exist in our hearts, they have not been created by Gandhi, but owe their origin to the evil doings of O'Dwyer. They are attributable, not to Malaviya and Shaukat Ali, but to Dyer and Co. The lesson of hatred has been taught, not by Tilak, but by Lord Chelmsford. We have been incited, not by our present political leaders, but by the people who would govern us by the sword. Next the *Shanti* addresses the English as follows:—Therefore if, in these circumstances, you expect us to unite with you we would say that we are not going to make a losing bargain. If you wish that there should be peace and tranquility in the country, you will have to clear it of such detestable beings. You shall be the first to tread the path to which you wish us to take. This is the only way in which you and we can become one.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*c*) Referring to the Viceroy's appeal to the people for coöperation with Government, the *Siyasat* of the 2nd September respectfully enquires from His Exellency whether he would be prepared joyfully to coöperate with a person who had incarcerated his innocent brother, son or any other relation. After asserting that every justice-loving human being will answer this question in the negative, the paper asks that if it is human nature that a person should hate and despise his or her tormentor, how can Lord Chelmsford expect the people to love his Government while so many innocent Indian patriots are suffering the rigours of imprisonment or internment even at this hour of the day, and when so many martial law prisoners are working grinding mills and oil-presses and their hungry relations are distracting the whole country with their groans. If his Lordship really wishes the people not to shun him or feel angry with him, why does he not allow these innocent prisoners to profit by the royal clemency? It lies with him and not the people to improve the strained relations between the rulers and ruled.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) Commenting upon the Viceroy's advice to Indians to forget the Punjab occurrences of last year, and the Commander-in-Chief's statement that General Dyer will draw a pension from the Indian exchequer, the *Paisa Akhbar* of August 31 asks upon what principle and with what face Lord Chelmsford appeals to the people to forget the Punjab atrocities. To give a pension to a man, who is responsible for the blood of many hundreds of Indians, and at the same time to tell their countrymen to forget his bloody deed is to offer another insult to Indians' sense of self-respect and national feeling and to sprink salt on their lacerated hearts. This ingeniousness in tyranny is without a parallel and proclaims that "justice has wholly left the world."

THE SCIENCE GROUNDED-RELIGION (Lahore); Har Narain Agnihotri, editor.

Non-coöperation.

6. (*a*) In criticising Mr. Gandhi's non-coöperation propaganda the *Science-grounded Religion* for September writes:—"Can he offer any better Government, any better councils, courts and department of education?...We.... strongly condemn the spirit which prompts Mr. Gandhi to injure or "paralyse" the whole useful machinery of Government and not to coöperate with it in any matter, however good that may be, simply because it has not done full justice in certain cases. Is there any home or community or indigenous or foreign Government where its members have *never* committed any wrong or injustice in their various relations? If not, by following the principle of non-coöperation as preached by Mr. Gandhi, no human family, society or Government can possibly be maintained"

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) One PARS RAM, *FAYYAS*, of Sialkot, writing to the *Vakil* of the 5th September says that the condition of India shows clearly enough that she has now attained majority and possesses the ability to rule herself. It behoves Indians to act upon Mahatama Gandhi's principle of non-coöperation, this being the only way in which they can succeed in their object.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 10th September writes:—"Although up to the time of writing news of the adoption of non-coöperation by the Congress has not arrived, there is very little reason to doubt that the die is cast... That event may, as Mr. Gandhi himself anticipates, be the forerunner of a greater and mightier event and may lead the country, within a measureable distance of time, to the promised land of the fullness of political freedom. Or it may be fraught with consequences for which 'disaster' would be too mild a word. Or finally it may prove a snare and a delusion and leave us exactly where we are. The future is, indeed, in the lap of the gods. But come what may, it is not for those of us, who have been trying each in his own way to sow the wind, to complain of the whirlwind It is not for men, who have spent the best part of their lives in awakening the public judgment and the public conscience, in educating public opinion, and in increasing the strength, the intensity and the volume of public life in India, to complain that the public so awakened, so educated and so strengthened has outgrown their example, and even their teaching, that the lead of the national movement has passed out of their hands, either partially or largely, and that a new force has appeared in the political battle-grounds stronger, more powerful and more resistless than any or all of them. For, let there be no mistake. The victory of Mr. Gandhi . . . is a clear proof that the hegemony of a very large part of political India has definitely passed to him . . . It is . . . to be seen whether the victory is only momentary, a triumph of immediate personal magnetism, or represents the settled order of things, and whether the majority in the Congress is also the majority in the country . . . But while we say this, let us hasten to make one thing clear. Mr. Gandhi's resolution itself, in its present shape . . . is no longer quite the formidable thing it was originally believed to be . . . The scheme itself and taken as a whole is a very different thing now to what some of us anticipated that it would be. In the first place it is only advisory and not mandatory . . . Secondly, of the seven concrete steps recommended by the resolution none except the boycott of Councils, as to which we are convinced that it will not be carried out by all or even most Congressmen, offers any formidable difficulty in actual practice. . . . Every single step which the country, under Mr. Gandhi's leadership, may take will be a solid gain to it both economically and politically."

The special Congress.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. (a) Writing about the special cession of the Congress, the *Tribune* of the 7th September says that the enthusiasm prevailing at it "is solely due to the fact that in the opinion of the vast majority of Congressmen the time has come when the Congress can no longer content itself with the pursuit of past methods, when it must go forward and take one more definite and substantial step towards the realisation of its manhood and its national destiny." Continuing, it writes :—"The enthusiasm of the Congress, then, is the enthusiasm that usually accompanies a new birth; the joy is the joy of self-realisation. After all, the only real happiness of a people, as of individuals, lies in the free and cheerful energising of their faculties, in the consciousness that their destiny lies in their own hands, that they are not like stocks and stones at the mercy of others, but are their own masters and can by the mere exercise of their will shape their future according to their own ideals. In other words, it lies in the throwing off of the attitude of dependent passivity and in the assumption of the rôle of independent actors."

(b) In reviewing the speech of the chairman of the reception committee, the *Tribune* of the 8th September writes :—"A nation in leading strings is, indeed, a nation in helotage, but it has seldom passed out of that stage except in one of two ways—either by an armed revolution or by a peaceful organising of the forces of national life and bringing the pressure of those forces to bear upon the ruling authority. The first is absolutely out of the question in India, both because the people are disarmed, and because the curing of violence by violence is entirely opposed to the genius and the temperament of our race. The second, therefore, is the only remedy left to us, and it is the remedy which the Congress has always advocated, at first timidly, weakly and half-heartedly, and of late years boldly, and with strength and determination. And of this remedy the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, from the bureaucracy in India to the British Government from the British Government to the British Parliament, from the British Parliament itself to the British democracy is an essential part. There need be no element of cringing, of timidity or of excessive deference in this appeal; it must in any case be an appeal not merely to England's sense of justice but to her enlightened self-interest and sense of *expediency*. At every step she is to be told, as one nation has the right to tell another, that the price she must be prepared to pay for not listening to India's just demands is nothing less than

India's good will, her friendliness, and in extreme cases her readiness to voluntarily coöperate with the present Government except for her own and obvious good. But the appeal itself there must be, so long as the present order of things lasts, and an appeal in this sense, after all, is only another name for the formulation of national demands backed by the national will and judgment."

Desh (Lahore); Pandit Dina Nath, editor.

India and self-government.

8. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 1st September refers to the recognition of Egyptian independence and the grant of certain concessions to Mesopotamia and says that the events betoken a pleasant change in the policy of the British Government. The time is not far distant, adds the paper, when France will have to follow in the footsteps of Great Britain and grant similar concessions to Syria. Continuing, it asks when the time of granting self-government to India will come. There is a greater awakening here than in any of these countries, while Indians are better educated and more desirous of maintaining the British connection than the Egyptians, etc. There is no particular qualification which the countries in question possess but in which India is lacking. There is no reason, therefore, why India should be kept out of self-government.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 2nd September says that Egypt has obtained her independence. England is prepared to grant freedom to Ireland also, provided she is assured that it will not be used to help her enemies. It is now the turn of this county to obtain freedom. Its condition is, however, different from that of Egypt or Ireland. It lags behind the latter in certain respects. There is as yet very little of political education in India. Besides, it contains so many creeds and races that its political goal has so far been neglected. Moreover, Indians are not prepared to make the sacrifices which are essential for securing freedom. They are devoid of the aspirations which animate the people of Egypt and Ireland. They wish neither to sever their connection with Great Britain nor to lay the foundation of any democratic form of Government. They do not demand from Government even those rights which they can or should ask for. It is after innumerable sacrifices and years of struggle that Egypt and Ireland have been able to obtain freedom. It is by treading the same path that India can ever become free.

Continuing in its issue dated the 4th September the paper says that the bureaucracy in India is trying to maintain its powers intact. Government should, however, exercise great prudence at this juncture. It should grant to Indians their rights of its own accord, so that the latter may not think of obtaining them by force. They have the example of Egypt and Ireland before their eyes, and see how rights are obtained under the British Government. It will not be surprising if, in a state of despondency, they also feel compelled to change their methods of agitation. If Government wishes to keep India free from the elements which are at work in Egypt and Ireland, it should begin by repealing all the laws which discriminate between Englishmen and Indians. No racial distinctions should ever be made between the two and Indians should be enabled to lead a life of honour in their own country. If Government does so, the prevailing unrest can be removed to a great extent.

The Science-grounded Religion (Lahore); Har Narain Agnihotri, editor.

Lord Sinha's new appointment.

9. The *Science-grounded Religion* for September writes :—"The appointment of Lord Satyendra Prasanna Sinha of Raipur as Governor of Behar and Orissa is a fresh proof of the liberal policy of the Government of giving Indians more and more share in the government of their country. In the new scheme of government we are not only going to have Indian ministers, but also an Indian governor of a whole province. Is this not a very remarkable step in the direction of self-government and a unique event in the history of British India ?"

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Zamindar (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

Mr. Willoughby's murder.

10. (*a*) Writing about the Kheri murder, the *Zamindar* of the 31st August expresses surprise that the Associated Press should have made a futile attempt to ascribe the crime to the Khilafat movement. If such cruel murders and callous bloodshed could be associated with this movement, we would loudly declare that it should be promptly stopped and that no law-abiding and peace-loving

person should have anything to do with it. Since the inception of the movement, however, no servant of the Khilafat has ever incited, by speech or writing, the persons devoted to the cause to overstep the bounds of law. On the contrary the able and respected leaders of the country have always advised the people to make use of moral rather than material forces. We have neither arms nor armies with which to wage a *jehad* with the sword. We should rely on truth and justice, and make use only of the force of non-coöperation. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces has stated at a public meeting that inflammatory speeches were delivered at the Khilafat meetings held in the Kheri district. It is a pity that, instead of probing the affair with a calm and collected mind, the authorities should cast about for different pretexts to bring the Khilafat agitation into disrepute. The Kheri district is not specially noted for its support of the Khilafat movement ; and even if it be admitted that a few Khilafat meetings were held there, can the charge hold good that the supporters of the Khilafat incited some one to commit the deplorable murder in question ? We are extremely sorry for this cruel murder, but cannot tolerate that the blame for it should be laid at the door of the Khilafat movement. If the movement had not rested on moral bases, why should not the scenes witnessed in Ireland have been enacted here also ? We hope that the Khilafat propaganda will not unjustly be dragged through the mire in connection with Mr. Willoughby's deplorable murder, and that the authorities will try to ascertain the true reasons for the crime. They will find on inquiries that the Khilafat movement is wholly innocent of the charges brought against it.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore) ;
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 31st August says that it cannot be said for certain whether the murder is a political one or should be ascribed to the Khilafat propaganda. After condemning the crime, the paper expresses the hope that Sir Harcourt Butler, who has hitherto kept a cool head over the Khilafat agitation, will not allow himself to be led astray.

VAKIL
(Amritsar) ;
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(*c*) The *Vakil* of the 3rd September says that there can be no one who will not deplore the murder. None but a demented person could have committed such a heinous crime. It is all the more deplorable that the deed should have been committed by a man nominally a Muhammadan. Continuing, the paper asks whether punishment for the crime of one person can be justly inflicted on a whole community or country. The *Pioneer* appears to desire, it adds, that the murder should be avenged in the same way as similar offences were avenged in the Punjab last year. We hope that the Government will severely punish the murderer or murderers, but will not do what the *Pioneer* and others of its way of thinking may consider to be justifiable. It is also to be hoped that the occurrence will not be used to bring the Khilafat movement and its organisers into disrepute.

SIYASAT
(Lahore) ;
Syed Habib,
editor.

(*d*) The *Siyasat* of the 4th September says that the charge has not as yet been proved against the murderer. After remarking that even no inquiry has so far been held, the paper complains that even the highest English officers have begun to assert that the crime is ascribable to the Khilafat movement. The people of North-West Frontier Province are more liable to get excited than any other section of the country's population. They have, however, exercised self-restraint in spite of the Khilafat movement being in full swing, and inspite of the occurrence of a series of extremely provocative incidents, in their province. Again, the organisers of the movement in Sind were subjected to oppression, but the Muhammadans there have not so far overstepped the bounds of law. Bombay also, which is the centre of the Khilafat movement, has as yet witnessed no disturbances. Maulana Fakhir and Maulvi Hamid-ud-Din of the United Provinces went to jail accompanied by processions consisting of thousands, but no one so much as raised his little finger against Government. It is then a matter for surprise that the murder of a Deputy Commissioner should be ascribed to the Khilafat movement. After asking whether any country is immune from such crimes, the *Siyasat* says that if Government is so anxious to give the Khilafat movement a bad name, it should adopt some better way for the purpose.

SIKH
(Lahore) ;
Bakhshish Singh,
editor.

(*e*) " The *Sikh* of the 5th September writes :— " The murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri. . . . by a Muhammadan fanatic, said to be a Khilafat maniac, shows that however peaceful the present non-coöperation agitation is designed and desired to be by Mahatama Gandhi, whose sincerity of motive and nobility of object cannot be doubted even for a second, none can guarantee an absolute peacefulness in the case of fanatics."

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan, editor.

Increase in postal rates.

11. (*a*) The *Shanti* of the 27th August says that the Postal Department has announced that it will not accept unregistered value-payable parcels with effect from the 1st September. It will thus earn millions of rupees, while it is not known yet what rigourous treatment is still to be accorded to the people. It used formerly to be stated with pride that Government had established the Postal, Telegraph and Railway Departments for the convenience of the public. It will now be seen, however, what thought is paid to the good and convenience of the people.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharam Dev, editor.

(*b*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 26th August says that it is deeply to be regretted that the Postal Department has after all adopted a policy of oppression and high-handedness. Ever since the outbreak of the European war the Railway authorities have been increasing the rates of fare, caring nothing for the poor. After remarking that the Telegraph Department also began to throttle the people, the editor says that it has not kept quiet even after having realised profits to the tune of over one-and-a-half crores. Next it asserts that the increase in postal rates will prove fatal for the press and requests the postal authorities to exempt at least newspapers from the payment of extra postage.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

The Kuka Sikhs.

12. The *Panch* of the 25th August [received on the 8th September] says that the improper and harsh treatment accorded by Government to Baba Ram Singh, the Guru of the Namdharis, and the blowing away of his followers from the cannon's mouth will remain an evil memory in the country's history and in the book recording the excessive rigours practised under the British *raj*. Government ought to have felt sorry at the unlawful and most severe treatment accorded by it to the Baba and his followers. So far, however, from doing so, it imposed police surveillance on his worthy descendants; and the restriction still continues. Since the authorities say that a new era has dawned we ask whether Namdhari leaders will remain under this severe restriction even now.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharm Dev, editor.

Kine-killing.

13. The *Arya Gazette* of the 2nd September says that 54,736 kine were killed in the slaughter-house at Bandra (Bombay) during 1919-20. Will Indians, it asks, continue to be passive spectators of this horrible slaughter of kine? It then calls upon them to realise their duty and remember that their own existence, to say nothing of that of the cow, will soon become a thing of the past. To protect kine is to fight for the preservation of their own existence. It is a shame that they can make no sacrifice to preserve their dear life.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Ratona slaughter-house.

14. The *Banda Mataram* of the 7th September is sorry to report that the Ratona slaughter-house scheme has not been abandoned. The paper's special correspondent writes from Jubbulpur that a resolution against the scheme moved in the Central Provinces Legislative Council has been lost and that a committee consisting of official and non-official members is to be appointed to work out the details. Commenting, the paper demands that Government should render no help in the slaughtering of kine and other useful animals. Next it urges the Indian members of the Councils to resort to non-coöperation over the scheme in question. They should oppose the opening of the proposed slaughter-house and resign their seats in the event of Government not listening to them, after which they should prepare the whole country to oppose the scheme. Every city and town also should request Government not to permit the opening of the slaughter-house in question.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Water-rates in Lahore.

15. "ONE FROM LAHORE" writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 31st August refers to the local municipal committee's proposal to double the water-rates in the city, and says that the contemplated increase is a piece of downright tyranny and stupid despotism. Next he speaks of the inadequate supply of pipe-water

and remarks that it is on the strength of such good management that the committee is going to enhance the water-tax. Continuing, he requests the general public and the newspapers to raise their voice in protest, placing no reliance upon the elected municipal commissioners.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Duke of Connaught.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Sayad Habib, editor.

16. "**HAMRAZ**" writing in the *Siyasat* of the 1st September says that the people having refused to accord a reception to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught is coming to visit India. After remarking that Government wishes to see how far the refusal was genuine, the paper observes that if the Duke is accorded a reception, the Prince will follow him to this country. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for Indians to decide as to whether they will or will not receive the Duke. In the opinion of the writer, the answer to this question should be in the negative.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 11th September 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Egyptian independence.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

1. (*a*) Writing about the recognition of the independence of Egypt, the *Siyasat* of the 3rd September says that the success achieved by her is a splendid victory for non-coöperation. It should not be understood, however, that the Egyptians have obtained complete independence. To make a promise or to enter into an agreement is one thing, but it is quite a different thing to fulfil it. So long as the English are in possession of the Suez Canal, the independence of Egypt will be in danger. They will covertly use every means to keep her in the bonds of slavery. The day is not far off, however, when, by the grace of God, the Suez Canal will pass into the hands of the Muhammadans. The independence of Egypt is the first step towards the regeneration of Islam. It is now for the Indian Muhammadans to gain liberty for themselves by resorting to non-coöperation with Government.

SIDAQAT (Lahore): Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Sidaqat* of the 8th September says that Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues deserve no congratulations on the recognition of Egyptian independence. So far from granting independence to Egypt spontaneously, Great Britain has been forced to do so because of the Egyptians' dreadful extremism. Mr. Lloyd George has taught to Asia the lesson that only those nations which can use the bomb, the pistol and secret forces and thereby produce a powerful effect, can obtain freedom from Britain. As compared with the Europeans, the Asiatics are dull, stupid and slow, but if all of them follow the lesson taught them by their teacher, Lloyd George, their stupidity will make trouble for Europe in Asia. The Arab pupils of Lawrence are displaying their fighting capacity in Mesopotamia, which can be appreciated only by the British officers besieged at Kufa. Lloyd George has done to-day what was suggested by Muhammad Ali in the *Comrade* five years ago, although after much mischief has been wrought.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 10th September dilates on the uncompromising patriotism of Zaghlul Pasha and also refers to the boycott of the Milner mission by the Egyptians. Continuing, it says that British militarism displayed its prowess in Egypt also. Shots were fired there and the breasts of patriots were riddled with bullets, as was done on the sacred soil of the Jallianwala Bagh. Martial law was also promulgated, but before the perseverance of Zaghlul Pasha all repression and tyranny vanished like smoke and it became impossible to suppress the movement for independence. Next the editor addresses his countrymen and says that the liberation of Egypt should serve as a lesson to them. They should remember that the lasting boon of liberty and independence can not be obtained simply by talking or by passing certain resolutions. It requires the sacrifice of worldly profits as well as that of life and property. As it is, on the one hand, there is the Egyptian guide Zaghlul Pasha, who treated with contempt the offer made to him of the exalted post of prime minister; while, on the other hand, are the Indians who cannot, for the sake of their conscience and faith, give up even a Khan Bahadurship, resign a seat on a Council or renounce a post of honorary magistrate. This is not the way to obtain liberty, but to touch the uttermost depths of degradation. Indians should remember that if this state of affairs continues, so far from obtaining liberty, they will have their chains of bondage still more tightened on them, and the whole world will curse their shamelessness as a subject race

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*d*) The *Liberal* of the 12th September writes:—"The British occupation of Egypt became a Protectorate and repeated promises of evacuation were never fulfilled. In fact, the Egyptian Government was practically superseded, and the British High Commissioner became the virtual ruler of the country. With the outbreak of the war repression became the order of the day in Egypt. Martial law was established, Egyptian labour was pressed wholesale into service, and there was intolerable exaction of food, fodder, etc. All this time the nationalist movement was gathering in intensity and volume. The Egyptian Ministry resigned and no other Government was formed ... The immediate effect was a rising against the British and the usual frightfulness followed ... But nothing could conquer or suppress the spirit of nationalism in Egypt. The British administration was completely boycotted ... Non-coöperation, 'the most foolish of all foolish schemes'—in the picturesque and polite phraseology of the Viceroy of India—has encompassed the liberation and independence of Egypt!"

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

Mesopotamia.

2. (*a*) The *Sidaqat* of the 8th September states that with the British occupation of Mesopotamia, all Arab officers and soldiers were completely deprived of their right to participate in the administration of, and to depend, on their country. What excellent justice and honesty! England robs the Arabs of the freedom enjoyed by them under the Turks, and when they agitate for its restoration they are called rebels. There could not be a more illuminating specimen of her love of freedom and righteousness. Messrs. Churchill and Lloyd George now say to the Arabs that the latter will be taught the secrets of self-government, and how to stand on their own legs. Will these pioneers of civilization and the standard-bearers of freedom tell us if it becomes an empire, which asks Germany to have regard for her word and lays claim to being the refuge of weaker nations, to rob a nation of its freedom on the pretext of making it free and to violate its plighted word?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Zafar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 11th September says that the Arabs did nothing to serve their old master, the Turks, during the war, or to protect the Khilafat and the holy places of Islam. This led the world to think that they would gladly accept British domination. God knows what deception was practised on them that they kept quiet for a long time and submitted to the rigours of martial law. They soon realised, however, that all that glitters is not gold, and organised a deputation to the British Commander to ask for partial independence. The deputation received the same sort of reply as Great Britain is wont to make to all nations subject to her. It returned disappointed and, unlike Indians, the Arabs caused unrest in Mesopotamia. Continning, the paper says that, besides violating its pledge to establish an Arab kingdom, the military Government there began to interfere in religious matters. The General Officer Commanding, Baghdad, prohibited all meetings in connection with the Prophet's nativity, as, in his opinion, speeches made there were likely to mislead and provoke the ignorant masses. This had the effect of intensifying the prevailing unrest. Again, the British occupation of Mesopotamia caused a serious material and economic loss to the country The situation has of late been going from bad to worse, which will be certain to involve Mesopotamia in poverty. In conclusion, the paper refers to Colonel Lawrence's statement in the London *Observer* that the British do not now repose the same trust in their troops as they used to do during the war. Commenting, it says that apparently the reference is to the Indian troops employed in Mesopotamia. They are human beings after all, it adds, and have become tired of constant fighting. When British troops have gone back home, there is no reason why their Indian comrades should be utilised for trampling upon the liberty of other nations. We have been demanding for a long time past that the British should withdraw from Mesopotamia. No one, however, listened to us. The mailed fist of the Arabs will now bring about the desired result.

Waziristan.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 9th September states that the Viceroy declared in the course of his recent Council speech that Government had decided to occupy central Waziristan. The reason for the decision is that the inhabitants of Waziristan have been putting the British Government to trouble. Commenting, the paper says that Government wanted to construct a road in their *ilaka*, but that they oppossed it from the thought that the country was theirs. These foolish people forgot, however, that the adage 'might is right' is being vigorously practiced in these days. But whether the blame lies with Government or the Waziris, the fact remains that another country has passed out of the hands of Muhammadans. In Europe small nations are obtaining their rights, but in Asia a Muslim nation of this description has been included among the slaves of a power which professes to be the greatest advocate of freedom for all peoples.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

India and self-government.

SRI GURU NANAK DARSHAN (Amritsar); Sumer Singh, editor.

4. (*a*) The *Sri Guru Nanak Darshan* of the 2nd [received on 11th] September says that in these days agitation alone is the key to success. The more strongly and constitutionally a community or a country carries on agitation the greater success will it achieve. Even seven years have not passed since Egypt came under the British Crown, but her independence has already been recognised. Again, it is in contemplation to grant independence to Arabia and Mesopotamia. India, however, which has been under Great Britain for about 150 years past, has not as yet been granted the freedom enjoyed by the British Colonies. Next the paper contends that there is no truth in the assertion that Indians are still unfit for self-government, saying in the course of its remarks that in view of the fact that the Bedouins of Arabia and the nomads of Mesopotamia are going to be made free, it is a mistake to raise the question of fitness at all. The fact, it adds, is that the agitation necessary for securing self-government on colonial lines has not so far been carried on by Indians; and unless this condition is fulfilled success is out of the question.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th September says that Indians have come to realise that the grant of complete self-government to them is the only way to remove their complaints and fulfil their demands. And if they unitedly raise their voice, without distinctions of caste and creed, to assert that the time for making the grant has come, no power on earth will hesitate to accede to their demand. Self-government is the acknowledged right of the people of this country. The painful, disgraceful and heart-rending incidents which occurred in the Punjab last year before and after the promulgation of martial law and the indifference shown in high British official circles to the popular demand for reparation lend strength to the demand of Indians for self-government.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 10th September says that even the Philippine Islands are going to get freedom probably within the next six months. It is surprising, however, that India, which has the oldest civilisation, in which there is no dearth of capable men and the resources of which are inexhaustible, should be kept behind even backward countries. If the Philipines can become fit to obtain complete freedom in twenty years, could not Indians have acquired the same capacity under the British Government even in a hundred years?

INDIA (Gujranwala); Shamsher Singh, editor.

(d) Referring to the grant of independence to Egypt, *India* of the 11th September says that the entreaties and requests which we have been making to them for years have failed to make British statesmen accede to our demands [for self-government]. Our outcry has proved altogether vain and the resolutions passed by us have been thrown into the waste-paper basket. We have never demanded our rights as such, and have always asked for mercy in place of justice. We have been raising our voice as one expecting a gift, and have never done so in the capacity of a claimant. It was a wrong policy, the consequences of which we have had to suffer. The so-called reforms are considered to be concessions rather than our rights. Continuing, the paper says that it is weapons like Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha* and non-coöperation the wielding of which has compelled the English to recognise the Egyptians' right of independence. Will Indians also never understand this secret? So long as they do not understand it, their songs of freedom might sound sweet to their ears, but can serve no useful purpose.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan editor.

(e) The *Shanti* of the 14th September says that the reform scheme will give Indians several governorships and chief-commissionerships, but real freedom, for which they have been clamouring from the very beginning, can hardly be secured under it. The people are not desirous of obtaining posts under Government; they ask for complete freedom and will know no rest until Great Britain accedes to their demand. The new era of reforms, which is about to be ushered in, can never satisfy them. Government can make reparation for what has happened in the past only by granting Home Rule to them without the least demur. If all Indians, without any distinction of caste or creed, come to the decision that they can no longer lead a life of servitude and are tired of the rule of arrogance and repression, and if they also become prepared to make every requisite sacrifice, there is no reason why our demands should be viewed with contempt and rejected. We need and have an expert leader like Mr. Gandhi. The troops are there, the commander is present and the field is in front. Nothing but courage and perseverance are wanting. Create these and gain victory.

JYOTI (Lahore); Vidyavati Seth, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5. (a) KRISHAN, B.A., editor of the *Partap* contributes to the *Jyoti* for August an article on non-coöperation headed "A cloud on the political horizon of India." The writer says in the course of his remarks that the movement owes its existence to the injustice done by the authorities in connection with the Punjab affairs and the Caliphate. Mr. Gandhi says that no Indian having a sense of self-respect and jealous of national honour can coöperate with Government. Non coöperation will obtain until justice is done to this province and Turkey. The writer feels convinced that victory will rest with Mr. Gandhi in the end. The whole country believes that there is now no hope of justice being obtained [from Government in any other way]. It behoves it, therefore, to work on the lines laid down by Mr. Gandhi. Respectful representations, lamentations and entreaties will do no good now, and the country is not prepared to follow this course of action. Mr. Gandhi has proved that no weak nation has so far benefitted itself by associating with England. The days of bombs and revolvers have, however, gone by. We will have to fight with the aid of soul force now. The more Government opposes non-coöperation the larger dimensions will the movement assume. No trouble will arise, however, if Government does nothing to interfere with it. Continuing, the writer says that Mr. Gandhi's agitation will not die unless Government changes its policy. At present it is pursuing a policy of distrust. The more it distrusts the people the more will the non-coöpertion movement spread. And if Mr. Montagu's threat assumes the shape of repression, the cloud which looks small now will overspread the sky and envelop the whole of India in gloom. God alone knows what will happen thereafter.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 9th September says that in his recent Council speech Lord Chelmsford ridiculed the non-coöperation movement and tauntingly called its supporters fools and maniacs. If His Excellency thinks, however, that his characterising a movement as foolish is sufficient to keep back Indians from joining it, the sooner he banishes this idea from his mind the better it will be for him. As it is, he has, by condemning non-coöperation without advancing any arguments in support of his action, only confirmed its supporters in their determination to prove that the movement is no foolish one.

Ahl-i-Hadis (Amritsar); Maulvi Sana Ullah, editor.

(c) The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 10th September asks, in the course of an article on non-coöperation, what the people should do to secure their rights and express their feelings of indignation over unlawful repression. After stating how the Egyptians have secured independence with the aid of non-coöperation, it remarks that such are the wonders wrought by this weapon. The paper has no doubt that if Indians carry the principle into practice Government will have to yield to the movement.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(d) The *Partap* of the 16th September writes that India's ideal consists in obtaining self-government. Mr. Montagu has, by granting Indians a share in their country's administration, taken a step towards the realisation of this ideal. The people know, however, that, in spite of this ideal, the Rowlatt Act can be passed and, on their unanimously protesting against it, their tongues and pens can be stopped with the aid of the Defence Act. Nor is this all; even their most highly revered leaders can be prevented from entering particular provinces. And if they observe a *hartal* to express their feelings of sorrow, diverse tyrannies can be practised on them by promulgating martial law. Again, bullets can be fired for no reason, as in the Jallianwala Bagh, on thousands of unarmed persons, including aged people, young men and children. Indians can also be insulted and disgraced as a nation by being made to crawl on their bellies, while an officer like Bosworth Smith can unveil their women. To crown all, their demand for the infliction of exemplary punishment on the tyrants who brought the whole British nation into infamy by tarnishing British justice, can be totally disregarded. The people know all this, and realise that announcements about the grant of responsible government to India can prove of no help to them. They require something else to protect themselves. So far their ideal consists in obtaining *swaraj* under the British Government. It will not take long, however, to change the ideal. Great unrest prevails in the country over the attitude of Government officers, nay, the whole British nation, in regard to the Punjab affairs. Again, deep dissatisfaction has been caused among the Muhammadans over the Khilafat question. It will not, therefore, be surprising if Indians come to think that complete *swaraj* is the only remedy for their complaints. Government was asked to stem the tide by changing its policy, removing popular complaints in connection with the Punjab affairs and satisfying the Muhammadans in the matter of the Caliphate. But who listens to the poor? What was apprehended has now taken place. The Calcutta Congress has shown that a new spirit is moving over the waters. The people have come to realise that coöperation with Government has so far accomplished nothing for them, and they have now thought of having recourse to non-coöperation. This is the new spirit which has manifested itself and holds the country under its sway.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(e) Writing about the adoption by the special Congress of a resolution on non-coöperation, the *Tribune* of the 11th September says:— "So far the one thing that is indisputably clear is that Mr. Gandhi has won in the open Congress as he did in the subjects committee..... He certainly does not appear to have made out anything like a clear or irresistible case in favour of his own programme or given a clear and convincing reply to his opponents..... His victory was a personal triumph..... One fundamental fallacy appears to us to run through the whole of Mr. Gandhi's speech .... 'I venture to claim for this scheme of non-coöperation,' he said, 'that if there is sufficient response in the country, you can gain your Swaraj in one year.' But surely one most important question in connection with a scheme of this kind, a scheme by means of which you hope to paralyse the Government, is whether there is reasonable ground for hoping that there will be this 'sufficient response.'..... It is extremely doubtful if even one man in a thousand of the vast population of India has so far had the scheme explained to him either by Mr. Gandhi himself or by his followers, and if one man in ten thousand has any real idea of what it means and implies..... All that the general public has heard is that a small number of persons have given up their title and honorary offices, that the barely handful have either refused to stand for Council election or withdrawn from candidature, and that a few have relinquished Government service. We should like very much to know in what democratic country on the face of the earth this slender discussion and more slender experience would have been regarded as adequate preparation for the adoption by its national assembly of a scheme of the magnitude, the proportions and the potentialities of the non-coöperation movement of Mr. Gandhi. That movement may eventually lead us to *swaraj*, but few who are acquainted with the constitutional practice in democratically governed countries will deny that the procedure which Mr. Gandhi has adopted is not democratic. Nor does Mr. Gandhi appear to have explained how it was that he hoped by means of his programme, to attain self-government in a year's time...... Most of the seven items included in the programme adopted by the Congress are such that for many Congressmen, at any rate, there need be no insuperable difficulty in the way of their being enforced for a time from day to day..... But we have a right to ask what there is in this action on the part of the 20,000 men to compel the British Government to surrender its authority within the short pace of a year."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*f*) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"We have now the result of the division on the non-coöperation resolutions before us..... A momentous resolution advising the country to carry out a programme intended, if not calculated, to paralyse the Government was adopted by less than a third of the total number of registered delegates, themselves without any clear or definite mandate from their constituents on the subject of that programme. We have no wish to minimise Mr. Gandhi's achievement and the victory he won, but we cannot say, after perusing the result of the division, that this victory places him in a position to effectively carry out the programme. The vast majority of the local leaders have always been against it. Practically the whole nationalist press is opposed to it."

(*g*) In another place the paper says :—" All the three most important items in the resolution on non-coöperation .... appear to us to put the cart before the horse. Thus instead of providing that national schools and colleges are to be established either simultaneously with or before the withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, it is the withdrawal, qualified by the adjective gradual, which is given the first place..... As regards the boycott of court by lawyers and litigants, it seems to us to be too much to expect either lawyers or litigants to wait indefinitely for the arbitration courts to be established on such basis as to command the confidence of the one and provide living wages to the other. And then, what about the large number of cases and suits which would not depend upon the pleasure of the Congressmen and to which they might still be parties ? Lastly as regards the Councils, there may be some meaning and reality in the voters being asked to refrain from voting at some future day when the new order of things will have taken root in the country and they will have themselves learnt both to understand and appreciate the franchise. At present for them not to vote would be not to go through a welcome disciplinary process, unless the discipline is supposed to consist in their resisting the temptation to vote, but practically to forego the only opportunity that has ever been afforded to them of having the requisite discipline and the requisite training."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*h*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th September says that the resolution cannot be said to be the country's decision, although it has been arrived at by a majority of votes. Continuing, it opines that it is better to keep away from the Councils than to enter them only to obstruct business. It is idle, besides, to expect students to leave schools, or lawyers to cease practising in courts. It would have been much better if all this had been left aside, and a boycott of foreign goods strongly advocated instead. The *swedeshi* movement affects every English trader and manufacturer, and constitutes the only means of drawing the attention of the British public to India's wrongs.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*i*) A Peshawar correspondent writing to the *Vakil* of the 11th September says that before asking students to leave Government and aided schools pressure should be brought to bear on the executive committees of religious schools and colleges to refuse aid from Government. The question of university examinations should also be considered, the existing universities being either Government or aided institutions.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*j*) The *Partap* of the 12th September says that Mr. Gandhi has scored a splendid victory. The Vicerory spoke of the non-coöperation movement as foolish and asserted that no reasonable person would lend it his support. The educated community in India has, however, given, through the Congress, a crushing reply to His Excellency. Educated Indians have accepted the programme of non-coöperation, and should do their best to make it a success. If the movement fails, it will bring disgrace upon India and the whole world will come to regard educated Indians as mere braggarts. The honour of the country is now involved in this matter: Mr. Gandhi is no longer solely responsible for the movement, the unofficial parliament of India and the most representative political body of the Muhammadans having identified themselves with it This is a time of trial for educated Indians, and it will now be seen whether the question of *swaraj* is only a passtime or really a matter of life and death to them. No nation has ever obtained Home Rule without making sacrifices, nor will India get it in any other way. Egypt has got independence. The whole population should become a *satyagraha* army: there is the experienced general to lead them. God willing, there can be no doubt as to their achieving success.

(*k*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 12th September says that the adoption of the resolution by the Congress is ascribable to the offending martial law officers having gone unpunished, to the House of Lords' finding in support of General Dyer and to the collection of funds in his aid. The immediate effect of non-coöperation, it adds, will be that the Councils will not have nationalists among their members, which is what the bureaucracy desires, and which will enable the authorities to get any laws placed on the statute book. Lawyers will not, however, give up their practice, nor will people renounce Government service or withdraw their sons from Government or aided schools. In view of the lines on which the movement has been started, success seems to be very doubtful.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*l*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th September doubts if it is possibles to obtain Home Rule within one year by practising non-coöperation, as is claimed by Mr Gandhi. It is not certain that even one in a thousand persons among the masses has welcomed the movement in its practical form. This being so, the above claim has no leg to stand upon. Indeed, the country is not as yet prepared to accept and practise non-coöperation.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*m*) The *Shanti* of the 12th September says that the Congress has passed the resolution, but it is no easy thing to carry it into effect. Some leading Congresswallas may submit to the decision in spite of holding a contrary view. It is possible, however, that some may preach against non-coöperation, in which case there will be nothing strange in some extremist leaders seceding from the Congress. There is thus a fear of that body losing its weight and importance in the eyes of Government.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

(*n*) "A HINDU" writing in the paper's issue of the 15th September refers to the Congress resolution on non-coöperation, and says that this is a time of severe trial for the people, while the honour of the Congress is at stake. Continuing, he states that the eyes of the whole country are fixed on the Muhammadans, who alone can make a beginning, inviting the Hindus to imitate them. The latter will gladly respond to the call, although this may involve them in any number of difficulties. The Muhammadans will have, however, to make greater sacrifices than the Hindus, and will be required to afford proof of their earnestness to give non-coöperation a practical shape by refusing to accept the grant-in-aid which the Aligarh College now receives from Government. All other communities also are closely watching the movements of the Muhammadans, for whom the present is the hour of grave trial.

(*o*) The *Desh* of the 12th September remarks that the decision of the Congress will either prove the forerunner of important events and lead the country to its destination, or it will bring about extremely ruinous results, the mere idea of which makes one's heart sink within one. In the matter of political questions the reins of India are now in the hands of a single person, *viz.*, Mr. Gandhi, and it remains to be seen how he will acquit himself. He alone will henceforth be responsible for whatever takes place in the country.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*p*) The *Jiwan Tat* of the 14th September says that it cannot help expressing sincere regret over the improper decision to which the special Congress has arrived in regard to the non coöperation movement.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*q*) The *Siyasat* of the 13th September says that those who are opposed to the policy of non-coöperation should accept the verdict of the majority and try to make the movement a success.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(r) In its issue dated the 15th September the paper says that the country has always faithfully obeyed Mr. Gandhi's behests. There seems no reason, therefore, why the people should not accept the majority's decision and coöperate with him. It is incumbent on those also who opposed him to bow to the decision and do their utmost to make the movement a success. If they wish the nation to continue to obey them, it is their duty faithfully to join hands with the nation at this time. Their secession from the movement will not inflict as much injury on the nation as it will on themselves. The sovereign remedy prescribed by Mr. Gandhi for removing the complaints of the nation and the country can succeed only if all Indians—the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs—try it. Continuing, the paper says that the Muhammadans have to realise that obedience to the behests of the Congress is as much incumbent upon them as it is upon other Indian communities It is, therefore, necessary for them to do their best to act upon the resolution of non-coöperation passed by the Congress. Similar resolutions have, besides, been adopted by the All India Muslim League and the Khilafat conference. So far as such Muhammadans are concerned as love their nation and religion they will willingly sacrifice everything in order to act upon this resolution. Indeed, nothing will deter them from doing so. But for the success of the non-coöperation movement it is absolutely necessary that other communities of India should also join hands with them. In conclusion, the paper asks Mr. Ghandi to see that the difference of opinion among the Congress leaders over the resolution should not divide the workers for the country into two parties, and deal a blow to the spirit of national unity.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

(s) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 14th September writes:—"Most of the more prominent Congress Leaders are, in their heart of hearts, very suspicious of the Gandhi programme, and however heartily they may accept the theory, the practice of non-coöperation in the shape it is advocated and has been accepted by the rank and file, seems to them to portend very grave and grievous consequences. But the fact that they are Congressmen and have, as long as they do not secede from the Congress and go over to the Liberal Federation, coolly to accept the decisions of the majority, has made them remain tacit for the present. And it should not be strange if after some time men like Malavyia are found to use their moderating influence on the other side and . . . . . consider themselves free to warn the country of the besetting dangers of non-coöperation, in the best interests of the country."

SIKH SEPOY (Ferozepore); Tek Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

6. In its combined issue dated the 3rd and 10th September the *Sikh Sepoy* says that, on the one hand the extremist Congressmen are raising the cries of non-coöperation, while, on the other, the moderates are preventing an awakening among the people by praising the old methods [of agitation]. This being so, what should the Sikh do who, being few in numbers, cannot withstand non-Sikhs? We can neither place our brethren in a condition similar to that which existed in 1907 by doing what Lala Lajpat Rai and men like him may say, nor can we act on the principle of non-coöperation preached by Mr. Gandhi. It is also impossible for us to live by sitting idle and trusting to fate, as we have hitherto been doing. There should be held a meeting, to which the whole community should send its true representatives and which should consider what the Sikhs should do now.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The next Viceroy.

7. (a) The *Partap* of the 9th September says that a Reuter telegram states that Sir Phillip Sassoon is coming to India next year after appointment of the new Viceroy. After stating that at present he is private secretary to Lord Haig, the paper observes that the announcement shows that probably his Lordship will be the next Viceroy of India. If this is really so, we strongly protest against the selection of a military man to succeed Lord Chelmsford. His appointment as Viceroy will be deplorable and improper in the extreme. India wants a liberal statesman of high rank – possessing experience, sympathy and an independent mind—at the helm of her affairs In the other event, unrest will still further increase, which will prove most detrimental for the country's peace and the coming reforms.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 10th September says that, whatever his qualifications as a military officer may be, Lord Haig is neither fit to hold the office of Viceroy nor will his appointment lead to good results.

Lord Chelmsford first came out to India as a military officer, and was subsequently appointed Viceroy. In view of the failure of his regime, the experiment of appointing a military officer as Viceroy should be abandoned.

The next Under-Secretary of State.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

8. The *Vakil* of the 11th September states that, according to a special cablegram from London, it is commonly believed in England that Lord Meston will succeed Lord Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India. Commenting, the paper says that when Sir Sankaran Nair was summoned to England it was believed that the choice would fall on him. If, however, the statement contained in the above telegram is based on truth the hope of the Indian public is not to be realised. Government should bear in mind that the India Office should contain a man conversant with the truth about this country.

President of the Legislative Assembly.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

9. Adverting to the appointment of Mr. Whyte as president of the Legislative Assembly, the *Vakil* of the 13th September says that that gentleman possesses no experience of Indian affairs.

Employment of Indian troops abroad.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 12th September writes in the course of an article that the people of this country should demand the withdrawal of Indian troops from every part of the world, employing every constitutional means in their power to have the demand fulfilled. They are undoubtedly quite willing to be generous in spite of their poverty and to supply men to Government on occasions of emergency to maintain its honour. They should declare, nevertheless, that they cannot allow even a single farthing or a single man to be sent out of the country for enslaving other nations. Is it proper in them to try to place the collar of slavery round the neck of other peoples while they realise the value of freedom and acknowledge it as the birthright of every nation? Does it become them to trample upon the feelings of the nations which are eagerly longing for freedom?

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Adverting to the despatch of Indian troops to Mesopotamia, the *Bande Mataram* of the 14th September says that the idea has come to prevail throughout the country that it is extremely improper to send Indian soldiers to fight abroad. Strong protests have also been made several times against this action on the part of Government. The latter has, however, paid no attention to the matter and continues sending Indian forces to foreign countries. It is apprehended, therefore, that its attitude in the matter might add to the unrest and feeling of anger [against the Government] prevailing in the country.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Punjab affairs.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. (*a*) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 15th September:—"If the disallowing of Mr. Shastri's resolution on the Punjab affairs is one of the most autocratic and least defensible things which even Lord Chelmsford has ever done, the disallowing of it on the ground that it cannot be moved consistently with the public interest is one of the most extraordinary and amazing feats of irresponsibility of which any Viceroy has ever been guilty. So far from the resolution being contrary to the public interest there is no single thing at the present moment which is so imperatively demanded by the public interest as the moving of this resolution. It is easy for the Viceroy to imagine that the only thing to do when a difficult or controversial issue is raised is to shut out discussion on it. But this is the way not to close controversies but to give an indefinitely long lease of life to them. For the rest, the Viceroy will not take long to find out his mistake if he imagines that he has only to cry peace for peace to come or that to shut out a discussion in the Council is to stop the mouth of the country."

(*b*) In its issue dated the 16th April the paper writes:—"Unfortunate as such a decision would have been at any time, it is a blunder of the gravest magnitude at the present time when, in the words of the *Times of India*, 'the country is moved as it has not been moved for nearly two generations' when the forces making for estrangement between the bureaucracy and the articulate section of the community have very nearly reached their culminating point .... Had the resolutions of Mr. Shastri been really such that they could not be discussed without further embittering the already bitter racial feeling, then . . . we should have readily admitted that the Viceroy's action had something to be said for it. As a matter of fact, there was absolutely nothing of a racial character in the resolutions. They were not directed against the British Government. They were not directed against the British race. They were not directed against the British community in India as such. They were not even directed against the British element in the bureaucracy. They were wholly and solely directed against individual offending officers, civil and military, whom the Hunter Committee, the Government of India and the Secretary of State had alike condemned. Further, the second of the two alternative resolutions demanded absolutely nothing more than that the direction of the Secretary of State in his despatch and the promise of the Government of India themselves regarding the punishment of these officers should be carried out and that the punishment meted out to them should be duly published. What in the name of logic, of fairness, of commonsense itself is there in a resolution which only recommends this course to the Government to make its discussion contrary to the public interest ? . . . We are forced to the conclusion that what the Viceroy probably objected to was a *public* discussion of the guilt of the offending officers, involving the necessity of a *public* pronouncement of the Government's policy with regard to them. If so, is it in His Excellency's power to stop the public discussion, and can he for all time avoid making a public pronouncement of his Government's policy ? . . . The only effect of His Excellency's action will be to stimulate public discussion both in India and England, and especially in India, and each day that passes without the Government making the desired pronouncement, already long overdue, will only add to the momentum of public indignation, that will eventually compel it both to take the necessary action and to make a public statement on the subject. Incidentally the Viceroy's reply shows how extraordinary is his conception of what is or is not in the public interest in India. Evidently the public interest in India is not the interest of the public."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Martial law and women.

12. Referring to Lord Chelmsford's report to the Secretary of State that the charges regarding the ill-treatment of women [during the martial law days] are false, the *Siyasat* of the 3rd of September enquires where His Excellency obtained this information from. Was an inquiry held into the matter or have these charges been dubbed false on the strength only of the statements of officers against whom these accusations were brought ? Continuing, the paper says that no Indian can be so shameless as to forget the ill-treatment to which his mother, sister or daughter was subjected for no reason. Lord Chelmsford has only intensified the indignation of Indians by declaring the above charges to be false, and that also without having held an open inquiry into the case. His report shows that Indians should have no hopes of any kind from him.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Amritsar indemnity.

13. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 4th September considers it objectionable in Government to realise the excessively heavy indemnity of 20 lakhs from Amritsar without having held an inquiry first. It was essential that a committee consisting of official and non-official members should have been appionted to consider all the facts and form a correct estimate of the damage done. It is still more objectionable that the indemnity should be realised with the help of the municipal committee. The arrangement not only goes against public opinion, but is also open to objection on legal grounds. Again, the fact that the indemnity is to be realised with the terminal tax means that the brunt of the burden will fall on the poorer classes. It surprises us to see that while Government is urging the people to forget the past, it is taking steps which militate against a policy of conciliation.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 8th September says that if Government wishes the people to forget their wrongs, it should desist from torturing the afflicted. In case of its remaining obdurate, adds the paper, the municipal committee should refuse to shoulder the burden. Should, however, the committee not do so, the inhabitants of Amritsar should enter a practical protest against the proposal, *i.e.*, prepare themselves for passive resistance. Government ought to have pacified the oppressed people of Amritsar, but it seems bent upon harassing them.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

(c) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 8th September says that apparently Government wishes the memory of the bloodshed and disturbance which occurred at Amritsar last year always to remain fresh. The realisation of the indemnity can have only this result.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(d) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 9th September says that the realisation of the indemnity with the terminal tax will affect the cost of the necessaries of life. This means that the brunt of the levy will fall on the poorer classes, which have already been hard hit by the prevailing high prices. It is also most surprising that, on the one hand, Government should ask the people to let bygones be by-gones, but that, on the other, it should take a step wholly opposed to this policy.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharm Dev, editor.

(e) The *Arya Gazette* of the 9th September says that our dear and respected brothers were killed and wounded. They rotted in jails and most of them are still in the same plight or confined in the Andamans. How cruel it is that, in spite of all this, we should be required to pay an indemnity. We are subjected to tyranny and repression, and still the burden of an unreasonably large and unjust indemnity is placed on our backs. The only imaginable reason for this is that we are a subject nation and a helpless people, that we are unarmed and in the grip of poverty and famine, and that we are sunk in ignorance and negligence and know nothing of political tricks.

The N.-W. F. Province.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

14. The *Siyasat* of the 5th September states that reports received from the Hazara district are very deplorable. The statement issued by Government is wholly opposed to the version supplied to us by responsible members of the Khilafat committee. Reports of official high-handedness at Mansahra, Abbottabad and Haripur are coming in and we consider it a duty to protest against these repressive acts. Will the Viceroy allow an unpleasant situation like the one which prevailed in the Punjab last year to be created in the N.-W. F. Province? He was kept in the dark by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in connection with the introduction and continuance of martial law in the Punjab. Will he allow Sir Hamilton Grant to commit deeds like those perpetrated by Sir Michael? Judging from Lord Chelmsford's past record, we cannot expect him to display better statesmanship on this occasion, still we wish to tell His Excellency that the policy now obtaining in the Frontier Province cannot prove beneficial for Government. It is high time that matters were transferred from the hands of the Chief Commissioner into those of the Government of India and the latter acted with great sagacity and foresight.

The Kheri murder.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

15. Referring to the Kheri murder, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 5th September deprecates the conduct of the Anglo-Indian press in urging a policy of repression over the incident. Justice must undoubtedly be done in the case and no one will object to this, but the attempts to hold the whole country guilty for the act of a religious fanatic are most dangerous and imprudent. Government should not lend its ear to such irresponsible suggestions.

The new V.-P. P. system.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

16. Writing about the new V.-P. P. system, the *Vakil* of the 13th September says that it has not only added to the inconvenience of shopkeepers and their customers, but has also increased work in the Postal Department. Strangely enough, however, there has been not the least increase in the strength of the staff concerned. The result is that value-payable parcels are returned by the Postal Office on the ground of rush of work.

Local rates.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

17. The *Panch* of the 1st [received on the 9th] September says that the local rates realised from the villagers are spent on trunk roads. There are no civil dispensaries or veterinary hospitals in villages, most of which cannot boast of schools also. If the receipts had been properly utilised from the very beginning, education would have made great progress in villages by this time. If they are spent for their benefit even now, most of their grievances can easily be removed. It is an important duty of Government to make no delay in seeing that they are properly utilised.

V.—EDCUATION.

AFTAB (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

Prices of text-books.

18. A correspondent writing to the *Aftab* of the 6th September protests against the high prices now charged for school books, especially the first Urdu primer, the price of which has been raised from one anna and three pies to annas 5 and pies 6. The Punjab Government had better, he adds, see that the primer is not sold for more than three annas a copy. A committee of headmasters in each educational circle should be formed to revise the prices of text-books.

VII.—MISCELANEOUS.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

Gurmukhi script in the army.

19. B. S. Chatrath, B. A., writes to the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 7th September :—"Gurmukhi is not [now] recognised as the medium of promotion examinations and tests as heretofore. Formerly the Sikh rank and file used to keep all the accounts and official records in Gurmukhi, but they are now obliged to learn Urdu instead and papers in Gurmukhi are not accepted. It is blowing hot and cold with the same breath to afford opportunity to the Sikh soldiers to become acquainted with the script in which their sacred books are written and to disallow them to use the same script in certificate examination or in their official routine work . . . If what I have learnt is true, and there is absolutely no cause to doubt its veracity, the Educational Conference should. . . . . have . . . the wrong righted."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Dance in aid of General Dyer.

20. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th September reports that a dance in aid of General Dyer is being arranged in a European hostel at Mussoorie. After stating that the local municipality's help is being taken to make the dance a success, the paper says that that body is not justified in lending its help to the organisers of the dance. Besides, the dance is apprehended still further to widen the gulf between Europeans and Indians. It behoves the Viceroy, who is asking Indians to forget Dyer's doings and coöperate with Government, to take action against the organizers and supporters of the dance.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 18th September 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mesopotamia.

1. The *Waqt* of the 27th August [received on the 18th September] states that the British Government announced in the course of the great war that it would establish an independent kingdom in Mesopotamia. Now, however, that Mesopotamia has fallen to its lot and her children have commenced a struggle for freedom, it has begun to speak of them as rebels and dacoits. We are at a loss to understand why the British Government should pursue such a double-faced policy. Does this line of conduct signify that freedom is meant exclusively for the whites and the Asiatics can have no share in it. The desire for freedom has grown more intense in blacks than in the whites, and can be suppressed by no power on earth. We request our benign Government to give up the policy of suppressing black Indians or other Asiatics and to value the sacred principles of freedom.

WAQT (Amritsar); Durga Das, editor.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Non-coöperation.

2. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 16th September says that the future of India depended on the decision of the question of non-coöperation. If Indians had not approved of the question, perpetual slavery or at least long and continuous bondage would have been their lot. Their chains of servitude would undoubtedly have changed from iron into gold by the appointment of a few Indians to high posts, but they would continue to be slaves. God be thanked that they have, by approving of non-coöperation, planted their feet on the ladder leading to the lofty palace of freedom. The journey to freedom is now before us, and the path is distinctly visible. To deny the existence of dangers and difficulties or to make an attempt to minimise them would be an act of folly most detrimental to our aims. But the history of the world proclaims, as if with a tongue, that the step now taken by Indians leads to the right path, and that a manly struggle on this path will crown their efforts with success. They are, therefore, determined to set out on the journey.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th September says that if the resolution is not acted upon, extremely bad results will ensue. On the other hand, its translation into effect will very soon lead us to our goal. If to-day we go against the unanimous verdict of the country, with what face could we ask a minority to-morrow to follow our injunctions? Almost the whole country is unanimous as to the principle of non-coöperation: repeated failures have brought all to the same point of view, although there is a difference of opinion regarding the details. Continuing, the paper remarks that the boycott of Government schools means that not one or two but thousands of young men will be deprived of education. It is not, however, as bad to be educated at an aided or a Government school as it is to have no education at all. Education is light, and the latter is always a blessing whether it comes through a window or a sewer. It would, therefore, be better to establish national educational institutions before boycotting Government schools and colleges. As to courts, it would be best to begin by establishing, in a few large cities, *panchayats* consisting of men whose honesty and integrity are above suspicion. The inauguration of national courts, in which less money is spent than in the existing courts, where the parties are treated like human beings, and which administer justice in the true sense of the term, would easily attract pleaders and clients.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th September says that the question arises whether the Congress represents the whole country. A truthful person must reply that it has now lost this character, and that unless a change acceptable to all classes of the people is effected in its constitution, it will be incorrect to speak of it as representing the whole population. Indeed, it has paid no regard to the general desire of the public in passing its resolution on non-coöperation. The leaders—to whatever community they may belong and be they moderates or extremists—should promptly attend to the question which the passing of this resolution has raised and should lose no time in deciding it at a joint meeting. In the other event, a severe blow will be dealt to the greatest need of Indians, *viz.*, self-government, and the bureaucratic members of the ruling class, who cannot bear to see Indians govern themselves, will be afforded a reasonable pretext for placing obstacles in the way of the people's struggle to obtain self-government.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharm Dev, editor.

(*d*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 16th September asks whether Indians cannot renounce titles, throw up honorary posts, remove their sons from [Government] schools. After enquiring further whether lawyers and litigants cannot do without courts, the paper says that the sacrifice involved is necessary to enable us to get home-rule as soon as possible. No amount of sacrifice, it adds, is too great for the attainment of this noble object. So long as all—high and low—do not display a spirit of self-sacrifice, no awakening can take place in the country. Mother India expects her sons to sacrifice, for the sake of her freedom, even what they hold most dear. Continuing, the paper asks when the interests of the rulers and the ruled clash, should we render whole-hearted help [to Government] and work the machine which issued the martial-law orders and brought us disgrace and humiliation? Next it refers to Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-coöperation, and says that it is the duty of every Indian to act up to it and ask others to do so.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*e*) The *Desh* of the 17th September asserts that there are innumerable difficulties and obstacles in the way of Indians carrying the Congress resolution on non-coöperation into practice. The paper also contends that the proposed boycott of Government educational institutions and courts and of foreign goods is impracticable.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*f*) Referring to the withdrawal of certain Congressmen from their candidature for the new Councils, the *Tribune* of the 17th September writes:—"While . . . . we are ourselves opposed to the boycott of Councils, and while we would certainly view with very great regret a general tendency on the part of nationalist candidates to boycott the Councils, we cannot say that we are either surprised at or wholly sorry for the attitude which so many leading Congressmen, including men who differ widely and radically from the resolution of the Congress in this matter, have seen fit to take up. After all, the Congress is the country's greatest, in fact, its one national assembly, and who can say that loyalty to this body, carried even to the point of obeying a verdict which one believes to be wrong, is not a valuable national asset, especially when this loyalty also involves a tangible sacrifice? Then there is the question of expediency. If we want the verdict of the special Congress in this matter to be reversed, is it not of some importance for us to show to the country, which is the final arbiter in this matter, that it is from no selfish motives, no motives of personal interest, however enlightened, but solely from the point of view of the public good, that we opposed this resolution and do oppose it still?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(g) In its issue dated the 19th September the paper writes:—"Lala Lajpat Rai. . . declared [to our representative] that in his opinion the resolution on non-coöperation having been passed by the Congress, all Congressmen should boycott the Councils. . . We are constrained to say that we entirely dissent from this . . . opinion. The very wording of the resolution shows that it is not a mandate, but merely a recommendation, and we entirely fail to see how the mandate theory is consistent with Lala Lajpat Rai's own view that the other important parts of the resolutions are not immediately binding upon any one. . . Let us not forget that the country is greater than the Congress, and that properly speaking it is for the country to issue its mandate to the Congress and not for the Congress to issue its mandate to the country. In no case can it issue a mandate which it has not itself received."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(h) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 19th September:—"The voting . . . . clearly shows that Mr. Gandhi's resolution does not represent the opinion of the country, for the two thousand persons who voted for it cannot claim to be more representative than the 4,000 delegates who either absented themselves on the day of voting or voted against the resolution or remained neutral."

The *swadeshi* movement.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

3. (a) "A FRONTIER HINDU GRADUATE" writing in the *Zamindar* of the 17th September says that, just as in the eighteenth century our political freedom was in danger, there is now an apprehension of our trade being wholly destroyed. On the former occasion we were free, and our forefathers struggled hard for the maintenance of our freedom. To-day, however, we are a subject people, and our destinies are in the hands of foreigners. We cannot, therefore, take a prominent part in the commercial struggle now going on in the world. The only course left us to ensure the salvation of our country consists in using *swadeshi* goods on as extensive a scale as possible. After remarking that this undoubtedly requires a good deal of sacrifice, the paper says that our political leaders should set an example in the matter and make strenuous efforts to carry the movement to a successful issue. In the other event, just as the nineteenth century sounded the death knell of our freedom, the twentieth century will witness the ruin of our economic life.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) One BANSI DHAR of Ferozepore writing to the *Siyasat* of the 18th September regrets that the *swadeshi* movement should not have made much progress, although it is the least objectionable and most profitable and useful stage of non-coöperation, and is most likely to bring our enemies to their senses. A special committee should be appointed under the supervision of the Congress committee in every district to preach *swadeshism*. In places where no Congress committees exist the proposed committees should work under the Khilafat committees, which should take vows from the people to use only Indian-made goods. Copies of the vow should be distributed to schoolboys, who should pay house-to-house visits to get them signed.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Offending martial-law officers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

4. (a) The *Tribune* of the 18th September writes:—"The Government has at last made a statement on the subject of the offending officers. And what a statement it is! Barring two police officers, both of Amritsar, who have been degraded, no punitive action of any kind has been taken in regard to any of the offending officers. The more important ones. . . . . have only got off with a censure, the Government having conveyed to seven of them its strong disapproval of their improper and injudicious actions. One wonders why the Government should have been at the pains to do this at all. It would have been enough to republish the relevant passages in their own and the Secretary of State's despatch with some such introductory words as "For all whom it may concern". After this, it is no matter for surprise that Mr. Shastri's resolution was disallowed! But the

Government must be mistaken if they imagine that this action on their part will extinguish the fire of agitation or make for increased coöperation."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(b) Elsewhere the paper refers to the Viceroy's statement in his concluding speech in the Imperial Council that he felt "as keenly as any one in this Council the need for holding Indian life and honour sacred in times of crisis like that of last year." Commenting, the paper writes:—"Is not its value largely discounted by the announcement almost simultaneously made regarding the offending officers? Surely it is not the best way to demonstrate your wish to hold Indian honour sacred, to content yourself with merely expressing your 'strong disapporoval' of the action of those who have ruthlessly trampled it under foot."

(c) In its issue dated the 19th September the paper says:—'Six of the officers against whom the gravest charges were made have only been informed that Government 'strongly disapprove' of their 'improper and injudicious action.' The monstrous inadequacy and inappropriateness of this action becomes palpably apparent the moment it is mentioned that these six officers include Col. O'Brien, Col. Frank Johnson, whose atrocities Lahore will remember as long as memory endures, escapes even this expression of the Government's disapproval on the technical ground that he was a territorial officer and his regiment had since been demobilised. The same ground, we think, also explains the uncontradicted statement of an Anglo-Indian journal that this officer was actually the recipient of the Government's thanks when he laid down his uniform. Messrs. Kitchin and Miles Irving, who undoubtedly belong to a different category, but who were, nevertheless, responsible for the initial blunder in which the Hunter Committee as well as the Government of India and His Majesty's Government have found some palliation for Dyer's crime itself on the fateful 13th April, are merely informed that the Government regret that they did not retain control over the military. The irregularity of which they were guilty and which so high an authority as Mr. Asquith condemned in the strongest terms in his speech in the House of Commons is, it seems, sufficiently punished by this expression of regret on the part of the Government. Several military officers, against whom more or less serious charges were made, are simply exonerated, as the military authorities above them found nothing blameworthy in their action in the circumstances of the case. . . This, in short, is all that the Government of India have done in fulfilment of their own promise, in carrying out the direction of His Majesty's Government, and lastly in justice to the people of the Punjab whose dearest interests and most sacred rights were ruthlessly trampled under foot by some of these officers. . . . The Congress Committee, while considering that there was sufficient evidence against several of them to secure their conviction, contented itself with merely recommending that they should be dismissed. The Government of India have done neither. They have not even degraded any of the officers; nor have they taken any other disciplinary action whatever. If the authorities think that measures like these can either satisfy the public or meet the requirements of the case they will not take long to find out their mistake. For our part, we are painfully convinced that the only effect of this action will be to deepen the forces of discontent and to further embitter the public feeling. Let there be no mistake."

(d) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"It was not, of course, to be expected that after giving Sir Michael O'Dwyer the gushing certificate they did in their despatch, the Government of India would have anything to say about him in the statement regarding the offending officers they have just issued. But that does not make their omission in this respect any the less glaring . . . . They have mentioned Messrs. Kitchin and Miles Irving and have held that the complete transfer of civil authority was indefensible. May we enquire under what canon of justice or fairness they can leave Sir Michael O'Dwyer's share of responsibility for this transfer out of account? It is on record that Mr. Kitchin was constantly in touch with the Lieutenant-Governor. It is on record that within a very few hours of his handing over the civil authority at Amritsar to the military he informed the Lieutenant-Governor that he had done so. Is there anything to show that in acting as he did he acted contrary to the wishes or the instruction of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or that the latter disapproved of his action? Then, is it not a fact that if Sir Michael had so wished things might still have been mended? And does not his very failure to rectify the blunder itself show that he did not regard it as a blunder? . . .

Again, if the conduct of the several officers censured by the Government was improper and injudicious, is it possible to exonerate Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his immediate lieutenants? Is there a word on record to show that at any stage in the progress of the tragic drama they conveyed their disapproval of any of the proceedings that are now censured? It will not do to say that it was the martial law regime and that the Lieutenant-Governor was powerless. That Sir Michael O'Dwyer did still exercise his authority we know from at least one instance in which he has himself taken credit for having got a wrong order rescinded. We refer, of course, to the crawling order. Does not this one fact show that he might have done other things in the same direction had he only wished to do so? Some of the officers besides were his own officers, and his control over them was supreme. It is further on record that the martial law administrators, at least in some places including Lahore, did consult the civil authorities in all matters pertaining to the daily life of the people. If, in the circumstances, Sir Michael did not exercise his influence in keeping the officers concerned within bounds, in correcting mistakes and condemning atrocities did he not by that very circumstance make himself responsible? It is idle to say that he did not know all the facts. It was his business to know and as a matter of fact he did know. Besides, does he condemn the atrocities even now? On the contrary, is he not the one man, then in authority, who has consistently raised his voice against any punishment being meted out to any officer for what was done? Could there be better, stronger or clearer proof that either these officers only carried out his own policy or he was at least an accessory after the event? And yet the Government of India, while censuring the tools and instruments of policy, have nothing but praise for its chief author and inspirer."

PARTAP,
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 20th September says that the whole country will regret that Government should have missed this opportunity of doing justice to the aggrieved people of the Punjab. What is the punishment inflicted on the officers who practised oppression on a poor and helpless people, disgraced the latter's women, made innocent students walk for sixteen miles in the scorching heat, had students flogged because only of their strong physique, dropped bombs from aeroplanes, and brought machine-guns into play? They have merely been told that Government disapproves of these acts. We ask whether this can satisfy the people and whether such censure can suffice in the case of the perpetrators of the atrocities enumerated above? Do our rulers think that such unjust proceedings can pacify the people? The announcement has, however, caused no disappointment among the public, which expected nothing better from Government. But it is surprising to see that the Viceroy should still appeal to Indians to forget last year's incidents. Verily the powerful may beat [a person] and yet prevent [him] from crying.

Mr. Shastri's resolution.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

5. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th September says that the Viceroy's attitude in regard to Mr. Shastri's resolutions on the Punjab affairs shows how far removed Indians are from responsible Government in the true sense of the term. If an officer would not even convey the thanks of thirty crore people to his official superior, if he can show by his attitude that he cares nothing for the last named and if he does not consider himself answerable even to His Majesty's Government, poor Indians are a wholly helpless people indeed. Continuing, the paper says that our [Anglo-Indian] friends constantly advise us to forget the past. We also know that the dead cannot be brought back to life. Those who caused their death can, however, be hanged. If the principle of "let by-gones be by-gones" is to be acted upon, no murderer need be punished and the relations of the murdered need not seek justice. It is such things that have now forced the country to resort to non-coöperation. This is the natural outcome of the policy pursued by Government. Indians have tried every other means. They have implored, entreated, rendered service, offered their heads, sacrificed money, and tried to invite Government's attention to their troubles in a spirit of love and humiliation. None of these things has, however, proved effective. A weak man has only one course open to him [in such circumstances]. He should, instead of approaching the powerful and suffering disgrace at the latter's hands, patiently stay at his own house. In conclusion, the *Bande Mataram* writes that if a cruel treatment like the one in question can be accorded to resolutions proposed by a man like

Mr. Shastri, whose learning, prudence and sobriety are praised by both Indians and Englishmen, can a better treatment be expected in the case of any other person? The present deplorable incident should open the eyes, not only of Mr. Shastri himself, but also of those sharing his views.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 18th September says that Mr. Shastri's resolution was bound to be rejected, seeing that there is a majority of official members in the Council. The Viceroy did not, however, even allow the resolution to be moved on the shameful pretext that it would lead to a breach of the public peace. Is it not sheer waste of time for men like Mr. Shastri, asks the paper, to go to such Councils without having the power to move resolutions? Is it not the Imperial Council that passed laws like the Defence Act, the Arms Act, the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act, which go wholly against the wishes of the country? Again, if Government so wishes, can it not pass similar laws even now without the consent of the people? Is it not absurd for Indians, therefore, to go to such Councils under the false notion that they will prove useful for the country there? The questions asked by non-official members in them are disallowed on silly pretexts, or the replies made to them are usually meaningless? Are not these the Councils, moreover, where speeches are made to wound the feelings of Indians and where popular leaders are insulted? Is it not also these Councils which express sorrow at the death of English officers of no consequence, but take no notice of the demise of a patriot like Mr. Tilak? What service can the Indian members render in them to their country if they are not allowed to move resolutions on the comprehensive ground of "danger to the public peace"? Is it not better to boycott these Councils and expose their real character to the whole world? Those who are in favour of participating in such Councils should answer the above questions.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(c) The *Desh* of the 18th September says that the incident has revealed to Indians in general and moderates like Mr. Shastri in particular, the bitter truth that howsoever independent or advanced the country's legislative councils may be, the voice of their Indian members carries no weight with them.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(d) The *Partap* of the 18th September says that Lord Chelmsford's attitude regarding the Punjab affairs has been most improper. It had already shaken the people's faith in British justice, but his action in disallowing Mr. Shastri's resolutions has dealt an irreparable blow to the same. His Excellency's conduct shows clearly enough, besides, in what esteem the representatives of the people are held in the highest Council in the country. Next the paper refers to the refusal of Mr. Shastri and some other non-official members to move resolutions, and says that if all the non-official members were even to resign their seats, their conduct would be perfectly justifiable. A Government, which does not even allow the people's representatives to express their real feelings, is not likely to fulfil their wishes. The idle tale of "the public interest" is a fiction which the authorities are in the habit of trotting out with the object of throwing a veil over their actions—proper or otherwise. Continuing, the *Partap* asks what else the people should do to secure justice except resorting to non-coöperation with Government. Can they forget the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the degradation of crawling on the stomach, the flogging of innocent children, and the insults offered to *pardah* ladies without an adequate compensation being made to them and without receiving the guarantee that such occurrences will not be repeated in future? Lord Chelmsford has, to some extent, prepared the way for the adoption of non-coöperation by the country, and it would not be surprising to hear in a few days that even those leaders who have hitherto been opposed to the movement have not only become its supporters, but have resolved to make it a success.

SIKH (Lahore); Pakhshish Singh, editor.

(e) The *Sikh* of the 19th September writes:—"The excuse [put foward by Lord Chelmsford] is absurd on the very face of it. The resolution was evidently meant to allay the 'distressed and outraged feeling' of the people rather than 'renew unpleasant memories and aggravate racial bitterness'. . . . It is such autocratic actions that set at naught all efforts to pour oil on troubled waters. To save a few official offenders from a just punishment is to add insult to injury inflicted by them on millions of His Majesty's subjects. Would that His Excellency the Viceroy realised his own responsibility in this connection, and refrained from thus shutting the mouth of the whole country."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Zamindar* of the 18th September says that the moderate leaders should now adopt a policy of complete non-coöperation. What can, it asks, be accomplished by withdrawing resolutions? Incidents like the one in question will occur every day. Will the moderate councillors always rest content with withdrawing resolutions? They should resign the membership of the Imperial Council and rally under the flag of the united Indian nationality.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

House-rent.

6. A Lahore correspondent writing to the *Siyasat* of the 17th September complains that, along with the rise in prices, landlords have raised the rent of residential houses. This is causing great trouble to the poor; but it is a pity that, while rack-renting is being resorted to, Government should only unconcernedly look on.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Rikabganj *gurdwara*.

7. The *Sikh* of the 19th September writes:—"We fail to understand what gain the Government authorities concerned see in delaying the restoration of the Rikabganj *gurdwara* wall. They know that agitation against this absolutely uncalled-for interference in their religious affairs is getting more and more intense for the evident reason that the Sikhs cannot tolerate insult to a most sacred shrine of theirs, and the only way to stop the agitation is to supply the rightful demand and not to prolong the matter, so as to render it worse and worse. The Sikh nation seems to be definite and unambiguous on the point..... So the Government authorities, too, should be definite and unequivocal in their promises and assurances, and a *communique* is quite desirable."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Kine-killing.

8. The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th September says that the Hindus and Muhammadans should not rest content with the abandonment of the slaughter-house that was proposed to be established at Ratona. Now that they have realised the importance of cow-protection and the usefulness of cows, she-buffaloes, bullocks, and the like in connection with their political, economic, agricultural and physical improvement, as also with their betterment and prosperity in other respects, there is no reason why they should not try to save these animals from destruction in every part of the country and also to prevent their export to foreign countries. They should, indeed, have all slaughter-houses closed, and try to replace them by dairies and pasturages to promote the breed of the animals in question. The paper feels certain that if the Hindus and Muhammadans put forth united efforts in the matter they will assuredly meet with success.

V.—EDUCATION.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Muslim University.

9. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 15th September says that the Muslim University Act, which has recently been passed by the Imperial Council, would not prove acceptable to the Muhammadans for some most important reasons. The time chosen for the introduction of the Bill, it adds, in the Council was not suitable for the purpose. The Muslim University Association has not had sufficient time to give a thorough consideration to the Bill. Mr. Muhammad Ali, Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College, placed an obstacle before the Association holding a meeting to consider the Bill. Continuing, the paper says that it is impossible for the Act to be amended on lines acceptable to the Muhammadans. Again, under this law Government's supervision and control over the Muslim University will become unnecessarily strict and extensive. Another serious complaint is that the right to make the first appointment of Vice-Chancellor will be in the hands of the Governor-General. The Muslim community fears lest Mr. Muhammad Ali, with whom it is not satisfied, should be appointed Vice-Chancellor. Indeed, Hakim Ajmal Khan has already informed His Excellency the Viceroy that the appointment of Mr. Muhammad Ali to the post will greatly disappoint his co-religionists. And if their opinion is disregarded, the Muhammadans will naturally come to believe that Government does not consider the question of their educational advancement in a

sympathetic spirit. And it will not be surprising if in that event they sever their connection with the Muslim University.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 18th September says that the wrong policy followed by Government in regard to the Muslim University has long crushed out of the Muhammadans the enthusiasm which characterised the inception of the movement. They wanted to get the University at one time, [but Government would not give it to them]. The latter is now prepared to make a present of it to them, but they refuse to receive it. After remarking that this is the inevitable result of belated reforms, the paper says that the real object of Government in now sanctioning the scheme seems to be that the Muhammadans, thus placed under an obligation, should drop the Khilafat question. The destruction of the Khilafat cannot, however, be recompensed by the establishment of a university which will teach slavery to the people. The Muhammadans as a community should prove, by refusing to accept the University, that they support non-coöperation from the bottom of their hearts. Islamia colleges and schools should, for the same reason, abstain from accepting aid from Government, thereby freeing Muhammadan education from the pernicious influence of non-Muslims. Musalman students should leave such colleges and schools as refuse to follow the above course of conduct.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Memorial to Lord Chelmsford.

10. Adverting to the proposal of Mr. Tarak Rai Chaudhri of Jodhpur to raise a memorial to Lord Chelmsford in recognition of his great services to India, *viz.*, the granting of reforms to Indians and the abolition of indentured labour, the *Partap* of the 18th September remarks that it cannot be said for certain what hand His Excellency had in the accomplishment of the great achievements referred to. Justice demands, however, that, along with these deeds, there should be made a mention of his having given Sir Michael O'Dwyer a free hand during the Punjab disturbances; of his promulgation of martial law; of his continuation of it for an unnecessarily long time; of his refusal to visit the Punjab after the disturbances, to consult the people in the matter of the appointment of the Hunter committee and to consider the recommandations of the Indian members of the committee in his despatch on its report; of his attitude of indifference in regard to the Punjab affairs; of the encouragement by him of the spirit of Dyerism; and, lastly, of his action in disallowing Mr. Shastri's resolutions to be moved. In conclusion, the paper says that, so far as its knowledge of the popular feeling goes, not one true Indian will identify himself with the proposal.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The Duke of Connaught.

11. Referring to the proposed visit of the Duke of Connaught to India, the *Sidaqat* of the 16th September says that Government will try its best to see that municipal committees and denominational societies in the country accord a warm reception to the Duke, so that he may carry away a good impression about the authorities here, and the agitation started by mischief-mongers may be discredited. If the people of India, adds the paper, wish that His Royal Highness should become acquainted with their real feelings regarding the Punjab atrocities and the Caliphate, they should altogether abstain from indulging in the pomp and show that characterise such occasions. Government is at liberty to make a display; but can Indians be expected to bedeck their houses and streets, wear a smile on their faces and praticipate in festivities while they are plunged in mourning?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 25th September 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
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Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Egyptian independence.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The following occurs in the *Tribune* of the 24th September in the course of its London letter:—"The release of Egypt from intolerable bonds is a sign of the times. We can no longer rule any country by right of conquest. That principle was overthrown in the war, and we cannot maintain it or set it up afresh either in India, Ireland, Mesopotamia or anywhere else. Egypt's successful bid for national independence is a nail in the coffin of British imperialism, the reaction of which will not be limited to the banks of the Nile. We are, in fact, engaged at this moment, consciously or unconsciously, in pulling down a militarist Empire and substituting for it, as many of us hope, an international Commonwealth based on freedom and equal right. India is in the forefront of the struggle to achieve that end, and my conviction is that she, with the rest, is steadily but surely marching towards the goal." Commenting on the above in its issue dated the 26th September the paper writes:—"These are not merely noble words of hope, but words which we believe to be the outcome of the only correct reading of the signs of the times. One thing is certain. This is the only way to make the federation of States, now called the British Empire, permanent. There is literally no other way. In the present stage of world-development, no association of States and nations can endure that is not based on perfect freedom."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Indian Auxiliary and Territorial Force Bills.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

2. Writing on the passing of the Indian Auxiliary and Territorial Force Bills, the *Tribune* of the 30th September says:—"In the case of the Auxiliary Force Bill, which applies to European and the domiciled communities in India, the widest possible publicity was given to the measure by the Government, which published the draft two months earlier and framed it after a thorough consultation with the people concerned..... But no such anxiety to consult and to satisfy the Indian people seems to have been

sympathetic spirit. And it will not be surprising if in that event they sever their connection with the Muslim University.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Egyptian independence.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The following occurs in the *Tribune* of the 24th September in the course of its London letter:—"The release of Egypt from intolerable bonds is a sign of the times. We can no longer rule any country by right of conquest. That principle was overthrown in the war, and we cannot maintain it or set it up afresh either in India, Ireland, Mesopotamia or anywhere else. Egypt's successful bid for national independence is a nail in the coffin of British imperialism, the reaction of which will not be limited to the banks of the Nile. We are, in fact, engaged at this moment, consciously or unconsciously, in pulling down a militarist Empire and substituting for it, as many of us hope, an international Commonwealth based on freedom and equal right. India is in the forefront of the struggle to achieve that end, and my conviction is that she, with the rest, is steadily but surely marching towards the goal." Commenting on the above in its issue dated the 26th September the paper writes:—"These are not merely noble words of hope, but words which we believe to be the outcome of the only correct reading of the signs of the times. One thing is certain. This is the only way to make the federation of States, now called the British Empire, permanent. There is literally no other way. In the present stage of world-development, no association of States and nations can endure that is not based on perfect freedom."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Indian Auxiliary and Territorial Force Bills.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. Writing on the passing of the Indian Auxiliary and Territorial Force Bills, the *Tribune* of the 30th September says:—"In the case of the Auxiliary Force Bill, which applies to European and the domiciled communities in India, the widest possible publicity was given to the measure by the Government, which published the draft two months earlier and framed it after a thorough consultation with the people concerned..... But no such anxiety to consult and to satisfy the Indian people seems to have been

shown by Government in framing the Indian Territorial Force Bill, which applies to the general population. The very fact that this Bill was passed only 19 days after its introduction shows how little public opinion has had to do with the matter. . . . The marked contrast between the two Bills. . . . . cannot escape the notice of even the most superficial observer. The former is intended to replace the old Voluntary Force by one trained and organised according to modern requirements by imposing definite liabilities which the Voluntary Force lacked. It will be employed only in local areas and the conditions of training, service, discipline, pay and equipment are all definitely stated. The Territorial Force, on the other hand, forms part of the regular army and will be trained and kept ready to be sent out of local areas in time of war, while details as regards service, discipline, pay, &c., are to be fixed hereafter. . . . The training conditions in the Auxiliary Force are in the highest degree flexible and adjustable to suit local requirements through the agency of advisory committees. . . . . The object of this liberal concession in the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians seems to be to provide for those employed in Government services and industrial or commercial occupations. There is nothing in the other Bill to show that Indians in Government service and commercial houses will be given the same opportunity. Indeed, the principle of equality in the treatment of Indians and Europeans in their respective forces is not recognised. . . . . . The element of racial distinction in the Bills is glaring and most unhappy. The Commander-in-Chief explained that the Indian Bill was only an 'experiment' whose success depended on the 'response made by the people.' The Auxiliary Force, however, was no experiment: it was a settled fact, whether or not the response made was good or tardy. The Indian Force was limited to infantry, whereas the Auxiliary Force included both Cavalry and Artillery. Mr. Shastri had a new clause inserted in the Bill authorising the Governor-General in Council to establish all or any branches of the Force as circumstances might permit from time to time. The value of this concession was, however, neutralised by the Commander-in-Chief's statement that the formation of other branches was conditional on the 'experiment' turning out successful and on sufficient numbers of Indians joining the Infantry, though no such conditions were laid down in the case of the Auxiliary Force units. The Commander-in-Chief added that 'Government could not reasonably bind itself to a policy of incurring vast liabilities without being sure that their expectations would be met.' But it does not appear that similar financial anxieties troubled the minds of the authorities in the case of the other Bill, which fixes regular pay and allowances for members of the Force according to grades in place of the old capitation grants. . . . . In introducing the Territorial Force Bill, the Commander-in-Chief clearly stated that this Bill was designed to afford an opportunity 'for the martial aspirations of those classes of Indians who, from the nature of their avocation in civil life, do not, as a rule, take service in the regular army.' It is, therefore, obvious that Government does not recognise the supreme obligation of Indians to defend their own country, in the same way as it recognises the obligation of Europeans and domiciled communities in this country. With what feelings Indians will receive this 'gift' it is not easy to say."

Tribune;
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Coöperation with Government.

8. Commenting on Mr. Bernard Houghton's article in *India* (London) under the heading "The Cant of Coöperation" the *Tribune* of the 1st October writes:—"As for the weaker party . . . . the position is pithily put in one sentence [by the writer]: 'If you coöperate with a more powerful party, you become its henchmen, you forsake your principles, you desert your battle cry and your cause, politically you die.' If such is the inevitable effect of coöperation between a strong and a weak party even in such a country as England, where there are powerful forces at work to keep both the Government and the Opposition in their places, is it difficult to see what its consequence must be in a country in the position of India? . . . . What coöperation between the two means has, indeed, been signally illustrated during the last few days. The whole country has for months rung with the demand that the offending officers in the Punjab should be suitably punished. How has the Viceroy met this demand? Why, not only by refusing to punish these officers, unless the censure passed upon some of them is to be miscalled punishment, but by actually refusing permission to a non-official member in the position and of the reputation for sobriety and moderation of Mr. Shastri

even to raise a discussion on the subject! That is what coöperation means in our case . . . . We can coöperate with the bureaucracy to our heart's content, provided we coöperate only in carrying out its will . . . . If [Indians] refuse to do this, at once the cry is raised that they are not coöperating. Was there ever absurdity like this? And yet this absurdity is being daily swallowed by some of our best men, including men who have grown grey in the service of the country . . . We can imagine nothing more humiliating than the spectacle of Indians, whose patriotism and sincerity no one can question, standing up in their places in a bureaucratic assembly, before the very authority chiefly responsible for the situation that has brought a powerful movement of protest into being, and denouncing that movement in unmeasured terms. Well does Mr. Houghton say that 'like flies caught in the spider's web' 'every moment finds the unwary coöperator deeper enmeshed in the official net.'"

Non-coöperation.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

4. (*a*) Writing about non-coöperation, the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th September says that it is in everyone's power to give up the use of foreign-made articles. This is very easy and practicable, while it is useful in every way to boycott imported goods. Indeed, if Indians were only to observe this boycott, their economic and perhaps also their political difficulties would come to an end. As to the boycott of the Councils, the paper admits that there are certain advantages in serving on these bodies. In spite of this, however, coöperation means nothing but humiliation and disgrace for Indians so long as Englishmen do not treat them as their equals. In conclusion, the paper says that the Punjabis should, like the Bengalis, abandon the idea of entering the Councils, proving thereby that they are behind none in maintaining the honour of the country and the Congress.

(*b*) In is issue dated the 19th September the paper publishes an article headed "My message to the people of the Punjab" over the signature of Lala Lajpat Rai. The special session of the Congress, says the writer, is over and all know what happened there and what resolutions were passed at it. No Punjabi endowed with a sense of self-respect, he adds, should try to enter the [local Legislative] Council. Again, all the voters should abstain from voting, and special efforts should be made to secure their signatures to a protest without any undue pressure being brought to bear upon them. The document should be to the effect that since Government's decision in regard to the Punjab atrocities is most unsatisfactory and gives no hope of a change in its spirit the Punjab voters decline to exercise their right to vote as an expression of their feelings of resentment. Continuing, the writer remarks that the proceedings of the last session of the Imperial Council have convinced the people that it is useless to look for further justice from the Punjab Government or the Government of India in connection with the Punjab atrocities. Apparently these Governments consider an expression of displeasure to be sufficient punishment for the officers who caused trouble to thousands of God's creatures and whose excesses resulted in hundreds of Indians losing their lives. Further, they consider the colossal grant of Rs. 6,000 to the survivors of the hundreds killed in the Jallianwala Bagh to be wholly sufficient, although nearly five lakhs of rupees have been sanctioned from Indian exchequer for the survivors of a few Europeans killed [in last year's disturbances]. General Dyer and Mr. Bosworth Smith are the only two European officers who have been awarded the greatest punishment, *viz.*, they have been retired on pension before their time. In these circumstances, the Viceroy's remark that he regards the lives of Indians as sacred as the Indian members of his Council do, seems to be wholly meaningless. His Excellency has shown by his general behaviour that his statement is only a piece of diplomacy. This being so the writer does not think that any Punjabi endowed with a sense of shame and self-respect will care to enter the new Council. It is true, he adds, that we could have served our nation by entering the Council, but the incidents which have successively taken place during the past two years and the indifference and narrow-mindedness which the Punjab Government has displayed in trampling upon the feelings of the people render it impossible for us to undertake the responsibility for the administration of the Punjab by coöperating with Government and working on the Councils. In conclusion, the writer expresses the wish that the educated Punjabis, especially the degree-holders among them, who have been given the right to elect a representative of the university, would be the first to guide the public in the matter, signing the protest referred to and voting for no one.

GULSAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmed Ali Chishti, editor.

(c) The *Gulsar-i-Hind* of the 18th September says that, in view of the present serious situation in India, Mr. Gandhi's programme is very dangerous. Apart from its being of an impracticable character, it adds, its soundness is limited only to Mr. Gandhi's followers. Continuing, the paper says that ever since his return to India Mr. Gandhi has been actuated by a spirit of vindictiveness. No act or pronouncement of his is free from this taint. Is it such character that saints should have? His chief object consists in turning the British Government out of India. It is only a show of flattering on his part to say that he wishes to establish *swaraj* in India under Great Britain. The frequent use of this expression by him shows that perhaps he thinks that the world is ignorant of his device. We wish to tell him, however, that the whole of India has not been stricken blind. His *satyagraha* movement also proved a source of trouble to thousands of people. It is to be regretted that he should have resolved to involve India in another calamity. He should have passed the rest of his life in serving the victims of his *satyagraha*—widows, orphans and sonless mothers—but how can he abandon the love for popularity and the spirit of vengeance, the special signs of human weakness? In conclusion, the paper details his programme of non-coöperation and says that the path trodden by him is a wrong one and cannot lead to the desired goal.

Elsewhere the paper says that perhaps the Indian Muhammadans think that they will regain the Khilafat by resorting to non-coöperation. This idea can last only till there exists the mania that unrest in India can influence the British cabinet. The existing situation in Ireland proves, however, that it is impossible for such movements to affect the present ministry. It is not known, therefore what good will result from disturbing the peace of the country. In conclusion, the editor announces on behalf of the subscribers to his paper that the Muhammadans will participate in the non-coöperation movement with the Hindus only to a certain extent, *viz.*, one Muhammadan will renounce [Government] honours to every seven Hindus doing so. We do not wish to put ourselves in great trouble in order to get Home Rule.

INDIA (Gujranwala); Shamsher Singh, editor.

(d) *India* of the 18th September says that the Punjab atrocities, the unsympathetic attitude adopted by Government and the British public in the matter, patting the tyrants on the back, the barbarous treatment meted out to Indians and the gross injustice perpetrated on the score of racial distinctions are responsible for the Congress resolution. Non-coöperation is undoubtedly a very powerful and harmless weapon, but a very stout heart and great courage are required to wield it. Mr. Gandhi thinks that India is wholly fit to practise non-coöperation, but we cannot discern such capacity in our countrymen and have our doubts as to the success of the movement.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dyal, editor.

(e) The *Virat* of the 20th September says that it is improper to express disappointment or to rail at the decision arrived at by the foremost political body of India. The honour of the country is now bound up with the success of the non-coöperation movement. The Congress leaders should not only themselves follow the programme adopted by the Congress, but should also induce others to do so. There is no need for them to feel cast down; the history of the world tells us that truth prevails in the end. India wants justice from Great Britain, and her struggle for it, which is constitutional, cannot be scoffed at. The public also, which has almost forced the Congress to adopt the above resolution, should try to make the movement a success.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(f) The *Jiwan Tat* of the 21st September says that several Congressmen who voted against Mr. Gandhi's resolution on non-coöperation are leaving the Congress. The event shows that that body has made a serious mistake in accepting Mr. Gandhi's proposal. Indeed, the contemplated programme of non-coöperation is most harmful for the country, while there is a likelihood of it causing further division in the Congress camp.

IMAM (Lahore); Taj-ud-Din, editor.

(g) The *Imam* of the 21st September says that it is a sincere supporter of the Khilafat and a true well-wisher of its country and community. Consequently it heartily bids godspeed to the non-coöperation movement, by means of which we can achieve a success which can hardly be gained with the aid of aeroplanes, spears, swords, machines and long range guns. Non-coöperation is, besides no new thing: this most useful and harmless weapon has existed from earliest times and been employed by every nation at crises like the present. The question, however, is whether the Muhammadans will fully act upon the non-coöperation policy. If not all, at least 10 per cent. of them will certainly follow this policy, seeing that their hearts are filled with true love for Islam and they cannot bear to witness the ghastly spectacle of its ruin. Their faith demands that they should on no account maintain friendly relations with the powers which are bent upon the destruction of the Islamic empire. If an individual severs his connection with a faithless and ungrateful person, we fail to understand why the latter should force his benefactor to preserve the connection and compel that good-hearted and oppressed person to remain on friendly terms with him and continue to do favours to him, although he may subject him [his benefactor] to any amount of trouble and work day and night to involve him in ruin. Continuing, the paper refers to the alleged martial law atrocities on "loyal servants" [Indians], and asks whether any self-respecting person can tolerate such tyrannies and serve his master or whether the latter can force him to continue in his service. In my opinion, says the editor, a human being cannot undertake this service: only an animal can, to some extent, be expected to do so.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(h) The *Vakil* of the 22nd September says that the decision of the Congress in regard to non-coöperation has caused a difference of opinion among the Congressmen. The Congress is, however, the greatest emblem of the united Indian nationality, and its honour can be maintained only if its decisions are implicitly obeyed. If the Congressmen cannot do so they have only one way open to them, *viz*, to sever their connection with the Congress, provided they honestly believe that this is essential, not for their personal benefit, but in the interests of the nation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(i) MR. DUNI CHAND, Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, writes to the *Tribune* of the 24th September:—"In view of the resolution on non-coöperation adopted by the special session of the . . . . Congress . . . . I have definitely decided to avoid seeking election to the new provincial Council. . . . My humble advice to my countrymen, . . . is that they should not go to the Councils, and to the voters is that they should not vote unless and until our grievances connected with the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat question are redressed, and till we get such a measure of self-government as will make the recurrence of official misdeeds such as those of last year in the Punjab an impossibility and we are able to live a free life in our own country as others are living in theirs"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(j) The paper also publishes the following letter from LALA LAJPAT RAI:—"Permit me to point out that in my judgment the two clauses of the non coöperation resolution passed by the special Congress relating to schools and courts stand on an entirely different footing from the one relating to the boycott of the Councils. The introduction of the word 'gradual' gives ample justification for taking no immediate action thereupon. Any interpretation put upon them by Mr. Gandhi is not binding on those who are inclined to put a different construction so long as the latter is borne out by the language of the clauses themselves. There can be no justification for charging those who decide to enter the Councils with lack of loyalty to the Congress or of patriotism, but the resolution has, in my humble opinion, a special significance for the Punjabis. The Punjab wrong is one of the two principal causes which have been instrumental in inducing the country to adopt the resolution, and it certainly looks odd that the Punjab should feel any hesitation in acting up to it." Commenting on the above in its issue of the 26th September, the paper says:—"When we say that a process is to be gradual what we usually mean is that it is to take place by slowly progressive, as distinguished from rapid, degrees, and not that its very commencement can be indefinitely put off. As we understand it, what the phrase means in the present case is that all legal practitioners need not suspend their practice, nor need all parents of boys withdraw their wards from schools, at once and simultaneously; the requirements of the case would be met by a beginning being made by a steady onward movement towards the goal. But the point is that 'a gradual boycott' must also be a boycott, and cannot be another name for no-boycott, pending a reconsideration of the resolution. Such a meaning is not sustainable whether under the mandate theory or under the theory, associated with the honoured name of Lala Lajpat Rai, that the resolution is morally binding."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*k*) The following occurs in the leader in the *Tribune* of the 29th September on the report of the Congress sub-committee appointed to draft instructions in regard to the resolution on non-coöperation :—" As regards the [boycott of schools and colleges by the parents of boys,] we dissent from every proposition advanced by the Committee. It is not essential, to attain *swaraj* within a measureable period, to be able to dispense with Government employment which the college degrees promise. What is essential is that at a certain stage of development and in certain circumstances Government employment should be abandoned at a moment's notice .... Secondly, it is not enough for the purpose of establishing national schools, to empty the present Government-owned and Government-controlled schools and colleges. A system of national schools and colleges, which would be able even tolerably to take the place of the present schools and colleges, all of which are in one way or another connected with the Government, cannot be brought into existence in a day or even a year .... Thirdly and lastly, it is utterly impracticable for a whole nation to rely on private education, and failing it apprentice its boys to patriotic merchants and artisans."

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

5. (*a*) Referring to the adoption by the Congress of a resolution on non-coöperation, the *Punjab Durpan* of the 15th [received on the 23rd] September says that the movement is dangerous and the Sikhs, who lag far behind other communities in education, should not at present identify themselves with it.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 29th September writes :—" The subjects committee of the Diwan held .... at Narli (district Lahore), passed a non-coöperation resolution.... God only knows what we are drifting to. But one thing we may be certain about, and that is, that the future comes not with hasty decisions and impatient and imitative deliberations. To be virtually at war with the Government. . . . requires more mature and prolonged consideration, and more practical commonsense and more ' calculations ' of the best and the worst hopes. Have we done all that ? "

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The employment of Indian troops abroad.

6. Writing about the Indian demand for the withdrawal of sepoys from Mesopotamia, the *Vakil* of the 25th September says that the continued dispatch of Indian troops to Mesopotamia has irritated even a moderate like Babu S. N. Banerjee. After asking whether the above demand is or is not just, the paper enquires whether the British Colonies did not recall their forces the moment the armistice was signed, and why Indian troops are being unhesitatingly sent to Mesopotamia. Why, it wishes to know, is all this done and who is to profit by it ? Is it not a fact that the British Government is anxious only to benefit British capitalists ? We do not mean to suggest that we should have had no objection to the dispatch of Indian soldiers to Mesopotamia, if India was to be benefited thereby. We have no right to interfere with [*lit.* to take advantage of] the independence of other peoples. It is absolutely necessary to withdraw Indian troops from Mesopotamia, and not to send any [*lit.* more] soldiers from India to that or any other country.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The new Under-Secretary of State.

7. (*a*) Writing about the appointment of Lord Lytton as Under-Secretary of State for India, the *Tribune* of the 28th September says :—" Several of our contemporaries have expressed their regret that Lord Sinha should have been succeeded.... by Lord Lytton instead of by an Indian..... There is no Indian in the House of Commons at present, and as the Secretary of State is in that House, the Under-Secretary has, both according to the usual practice of late years as well as on obvious grounds of convenience, to be selected from among the members of the other House. This means, in plain English, that another Indian must be created a peer before he could step into Lord Sinha's shoes. Now we must say quite frankly that we are not in favour of the peerage gradually becoming an established institution in India. There were special circumstances in the case of Lord Sinha, and when such circumstances combine again, the experiment may again be tried. But let not Indian public men be made peers, merely that the Under-Secretary of State may always be an Indian."

(b) The *Desh* of the 29th September asks whether no competent Indian was available to fill the office vacated by Lord Sinha. The people will feel extremely sorry if his Lordship proves to be the first and the last Indian Under-Secretary of State for this country.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The *swadeshi* movement.

8. The *Partap* of the 24th September refers to the boycott of British goods and the promotion of indigenous industries in America in consequence of the passing of the Stamp Act. Commenting, it says that if Indians wish to make the *swadeshi* movement a success they should follow the methods adopted by the Americans. Every one of them, from the highest to the lowest, should wear only country-made cloth, *i. e.*, cloth made of Indian cotton, by Indian labour and in Indian factories. It behoves the patriots to spread the idea to every nook and corner of the country.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Shastri's resolution.

9. Commenting upon the Viceroy's explanation of his action in disallowing Mr. Shastri's resolution on the Punjab affairs, the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th September says that the fact of the matter is that a guilty conscience dislikes a recital of the tyrannies practised by it. Lord Chelmsford feels that unspeakable tyrannies have been perpetrated on the Punjab and that, to a certain extent, he himself is responsible for them. He also realises that his conscience prevents his making any satisfactory reply [to a question on the subject] and consequently he fears the ordeal. Next, the paper refers to His Excellency's remark that he considers Indian life and honour to be sacred, and goes on to say that it constitutes the greatest atrocity on his part. He should know by this time that, so far from pacifying aggrieved hearts, such things cause still further pain to them. To say that he regards Indian honour and life as sacred as Mr. Sinha or Mr. Shastri does is to offer an insult to Indian patriots. Continuing, the paper details the compensation paid to the survivors of certain of the people killed at the Jallianwala Bagh and to the Europeans wounded in last year's disturbances. These figures, it comments, show what value Lord Chelmsford places on the lives and honour of Indians and those of Englishmen, respectively. The maximum amount paid for the loss of an Indian life is Rs. 550, while that for an English life is Rs. 2,00,000. Only about Rs. 14,000 was distributed to forty Indians, but nearly five lakhs of rupees to seven or eight Englishmen. The *Bande Mataram* then complains of the inadequancy of the punishments awarded to the offending martial law officers, and asks whether it can be sufficient punishment for a savage like Bosworth Smith, who disgraced not one but hundreds of respectable Indian women, to be told that Government regards his action as having been very bad. Again, can the expression of such an opinion mean anything in the case of a man like O'Brien, who has been turned out of a district to become Resident in three Native States.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Amritsar indemnity.

10. Referring to a manifesto by DR SATYAPAL B.A., M.B., calling upon the people of Amritsar not to pay the unjust indemnity imposed upon their city, the *Partap* of the 24th September says that an indemnity of twenty lakhs is too heavy for the inhabitants of Amritsar to pay. This being so, there is nothing left for them but to enter a strong protest against the imposition of the indemnity. And if their protest proves barren of result, they should adopt the Doctor's proposal and totally refuse to pay the impost.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

The Sikhs and postal holidays.

11. The *Sikh* of the 26th September writes :—"Need we prove by quoting the exact figures that there is a large number of Sikhs in the Punjab Postal Department? If not, then why has their claim to the enjoyment of such Sikh holidays as the birthdays of Sri Guru Nanak Dev and Sri Guru Gobind Singh not been duly recognised so far, notwithstanding that they have been declared as gazetted public holidays? In view of such a clear notification, there is no reason why on those sacred days of the Sikhs the post offices should not close just as they do for the Bisakhi, Dussehra, Id and Muharrim. We have been really astonished to see that 'Guru Nanak's Birthday' and 'Guru Gobind Singh's Birthday' are simply conspicuous by their absence in the list of holidays published in the Postal Guide for 1920. We therefore respectfully

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

but strongly, in view of our evident claims as one of the three communities in the Punjab, draw the attention of the Punjab Government and the Postmaster-General, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, to the glaring omission in the earnest hope that the complaint will at once be removed."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Rikabganj *gurdwara*.

12. The *Akali* of the 27th September states that a letter from the Delhi Diwan reports that the Chief Engineer has no objection to the Sikhs rebuilding the old, dismantled wall of the Rikabganj *gurdwara*. Commenting, the paper says that "we do not at present feel very glad or thankful to Government," because the community is demanding that Government itself, which demolished the wall, should rebuild it. Proceeding, it writes that the present victory is due to the readiness of the *Shahidi Dal* [the Army of Martyrs raised by Sardul Singh] for bearing every trouble [in the cause of the *gurdwara*] and to the Sikh spirit and courage displayed by them. We shall now wait for some time and if Government makes no announcement by then regarding the wall being reconstructed by it, or does not get it rebuilt, five Sikhs out of the *Shahidi Dal* will be dispatched to Delhi. They will arrange for bricks and lime with the help of the local Diwan and Sikhs and fix a date for the *Dal* to reach Delhi and rebuild the sacred wall.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

***Babe-di Ber*, Sialkot.**

13. *(a)* The following is from the *Sikh* of the 26th September :—" Sardar Sajjan Singh, Secretary, Khalsa Diwan, writes :—'Gurdwara Babe-di-Ber, Sialkot, is a well-known Sikh shrine .... The *Mahant* being now dead.... [his] widow has, against the practice and principles of Sikhism, appointed, with the official approval, one Ganda Singh, an apostate, as manager of the shrine, who does nothing but injure Sikh feelings by uncalled-for interference in their religious observances. He prevents even the holding of *shabed kirtan*. Now finding that he alone cannot succeed in his evil ways, he has got some women to insult and abuse the *sangat*. But nothing can shake the determination of the *sangat* to rid the sacred shrine of the influence and interference of an insolent renegade. .... The apostate Ganda Singh has got a man of his to file a case under Section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, against five members of the *sangat*, and the District Magistrate has issued notice for security of Rs. 5,000 against each of them.... It is certainly a scene worthy of the gods, the gallant Khalsa being prepared to take what steps may be necessary to preserve the sacred shrine of their Sat Guru against sacrilege.' " Commenting, the *Sikh* writes :—" Brothers, it is a question of life and death for us ... It is a question of self-respect and honour, without which no community can be worth the name. Now, can we tolerate the precincts sanctified by the feet of Sri Guru Nanak Dev being polluted by the touch of an apostate ? If not, we must do all we constitutionally can to bring him to his senses. Let the Government officials, who are so mistaken as to recognise an apostate as manager of a well-known Sikh shrine, know that we will not rest until we have ousted the man. The best course for them therefore is to help the community and not to entertain the bogus claims of the imposter. We hope Mr. Fyson [the Deputy Commissioner,] will not fail to rise to the occasion. We are sanguine the Punjab Government will not commit the blunder of disregarding the Sikh feelings in the matter. Immediate intervention with a view to pour oil on troubled waters is the best course that we can suggest."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mahan Singh, editor.

(b) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 28th September :—" The Khalsa that is the ultimate authority in these religious matters, insists that an apostate should not enter the holy precincts. . . . He has no right to possess any post of responsibility in connection with any sacred Sikh institution or organization. Why is he not, then and there, removed from the mangership in deference to the just wishes and requests and demands of millions of law-abiding citizens, whose most delicate sentiments are involved in the case ? He ought not to be there for a day more. The people have grasped the central point of a universal solution for this and similar questions with a characteristic fearlessness. Let the authorities now grasp it and come upon a result characterized by equal courage and frankness in giving what is due. Will the orders of the Deputy Commissioner and the interference of the police keep up the calmness of atmosphere which is desired so much ? Will they ward off the gathering of small dark clouds on the horizon ? If not,

is not a little conciliatory and sympathetic attitude coupled with the strength of conviction to impart justice irrespective of any consideration of privilege and prestige, calculated to do immense good ? "

The *kirpan.*

Akali (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

14. The *Akali* of the 27th September says that it will gratify the Sikhs to learn that the Commander-in-Chief has permitted Sikh soldiers to wear the *kirpan* with their uniform. We would, adds the paper, invite His Excellency's attention to the Sikh soldiers who were dismissed, imprisoned or fined for wearing the *kirpan*. All of them should be reinstated, and the fines recovered from them should be refunded.

Kine-killing at northern Arcot.

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

15. The *Desh* of the 29th September states that preparations are said to be in progress for opening a slaughter-house in northern Arcot. It fails to understand why the mistake, which has been rectified by the Central Provinces Government after a long discussion, is going to be repeated in Madras. It is to be hoped that Lord Willingdon's Government will keep in view the country's feelings in regard to cow-killing and abstain from doing anything likely again to create unrest everywhere.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Duke of Connaught.

India (Gujranwala); Shamsher Singh, editor.

16. *India* of the 18th September publishes some notes from "DIWANA." One of these is to the following effect :—We hear that the Duke of Connaught is about to come here. But what does it matter to us whether he comes to-day and departs to-morrow, seeing that he is not going to listen to the outcry of the afflicted. The poor and oppressed will be unable to find access to His Royal Highness. Our Government will make a bugbear of him and rigorously try to keep him apart [from the people]. Of course cunning and slaves-of-the-stomach flatterers will certainly have the pride of approaching him, but what have they got to do with the grievances and complaints of the public ?

Mr. Gandhi.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

17. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 29th September :—" The representatives of Anglo-India in the House of Commons have been trying their level best to egg Mr. Montagu on to take some sort of action against Mr. Gandhi . . . . Mr. Gandhi is at this moment the most popular figure in Indian politics, and his position, alike on account of the loftiness of his principles, of his high character and saintly life and his absolute self-abnegation, is immensely higher than that of Mr. Parnell when he was at the height of his power and authority in Nationalist Ireland. What Mr. Gladstone said of Mr. Parnell on a memorable occasion—that if he went, all restraining influence in Ireland would go with him—is, therefore, even truer of Mr. Gandhi, in this country and at this moment. Besides, Mr. Gandhi, unlike Mr. Parnell, has never given occasion for even the shadow of a suspicion against him either for insincerity or for condonation of crime. On the contrary, in every case of lawlessness his has been the loudest and sincerest voice in its condemnation. To touch such a man, who is at this moment literally the idol of millions, would, indeed, be an act of short-sighted folly of which we do not consider either the Government of India or any local Government to be capable."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE :
The 2nd October 1920.

97 SB—187—6-10-20—SGPP Lahore.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1920.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

o.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. P. Hardy	*Civil & Military Gazette* Press, Lahore; 3,499.
2	**Pindi Mail***	Rawalpindi	Fazal Ilahi	Commercial Union Press, Rawalpindi; 1,200.
3	**Tribune**	Lahore	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 6,276.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Mohan Singh, B.A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 888.
5	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	*Liberal* Press, Lahore; 1,000.
6	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 600.
7	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
8	**Sikh**	Lahore	Bakhshish Singh	Caxton Printing Press, Lahore; 500.
9	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. B. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,350.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	*Punjabee* Press, Lahore; 700.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 462.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 300.
14	**Vedic Magazine**	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 465.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Aftab**	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
17	**Akhbar-i-'Am***	Do.	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
18	**Bande Matram**	Do.	Lajpat Rai	*Bande Matram* Press, Lahore; 5,000.
19	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,270.
20	**Dard**	Amritsar	Dina Nath Sharma	Nath Press, Amritsar;
21	**Home Rule***	Lahore	Amar Nath *Shad*	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,800.
22	**Imam**	Do.	Taj-ud-Din Ahmad, *Taj*	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore;
23	**Ittifaq**	Do.	Ghulam Muhammad Khan	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore;
24	**Leader***	Do.	Sham Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
25	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,280.
26	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,500.
27	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 650.
28	**Railway***	Do.	Labh Singh	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore; 1,000.
29	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishen Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 400.
30	**Siyasat**	Lahore	Habib Shah	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
31	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 700.
32	**Waqt***	Do.	Durga Das Vaid	*Waqt* Press, Amritsar; 500.
33	**Zamindar**	Lahore	Zafar Ali Khan	Muslim Printing Press, Lahore;

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1920—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONTINUED.			
	BI-WEEKLY.			
34	**Akhbar-i-Am** ...	Lahore ...	Gopi Nath ...	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore;
35	Al-Fazal ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Ghulam Nabi ..	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 917.
36	**Paigham-i-Sulah** ...	Lahore ...	Murtza Khan ...	Muslim Ahmadia Printing Press, Lahore; 327.
37	**Vakil** ..	Amritsar ...	Abdulla Minhas ..	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,695.
	WEEKLY.			
38	Ahl-i-Hadis ...	Amritsar ...	Sana Ulla ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,225.
39	**Akhbar-i-'Am** ...	Lahore ...	Gopi Nath ...	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 1,475.
40	Al-Hakam ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	S. Yakub Ali ...	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 500.
41	**Al-Munir** ...	Jhang ...	Ghulam Hussain ...	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang; 1,525.
42	Al-Quraish ...	Amritsar ...	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 300.
43	**Ar-Rai** ...	Lahore ...	Fateh Muhammad ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
44	Arorbans Gazette ...	Amritsar ...	Narain Das ...	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 500.
45	Arorbans Sudharak ...	Lahore ...	Salig Ram ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 750.
46	**Arya Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Khushal Chand, B.A. (now Dr. Dharm Dev).	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,225.
47	Brahman Samachar ...	Do. ...	Vidya Rattan ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 877.
48	Desh Upkarak ...	Do. ...	Thakar Dat Sharma ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
49	Dharm ...	Do. ...	Karam Chand Bahl ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
50	Faruq ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Qasim Ali ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 450.
51	Gulzar-i-Hind ...	Lahore ...	Ahmad Ali, Chishti ...	Gulzar-i-Mohammadi Steam Press, Lahore;
52	**Himala** ..	Do. ..	Dina Nath ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 6,200.
53	**India** ...	Gujranwala ...	Shamsher Singh, Khanjar, B.A	People's Press, Lahore;
54	Intikhab-i-Lajawab ...	Lahore ...	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 2,156.
55	Ittihad ..	Amritsar ...	Muhammad Sardar Khan, Nashat.	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar; 300.
56	**Jat Gazette** ...	Rohtak ...	Molar Singh ...	Hariana Press, Rohtak; 691.
57	Jiwan Tat ...	Lahore ...	Amar Singh ...	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 549.
58	**Kashmiri Magazine** ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Din, Fauq ..	George Steam Press, Lahore; 763.
59	**Khalsa Akhbar** ...	Do. ...	Sardar Singh ..	People's Press, Lahore; 1,300.
60	**Loyal Gazette** ..	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 3,000.
61	**Municipal Gazette** ..	Do. ...	Din Muhammad ..	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 410.
62	Nur Afshan ..	Ludhiana ...	Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry ...	Mission Steam Press, Ludhiana; 500.
63	**Paisa Akhbar** ...	Lahore ...	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 3,530.
64	**Parkash** ...	Do. ...	Radha Krishna, B.A. ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,545.
65	Phul ..	Do. ...	Mumtaz Ali ...	*Punjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
66	**Punjab Samachar** ..	Do. ...	Hira Lal, Kapur ...	George Steam Press, Lahore;
67	Rajput Gazette ...	Do. ...	Sukhram Das ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,12[illegible].
68	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak ..	Amritsar ...	Ralia Ram ...	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 630.
69	**Shanti*** ..	Rawalpindi ...	Kishan Chand, Mohan ...	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 834.
70	Sharif Bibi ..	Lahore ...	Fatima ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
71	**Sidaqat** ..	Do. ...	Ghulam Haider Khan ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
72	Tahzib-i-Niswan ...	Do. ...	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	*Punjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,400.
73	Victoria Paper ...	Sialkot ...	Brij Lal ...	*Victoria* Press, Sialkot; 1,000.
74	**Virat** ...	Gujranwala ...	Banke Dial ...	*Virat* Press, Gujranwala;

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1920—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
75	Watan	Lahore	Akbar Shah Khan	Karimi Steam Press, Lahore ; 780.
76	Zulfiqar	Do.	Ahmad Shah Shamshi	Shamshi Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
77	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Abu Turab Muhammad Abdul Haq.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 500.
78	Intikhab	Gujranwala	Wali Ullah	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
79	Mukhbir	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar ; 200
80	Sialkot Paper	Sialkot	Todar Mal	Indar Press, Sialkot ; 125.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
81	Aijaz-ul-Quran*	Amritsar	Zia Ullah	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 300.
82	Al-Faqih	Do.	Hakim Miraj Din	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar ; 300.
83	Mister Gazette	Lahore	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore ; 200.
84	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 417.
85	Paigham-i-Sarin	Lahore	Dogar Mal	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
86	Rajput Hitkari	Do.	Waswandhi Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 875.
	MONTHLY.			
87	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra	Amritsar	Moti Ram	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar ; 200.
88	Al Aziz	Batala	Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar ; 500.
89	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore ; 325.
90	Anwar-us-Sufia	Do.	Hafiz Zafar Ali	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 800.
91	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Mukand Lal	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 550.
92	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai, Bishwasi	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
93	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500.
94	Mehra Sudhar	Do.	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A.	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
95	Makhzan	Do.	Ahsan Ullah, Tajwar	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 750.
96	Martand	Do.	Ram Lal	*Martand* Printing Press, Lahore ; 1,065.
97	Mastana Jogi	Do.	Sufi Lachhman Parshad	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,200.
98	Naqshband*	Sialkot	Ahmad Din	*Naqshband* Press, Sialkot ; 400.
99	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mittar Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala ; 800.
100	Qasid	Montgomery	James William	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
101	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Lahore	Pir Bakhsh	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
102	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore City	Manohar Lal	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City ; 500.
103	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Sanatan Dharam Press, Amritsar ; 800.
104	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 570.
105	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 7,500.
106	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 226.
107	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Zahur Din	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 700.

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1920—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI.			
	DAILY.			
108	**Akali**	Lahore	Mangal Singh, B.A. ...	People's Press, Lahore;
109	**Shakti***	Amritsar	Dina Nath Sharma ...	Nath Press, Amritsar; 1, 00.
	WEEKLY.			
110	**Bir** ...	Amritsar ...	Mehtab Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 500.
111	**Khalsa Samachar** ...	Amritsar ...	Vir Singh ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,500.
112	**Panch** ...	Lahore ...	Ram Singh ...	People's Press, Lahore; 1,000.
113	**Panth Sewak** ...	Amritsar ...	Chanda Singh ...	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,000.
114	**Punjab Darpan** ...	Do. ...	Sucha Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 950.
115	**Satjug** ...	Lahore ...	Narinkar Singh ...	Partap Hari Press, Lahore;
116	**Sikh Sepoy** ...	Ferozepore City ...	Tek Singh ...	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd, Ferozepore City; 1,000.
117	**Sri Guru Nanak Darshan.**	Amritsar ...	Sant Sumer Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,000.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
118	Nirguniara ...	Amritsar ...	Khalsa Tract Society ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 1,200.
	MONTHLY.			
119	Panjabi Bhain ...	Ferozepore ...	Takht Singh ...	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore City; 500.
	HINDI.			
	DAILY.			
120	Yuvati aur Yuvak* ...	Amritsar ...	Dr. Gurbakhsh Rai ...	Navyug Press, Amritsar;
	MONTHLY.			
121	Jat Sepoy	Rohtak ...	Kesari Devi, B.A. (Hindi) ...	Star Press, Delhi; 150.
122	Jyoti	Lahore ...	Vidyavati Seth, B.A. ...	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore;
123	Sewak ...	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 25 .

*, Ceased.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Indians in Fiji.

1 A correspondent writing to the *Desh* of the 25th September states that the latest letters from Fiji show that the policy of terrorism is still in force there. After referring to certain cases brought against some Indians there in support of this statement, the writer says that Mr. Gandhi's solution of the difficulty, namely, that all the Indians in Fiji should return to India, is of an impracticable character. Next, he makes the following suggestions for the consideration of the Indian public :—

DESH; (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*a*) The conduct of the Government of India in sending out a commission to inquire into the condition of labourers in Fiji is tantamount to adding insult to injury, seeing that it has refused our request for an inquiry into the recent Fiji disturbances. No self-respecting Indian should, therefore consent to serve as a member of the commission.

(*b*) We should appoint an independent commission to inquire into the causes and results of the said disturbances

(*c*) We should publish and circulate broadcast pamphlets, in all Indian languages, on the disturbances referred to.

Tribal raids.

2. The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th September publishes a letter from its Frontier correspondent, who reports the commission of tribal raids on Saidgi post and engine shed on the 16th and 17th, respectively, and says that in previous years such raids used to be committed only in the cold weather. Now, however, there hardly passes a night on which dacoits from tribal territory do not commit or attempt a raid. The people of Bannu apprehend great danger from them during the ensuing winter. It is hoped, therefore, that Government will adopt suitable measures in the matter.

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Non-coöperation.

3. (*a*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 22nd [received on the 30th] September asks who will act upon the non-coöperation resolution adopted by the Calcutta Congress. The delegates who voted for the resolution have made a mistake which cannot be rectified. It is easy to pass a resolution, but a great sacrifice is required to act upon it. The path into which the extremists are leading the country is full of thorns, and the policy of boycotting the Councils is a suicidal one.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dyal, editor.

(*b*) The *Virat* of the 27th September says that Government should leave aside the question whether or not the non-coöperation movement will prove a success. It should find out the causes which have brought about the present situation. No Indian would have approved of the movement if the authorities had not been guilty of unpleasant doings. Even the humblest person in the country is not, besides, willing at heart to resort to non-coöperation. When the people can see no other remedy, however, they feel compelled to wield this weapon. Nevertheless, they do not think of cutting off all connection with Government for ever. Indeed, even the present action on their part reveals a desire for a permanent connection with Government. We would request Government, therefore, to go to the bottom of the question and remove the grievances of India. So far the situation has not assumed such an unpleasant aspect as to cease to be amenable to control Those who counsel Government to adopt a repressive policy are its enemies, seeing that the present state of affairs is the result only of the pursuit of such a policy by Government in the past.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 27th September is of opinion that it would be detrimental to the best interests of the country to demand that foreign goods should not be used in any circumstances. It would be sufficient at present to take from the people the vow that they will prefer *swadeshi* articles to imported goods even at some sacrifice. Extreme haste has been displayed by the special Congress in passing a resolution on non-coöperation If the Nagpur Congress places all the aspects of the question before the delegates they will be certain to reconsider it.

(*d*) Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter from SWAMI SHARADHANAND, who says in the course of his remarks that national educational institutions are already being run in the Punjab. The managers of these institutions should be compelled forthwith to refuse any aid received by them from Government They should also be made to write to the University that they have now absolutely no connection with it If this is done, the number of national schools and colleges in this province will be one-and-a-half times larger than that of Government and missionary institutions. The nation should cease to help the denominational schools, the managers of which go counter to its wishes, and should also remove its children from them. In the opinion of the writer all schools and colleges—private or aided—should at once sever their connection with the University. Our children, he adds, will then get rid of servitude to foreigners. Again, no Frank Johnson will venture to debar them from appearing at examinations or to force the principals of our colleges to present innocent students for punishment.

(*e*) In criticising the Congress sub-committee's report on the non-coöperation programme in its issue of the 1st October, the paper says that if other provinces practice non-coöperation in consequence of the injustice done to the Punjab, but the people here do not throw themselves into the movement heart and soul, an indelible blot will be cast on their fair name. The Punjab has not so far lagged behind other parts of the country in any matter, and we hope that it will not let itself be outstripped by any other province even in this present national struggle.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore): Abdul Majid Khan, proprietor.

(*f*) The *Zamindar* of the 28th September publishes the message in which Maulana Shaukat Ali urges the Muhammadans at once to withdraw from their candidature to the Councils. His co-religionists, he adds, are forced by the commands of God and the Prophet to carry on the non-coöperation movement. If they display the least indifference now they will not only have to weep for the Khilafat and their holy places, but will even lose their national existence. It is also necessary for them to collect fund to make the movement a success. Commenting on the above, the *Zamindar* says that all the Muhammadan Councillors ought to have resigned their seats immediately on hearing of the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee and the *ulemas*. The patriots who raise the voice of truth in the Councils are abused, insulted and censured, whereas sycophants and toadies are honoured by [the authorities], and their relations are won over by the grant of high posts. All this goes to show that the Councils are very harmful for Indians' sense of self-respect. Both Hindus and Muhammadans should abstain from entering such Councils, BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(g) LALA LAJPAT RAI writing in the *Bande Matram* of the 28th September says that it is his heart-felt desire that lawyers may gradually give up their practice and that Government courts may be boycotted and replaced by *panchayats.* He does not, however, feel confident of success in these matters. The writer has, on principal, full sympathy with [the proposal] not to enlist in the army to fight outside India. And if efforts in this behalf do not constitute a legal offence, regarding which he can express no opinion at present, they will certainly be crowned with success. The country requires labourers, and one can earn a large sum of money by working in a factory. There is consequently no economic obstacle in the way of success in this direction. As to the boycott of the Councils, the writer favours it heart and soul. The truth, he adds, is that we have lost all faith in what British statesmen may say or do. It is ridiculous for us to coöperate with Government so long as it keeps under itself all the departments exercising real power, has the key of the treasury in its own hands, wields absolute powers over the army, the police, and the courts, prefers "prestige" to justice, is unwilling to take adequate notice of the excesses committed by its English and Indian servants, and relegates only unimportant rights to us. Next, the writer refers to the Viceroy's refusal to allow Mr. Shastri to move his resolution on the Punjab affairs, and says that the autocratic powers which the Governors will enjoy in the new Councils have made the membership of these bodies a matter of no consequence.

(h) The *Bande Matram* of the 1st October states that it is generally complained that while almost all the prominent Hindu leaders have withdrawn from their candidature to the Councils, their Muslim *confreres* have not done so in a similar number. The editor is not prepared to say that Hindus should not withdraw if Muhammadans hang back. Continuing, he says that while the Hindus feel agrieved over the Punjab atrocities alone, there are two such factors in the case of the Muhammadans, namely, these atrocities and the Khilafat question. This being so, it is only natural to expect the Muhammadans to give a lead in the matter. If the movement fails, they will be more responsible for this than the Hindus. It is all the more necessary for them at this juncture to gird up their loins [to practice non-coöperation]. Two journalists are in trouble because of the Khilafat, *viz.*, Zafar Ali Khan is being prosecuted and a libel case has been instituted against [the editor of] the *Tribune* [by Captain Hewett]. Will the Muslim sense of self-respect tolerate that while Zafar Ali should go to jail and a decree should be passed against the *Tribune*, Muhammadans should continue to seek election to the Councils? Our failure now will perhaps retard our progress for years to come. If the impression gets abroad that the Muhammadans have not made sufficient sacrifice at the time of trial, the results will prove most disastrous. It is to be hoped that Muslim candidates will not prefer their personal interests to national well-being.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(i) The *Ittifaq* of the 2nd October publishes an article in the course of which it urges the renunciation of titles, saying that much of our integrity and honesty has been swallowed up by these fictitious honours. The paper also favours the withdrawal of students from Government schools and colleges, and asks parents to give a part of their money for founding national and educational institutions. Further, it advocates the establishment of *panchayats* in place of the existing law courts, as also a boycott of the Councils on the ground that they have done no good to the people. In conclusion, it complains that although it was loudly proclaimed by Lala Lajpat Rai at the special Congress that the Muhammadans should set the example in the matter of non-coöperation, they are still locked up in sleep, notwithstanding the fact that their secular as well as spiritual assets have been, and are being, plundered. It prays God to enable them to act up to the blessed programme of non-coöperation.

(j) In its issue dated the 4th October the paper says that villagers are wholly ignorant of the non-co-operation movement. The leaders, it adds, have so far done nothing to enlighten them in the matters.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Mohan Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and non-co-operation.

4 (a). The *Khalsa Advocate* of 5th October writes:—"The Sikh deputation have returned—dissatisfied and disillusioned. . . . They are dissatisfied as to what they got and disillusioned in regard to their old hopes and expectations from the bureaucracy . . . Unless the Government take decisive steps to

conciliate Sikh public opinion in some of the minor matters, an easy solution of which is still possible and at hand, and unless the leaders at once take the serious responsibility of offering the right and more fruitful lead to the country, unless these two things are done, it is very possible, if not probable, that the Sikh community, too, may take 'the plunge' that would be so lamentable. The trend of events towards that plunge is clear. . . . Would the authorities realise this and with little tact, by accepting the only true definition of a Sikh, by giving a free hand to the representatives of the community in matters of religious trusts and by announcing their intention to release the prisoners, on the eve of the momentous visit, win the sturdy hearts of the Sikhs, more gracefully than ever."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following occurs in the course of a communication addressed to the *Tribune* of the 6th October by Mr. SEWA RAM SINGH, B.A., LL.B., a member of the Sikh deputation to England:—"In my opinion the best interests of the community to which I have the honour to belong, in spite of the indifferent success with which our mission to England met on account of the incorrigible and stubborn opposition of the Punjab Government to our claims, and in fact also the best interests of my country would be served by our returning our best men to all Councils, instead of our keeping aloof from them."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

India's aspirations.

5 (*a*). Commenting on the *Pall Mall Gazette's* article on the situation in India, the *Tribune* of the 5th October says:—"When the writer says that 'every genuine grievance that can be removed must be removed,' he evidently forgets that at present the most genuine of all India's genuine grievances is the very existence of the bureaucratic form of rule. . . . . The removal of individual grievances, no matter how important or useful they may be in themselves, will not by itself go a long way towards restoring the old conditions of amity. They can be restored only by definitely recognising the obligation of England to confer the fullest measure of self-government on the country within the shortest time, and by setting about discharging this obligation in an ungrudging spirit."

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

(*b*) The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 25th September says that our leader hints indirectly that liberty means freedom from rule by a foreign nation. Religion constitutes nationality in India, and this is why Indians hate Great Britain and regard her rule as that of a foreign race. Otherwise both Indians and the British are of the same race, in view of which, the unrest our leaders are causing is a meaningless thing. The white brother brought up and educated the black. The latter has now forgotten all the former's favours, and is after taking his life. Is this fair? Is this not an act of selfishness? Is this what liberty means? Why do you trample upon the ideas of the untold voiceless sons of mother India through your cries at the Congress, the conferences and Samajes? Why do you not openly say that you wish to rule over them as the British authorities do? The charges of tyranny and oppression we are levelling [? against the last named] are only lame excuses. In conclusion, the paper asks lawyers why they are making helpless Indians restless by asking them to practise non-coöperation.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

The Muhammadan and the present agitation.

6. The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 2nd October writes that the object of the present agitation [*lit.* unrest] is to overthrow British rule in India. There is a greater apprehension, however, of the Muhammadans being crushed. They are urged to practise non-coöperation and resort to *hijrat*, but, in his dream to achieve freedom with the formers' aid, Lala Lajpat Rai says, "we will [not] remain under any Muslim Government." In other words, the Muhammadans should always remain in slavery to the Hindus. They realise this move, and if they have any regard for the dignity of Islam, they should, instead of raising their voice against Great Britain, find a voice within the Empire. One Muhammad Shafi or Amir Ali can achieve nothing. They should produce a large number of such men. They may unite with the Hindus, but should do so on equal terms. Until they bring themselves on the same plane with the latter in education and trade, they should take no part in any common agitation. The members of the British Government do not know how to live as slaves or to enslave others. We should realise that we also had some hand in bringing about last year's occurrences. Again, if our conscience is not dead, we can judge how our doings during the Mutiny can place every member

of the English nation on his guard. Love begets Lords, while hate breeds its like. It is immaterial whether you make mischief by the sword or passive resistance; both excite passions. Continuing, the paper says that it also considers it a duty to advise Government to conciliate, and sympathise with, those poor, honest and helpless Muhammadans who have unjustly to suffer along with those who go against the law. It concludes by remarking that several misunderstandings will be removed if Government attaches special importance to Muslim interests.

The special Congress.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

7. "ALFERES" writes in the course of an article on the special Congress contributed by him to the *Liberal* of the 3rd October:—"We have passed the stage of mendicancy and begun to trust our own selves. We have come to realize that our solutions, the solution of our country must come from within. We have to wrest our freedom, if it is to be true and lasting freedom. It cannot be conferred upon us by somebody's favours or somebody's sympathies and in the struggle we shall have to make some dear and near sacrifices. The nation has signified its willingness to act and suffer."

The reforms.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

8. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th September publishes an article written by LALA LAJPAT RAI, who says in the course of his remarks that under the Minto-Morley reform scheme more Indians were admitted to the Councils. Not one useful Act was, however, passed by them, although the Government passed many laws positively harmful for the people with the support of the Indian members. Next, the writer contends that there is no truth in the claim by the moderates that the new Reform Act is the result of the agitation carried on by them, and says that the coming reforms are ascribable to the new life infused into the country through the teachings of Messrs. Arabindo Ghosh and Tilak. Continuing, he asserts that our disease cannot be cured even if all the Councils and the departments of Government are Indianised, but the ultimate direction of policy remains in the hands of foreigners. So long as the Governors can veto the decisions of the Councils, exercise full control over the national exchequer, and have the police, the army and the law-courts under them, no effective cure can be found for our disease. The moderates contend that the new scheme of reforms gives us rights by exercising which we can prove of some service to the nation. This is undesirable, but these rights are much too superficial and powerless to cure the malady from which we really suffer. The writer then goes on to say that formerly the Congress favoured only a symptomatic treatment, but that now it has changed everything. The old prescriptions have proved to be useless, and old garrulity has been given up. The people now discuss principles, and like simple, blunt words.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the appointment of presidents for the new Legislative Councils, the *Liberal* of the 3rd October says:—"Will not the Punjab, reputed as she is for the practical nature of her men, ... see the error of the Congress resolution and save the situation by her resolve to make the best use of the new Councils?"

Swaraj and publicity work.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. Commenting on Mr. Patel's proposals regarding publicity work in connection with the *swaraj* movement, the *Tribune* of the 5th October whole-heartedly associates itself with them, and says among other things:—"Mr. Patel realises that if the policy and the programme of non-coöperation are to produce the maximum of good results within the shortest time, we must take steps to keep both England and the rest of the civilised world properly informed of our doings. Left to itself not only would the bureaucracy in India take too long a time to make up its mind, but the worst and most reactionary of its members would actually repeat the tactics of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and seek to suppress the movement by force. Such tactics would no more prove successful in the future than they have done in the past, but they might surely delay the advent of the day of freedom. To avoid both contingencies the most effective weapon in our hands is publicity. We must not only invoke the judgment and conscience of England herself, who is ultimately responsible for the doings of her agents and servants in India, but appeal to the rest of the civilised world, and especially those parts of it whose good opinion England is bound to respect, and who have been among her foremost allies and comrades in the recent war. In other words, we must, in the words of the late Mr. Redmond,

do everything in our power to shame England into giving us what we want if she does not see her way to give it in spontaneous response to our demand."

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Dharm Dev, editor,

Indians and *swaraj.*

10. The *Arya Gazette* of the 30th September remarks that Zaghlul Pasha has shown the greatest spirit of self-sacrifice. He went on working zealously until he had secured complete freedom for his country. It is a pity that there are many people in India who are always ready to betray her for a Rai Bahadurship or a Khan Bahadurship. So long as the Indian nation is not purged of this element, it is idle for us to look for *swaraj*. It does not please us to see Indians become members of the Civil Service, *i.e.*, to see our brothers bent upon crushing our national feelings and always anxious to enhance the prestige of the bureaucracy. How many nationalists [? Indian] I. C. S.'s are there who spurn their posts and emoluments for the good of their nation and the betterment of their country? We wish that there may come into existence such a class of Indians.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Esher committee report.

11. (*a*) Writing about the Esher committee's report the *Tribune* of the 2nd October says.—"Is it a fact that the recommendations of the Government of India on this report were despatched to the Secretary of State in the beginning of this month? If so, it is obvious that the publication of the report cannot possibly serve the only useful purpose which such publications are expected to serve, that of influencing the decision of the ultimate authority. The Government of India having already had their say, and the Secretary of State's views being well known, there will be nothing for the Cabinet to do except to say ditto to Burke. Thus the general public is practically not to have even the usual satisfaction of having its opinions considered by the authorities. It would be interesting to know, again assuming that our information is correct, whether the extraordinary action taken by the Government of India in thus virtually ignoring Indian opinion in this vitally important matter has been taken with the approval or consent, or in the teeth of the protest, of the two Indian members. In the latter case, we have nothing to say, except that two Indian members are apparently just as powerless as one, when they have errayed against them the solid phalanx of European votes. In the former case public opinion will strongly condemn the failure of the two members to do what they could to safeguard Indian interests in a matter of such outstanding importance."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 3rd October the paper writes:—"In dealing with the report of the Esher Committee we propose to confine ourselves to those of its recommendations which have a direct and intimate bearing on the question of Indian autonomy. Other questions may be of importance from the point of view of the Government of India's military efficiency, but they are not of any real value to us in the present stage of our development. The first recommendation which calls for notice from this point of view is that while the army in India is to be under the control of the Government of India and not the War Office, steps are nevertheless to be taken the effect of which will be largely to transfer the control of India's military policy to the Imperial General Staff." After detailing the proposed arrangement the paper says:—"In other words, at a time when India is striving for full national autonomy, the control of the most important department of the Central Government is to be definitely vested in an authority which Indian opinion cannot even remotely influence. Even more unsatisfactory is the recommendation as to which the committee is divided, that a military supply department should be created with a civilian at its head, who shall be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The creation of a military supply department with a civilian at its head is not necessarily a measure which Indian public opinion need condemn, but the proposal to give this civilian a place in the Governor-General's Council stands on a very different footing, because it is bound effectively to upset the balance of ratio of Indian members which India has been led to expect. It has been distinctly understood that the Indian members shall be nearly, if not quite, one half of the Government of India... With the creation of the new portfolio, however, the Indian members shall be barely a third of the strength of the Council. The proposal, therefore, is one against which Indian opinion ought to, and we have no doubt will, enter its strong and emphatic protest... The third thing in the report that calls for energetic protest is the great disparity between its recommendations regarding the British and Indian officers.

While the recommendations in regard to the first are, on the face of them, specific, detailed and liberal, as regards the second they are meagre as well as halting. The feeling among Indian officers that they can never rise higher in rank than Risaldar-Major or Subadar-Major is, indeed, referred to but only to be dismissed with the observation that 'their disabilities are due only to want of education which is now one of the essential conditions of leadership'. We do not know that this is at all a valid plea, or that there are not plenty of men in the Indian army who. in spite of their not having any advanced education, could easily be promoted to higher ranks. But assuming that the plea is valid, the question has still to be answered why no attempt had been made until very recently to throw the higher ranks of the army open to Indians of admitted education, and why even now the steps that have been taken in the direction are only nominal? It appears that the Indian members did raise the question of instituting an Indian Sandhurst, but all that we are told about it is that 'they agreed eventually that the time is not yet ripe for consideration of such a scheme.' Of course, the time is never ripe in India? That is one of the incidental results of subjection. . . . It is natural after this that the Committee should lay great stress on the necessity of counteracting movements calculated to tamper with the loyalty of troops and emphasise the importance of propaganda and the greater use of the press. It clearly does not strike the authors of the report that nothing can be more useful in combating movements of the kind they are thinking of than the removal of just and keenly felt grievances, the most important of which is the existence of inequalities based on racial considerations. No amount of propaganda or use of the press will be of any avail so long as these inequalities continue to exist."

The next Viceroy.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

12. The *Akali* of the 4th October says that a staunch supporter of the bureaucracy and an inveterate opponant of Indians like Sir Michael O'Dwyer or Lord Sydenham should be the next Viceroy of India. It is only when such a man "comes before the public in the true colours of the bureaucracy" that the people will shake off their sleep and prove most helpful in making non-coöperation a success. A double-faced diplomat like Mr. Montagu will, however, [if appointed Viceroy] only add to our days of slavery. We pray to God, therefore, that the successor of Lord Chelmsford may be one who will practise rigour, so that the Indians may come to understand their real position, and the doubts of those who now harp on the theme of coöperation may be removed.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Offending martial-law officers.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

13. Commenting on Government's statement regarding the punishments awarded to the offending martial-law officers, the *Jat Gazette* of the 29th September says that these punishments are so inadequate and ridiculous that the announcement will cause a severe shock to Indians. To thus leniently punish the officers, who accorded a most severe and unjust and, in some cases, a savage treatment to Indians and whose acts mingled the latter's honour with the dust, is to trample underfoot the susceptibilities of the people of this country. It would appear that the honour of Indians is not appreciated and not the least regard is paid to their feelings. We are most sorry and surprised to see that Government is repeatedly making mistakes which are daily increasing feelings of indignation, distrust and dissatisfaction among the people. If the present state of affairs continues the gulf between the people and Government will go on widening.

Presidents of municipal committee.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd October suggests that just as Indian Ministers will be appointed from among the elected Councillors, presidents of municipal committees also should be drawn from among the elected members of these bodies. If the present state of things continues, people will probably become prepared to offer themselves for election in opposition to Deputy Commissioners, and the latter's defeat will be regrettable from the standpoint of Government's prestige. Government should, therefore, prohibit the said officers from seeking election before such a thing comes to pass.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Rikabganj *gurdawara*.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

15. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 24th September [received on the 2nd October] writes that the Khalsa Diwan, Delhi, does not represent the Sikh community, and that the settlement arrived at by it with the Chief Engineer about the wall of

the Rikabganj *gurdawara* is absurd and meaningless. The Sikhs are not prepared to accept it, and we would advise the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, and the Viceroy to issue a *communique* to the effect that the land belonging to the *gurdawara* acquired by the Government has been restored; that the land beyond the wall granted by Government will be the property of the Sikhs; that the old wall will continue to exist in its present condition; that Government will rebuild its demolished portion very early at its own cost; and that pilgrims will have full liberty to stay at the *gurdawara*. The publication of such a *communique* alone will pacify the Sikhs and remove the uneasiness prevailing among them. In the other event, we would request the authorities carefully to peruse the list of the martyrs who have volunteered to rebuild the dismantled wall. The Sikhs are prepared to do so and will not hesitate to lay down one head for each brick used. We feel confident that the authorities will not compel the Sikhs to make such a sacrifice and will speedily decide the question in a way acceptable to the community.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

The *kirpan*.

16. Referring to the permission to Sikh soldiers to wear the *kirpan* with their uniform, the *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 1st October expresses its inability to understand where is the magnificent gift over which the Chief Khalsa Diwan feels so much overjoyed. The *kirpan* is a religious symbol of the Sikhs and every one of them is bound to wear it. The authorities have, besides, no right to fix its size and pattern. This is a fresh attack on our religious liberty. The Sikhs have the right to wear *kirpans* of any size. The community should safeguard its right and raise a strong voice against the attack referred to.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Terminal tax on gold and silver.

17. LAL CHAND KHANNA, M.A., writes to the *Tribune* of the 3rd October:—"It is an astonishing fact to note, that according to the new terminal tax published for public criticism by the Lahore municipal committee, a terminal tax on gold and silver and articles made of them, is to be imposed at the rate of 1 anna and 6 pies per *tola* respectively. Such being the case I would like to mention that the proposed tax has created a sort of discontent all over Lahore. I cannot really understand on what basis this tax has been imposed when it is against public safety both as regards life and property. Men coming from outstations and specially females will be put to great inconvenience. They will have to expose their valuables before all present. *Badmashes*, pick-pockets, and thieves will come to know who possesses gold and silver. The results that are likely to result from the leaking out of this information are too evident to be dwelt upon. The tax would be detrimental to the local bullion market. Moreover, from an economic point of view, money metals should not be taxed by municipalities and district boards, as there is no precedence for the imposition of this tax by any municipality so far as my information goes. Only customs duty can be levied on these metals by the Imperial Government. Further, the Government of India intends to issue sovereigns and the Coinage Act has already been passed by the Imperial Legislative Council at its last session; but I think in the presence of this tax, sovereigns and rupees would not circulate in the market when their value as bullion will be more than their face value. Hence sovereigns and rupees will go into the melting pot, which will result in the utter failure of the recommendations of the Babington Committee."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor

The Duke of Connaught.

18. "A MUSALMAN" writing to the *Shanti* of the 30th September says that the destruction of the Khilafat and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre have shaken the people's faith [in England]. Again, the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the operations of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act have greatly disturbed the minds of Indians. This being so, the writer is unable to understand why the Prince of Wales or the Duke of Connaught should take the trouble to visit this country. It is clear that neither of them can remove the difficulties under which Indians are labouring at present. The people are not likely to derive any benefit from the Duke's proposed visit to India. Continuing, the writer says that the military expenditure and the rise in prices have well nigh involved the general public in bankruptcy, and that the condition of native chiefs is no better,

Besides, the latter have already spent and are still spending large sums of money to protect their subjects against famine. What have they got to offer to the Prince or the Duke in their present state of indigence? It would be another thing, if they did something out of fear of the Residents. Similarly, how can the poor and afflicted Indian public afford to decorate cities or spend on fireworks and illuminations? It is another thing if it did something out of fear of the authorities. It would be a mockery to indulge in frivolities, while hearts are stricken with grief. This is why the majority of plain-spoken people, who control public opinion or interpret it, are grumbling about the Duke's forthcoming visit to India.

Export of wheat from India.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

19. (*a*) A correspondent writing to the *Partap* of the 3rd October says that it is widely rumoured that Government intends to remove all restrictions regarding export of wheat from India. The result is that the prices of food-stuffs have begun abnormally to rise, and if the rumour proves to be well-founded, the people, especially those of them who are poor, will be involved in great trouble.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 4th October says that Government's decision to allow four hundred thousand tons of wheat to be exported from India has greatly disappointed the people. After remarking that there is now an apprehension of the prevailing dearness daily growing still more acute, the paper expresses its inability to understand why Government has, in spite of unanimous opposition from the country, permitted the export of wheat in such a large quantity. A few restrictions have undoubtedly been imposed by it, but they may be said to be only nominal. In conclusion, the paper asks since Canada and Australia have sufficiently large quantities of wheat, would it not be better to stop its export from India?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th October is sorry that Government has paid no regard to the requirements of Indians, as also to their sentiments and feelings. In view of the dreadful drought prevailing in northern India, the granary of the country, it was inadvisable to deprive the people even of a single seed of wheat. The condition of Indians is deplorable indeed, seeing that no heed is paid to their lamentations and cries. The authorities, who never hesitate to pose as their well-wishers, deprive them even of their dry bread by allowing the export of wheat from the country in lakhs of maunds. This is why the people now keenly feel the necessity of obtaining *swaraj* and have the country's fiscal policy in their own hands.

The *Muslim Outlook*.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

20. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd October remarks that the prohibition of the *Muslim Outlook's* entry into India is another extremely reprehensible event of Lord Chelmsford's viceroyalty. It is to be hoped that the servants of Islam will lose no time in starting another newspaper from London to keep the Muslim world informed of the condition of Muhammadans everywhere, as also of the Allies' actions and policy in regard to them.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 9th October 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Acts.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

1. Writing on the Auxiliary Forces and the Indian Territorial Force Acts the *Tribune* of the 12th October says:—"While applications are already invited for enrolment in the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, no such action is or can be taken in the case of Indians, because the regulations, to be framed by the Governor-General in Council under the second Act, are not yet published. We should like to know whether the Government of India will proceed to issue these regulations early enough to form the contemplated local units of Indian volunteers simultaneously with the formation of units composed of Europeans. It would obviously be very unfair to proceed with the latter and delay the former for any length of time. We hope the Government of India will not allow any further differentiation in this matter and will endeavour to give, as far as possible, equal chances to both the communities in the matter of the formation of units and trading."

The employment of Indian troops abroad.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 10th October says that India is trying to break her chains of slavery and breathe in a free atmosphere. The British Government is, however, using her sons to crush the liberty of free countries. Poor Indian cultivators and labourers, who include Muhammadans, are enlisted in the army and used against Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and Mesopotamia. This is a proof of coersion and despotism [on its part]. Indians have the misfortune to be involved in slavery, but they do not wish to be made into tools for destroying the freedoms of others. Is it proper to force Indian Muslims to fight against their coreligionist in Islamic countries? Is it religious freedom that a Muslim should be rendered guilty of the wilful murder of another Muslim and thus made to touch the lowest depths of infidelity? The Hindus and Sikhs have united with the Muhammadans, but Government still compels them to fire on the latter's coreligionists, so that the Muhammadans may not regard them as their brothers and foreigners may have no regard and respect for them. Short-sighted British Ministers are carrying out their imperialistic policy at the cost of Indians [*lit.* are filling the hell of the belly of their imperialism with the blood and flesh of Indians]. They want Indians to be employed to crush the aspirations of free nations, so that the people of this country may not be able to show their faces to the civilized nations of the world. There was a time when the people of Egypt and Mesopotamia had a very high opinion of Indians, but see what treatment was accorded to the members of the Sikh deputation at Port Said. We understand that the public of Mesopotamia has begun to look down upon Indians, especially the Muhammadans of this country. Instead of getting a good name and constitutional freedom for her services in the great wars, India has lost her reputation and the freedom

she already had. Just now about 66,000 Indian troops are fighting in Mesopotamia, and, what is worse still, India bears all their expenses. There is no one to question the propriety of this procedure. If Indians wish to see their country free and enjoy a good name among the nations of the world we would request all of them not to draw their sword against truth and justice in order only to fill their stomachs. They should keep their valour and courage in reserve for use on a suitable occasion. British statesmen are suffering from earth-hunger, but what has become of the commonsense of Indians that they also have caught the disease.

(b) Continuing in its issue dated the 12th October the paper says that most of the countries at which British imperialism is casting avaricious looks belong to Muhammadans. Muslim troops, it adds, are stationed at Constantinople. They also took a prominent part in putting the Sharif in possession of Mecca and Medina and in conquering Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia for Christians. We would ask of them whether Mecca and Medina are not sacred places to them, whether Constantinople is not the metropolis of Islam, and whether Palestine and Mesopotamia do not contain Muslim holy places. If all this is so, woe betide those who call themselves Muhammadans and followers of the Prophet, but prove instrumental in disgrace being brought on the places named. Surely the souls of the Prophet, Ayub Ansari and Abdul Qadir Jilani must be grieving over the non-Muslim attitude of the Muhammadans who throw their faith overboard for a consideration of only Rs. 10 or Rs. 11. It is a pity that no one repents of this even now. There is no one to refrain from taking up the sword against the Khilafat and true believers. It should be borne in mind that the wilful murder of a Muslim amounts to infidelity and the murderer is liable to the agonies of hell. We are loyal to His Majesty the King Emperor and abide by the laws of the British Government. But surely there is a being higher than His Majesty, *viz.*, God, while there is a law above those of the British Government, *viz.*, our *Shariat*. We can obey the orders of His Majesty and the laws of Government, provided only they do not clash with the commandments of God and the *Shariat* of Islam. It is very beneficial for Government also to withdraw Indian troops from Islamic countries, which will lighten the burden on the public treasury and check the growth of the war loan. Ignorant Muhammadans in the army are beginning to understand the commandments of their religion. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues should see that affairs do not take a serious turn, which may be beyond their control. They should realise their responsibilities, in regard to morality, freedom, democracy, the traditions of the British Government and the feelings of Indians.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dyal, editor.

Non coöperation.

3. (a) The *Virat* of the 4th October takes exception to Lala Lajpat Rai's conduct in strongly supporting the boycott of the Councils but regarding that of schools and colleges as impracticable. When a revolution begins to work in the life of countries and nations, it adds, even impossible things become possible. Besides, a boycott of schools and colleges is within range of possibilities. The people of the Punjab were ready to carry into effect the complete Congress programme of non-coöperation. But the province has been thrown into suspense by the popular leaders, especially Lala Lajpat Rai. If the Punjab lags behind other provinces in the matter, the responsibility for this will rest on the leaders who are unwilling to accept the decision of the Congress and are singing their own songs, and not on the masses who are prepared to give effect to the Congress resolution in its entirety.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(b) The *Partap* of the 7th October asks the graduates of the Punjab University to vote for none of the candidates for election to the University seat. Any one among them not doing so will be guilty of the sin of encouraging men defying the Congress resolution on non-coöperation. There can be nothing more degrading than that the Congress should adopt the resolution for the sake of the Punjab, but that the people of this province should try to defeat it.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(c) The *Ittifaq* of the 8th October says that it is well known that the Islamia College, Lahore, receives an annual aid of Rs. 30,000 from Government. We also know what price we have to pay for this grant-in-aid. Now that non-coöperation has been decided on will the authorities of the College refuse this aid or will they continue to receive it against the wishes of the community?

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 8th October does not agree with those who consider the present programme of non-coöperation to be hard [to follow]. It is impossible, adds the paper, to obtain *swaraj* without making unusual sacrifices for it. Continuing, it says that since the Congress has passed a resolution on the subject all Indians are responsible for carrying it into practice. The question is, however, one of money, and the people should make the requisite financial sacrifices. Next the paper lends its support to the proposed boycott of foreign goods, and goes on to say that some selfish [Sikh] leaders regard non-coöperation as being harmful for their community. These gentlemen should say, however, whether the Hindus and Muhammadans have resorted to non-coöperation with the object of filling their pockets. Is it wise in the Sikhs to lag behind when 29 crores of their fellow-countrymen have become prepared to suffer hardships [in connection with the movement]. Two hundred and ninety million patriots sever their connection with Government over the Khilafat question and the Punjab atrocities. Will the Sikhs side with the authorities and oppose twenty-nine crores of their brothers? They committed a serious mistake in 1857, but the Hindus and Muhammadans have overlooked it. A new era of national unity has now set in, and the Sikhs should side with their other fellow-countrymen in the matter of non-coöperation. The prestige of the present ruling party is daily on the decrease, while the Hindu-Muslim influence is increasing. If the Sikhs stand aloof from the Hindus and Muhammadans at this juncture, they will have to suffer the consequences for centuries to come. They should definitely decide whether they will side with the latter, who already sympathise with them, or with such officers as have no sympathy for them. They have also to decide whether they wish to support Dyers and O'Dwyers or to serve Mother India by joining hands with devoted patriots like Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukat Ali. They should guide their country in the matter in the same way as their Gurus did. We trust that the central Sikh League will unanimously adopt a resolution on non-coöperation, and that the Sikhs will be the first to practise non-coöperation.

SATYJUG (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

(*e*) The *Satyjug* of the 29th September says that it will be most shameful if the Sikhs, who are the soul of the Punjab and the rest of India, do not, at once or gradually, carry Maharaj Gandhi's command and the decision of the Congress into effect. Our country is in a helpless and afflicted condition, and has been harassed by injustice and oppression, while every child of it is bound in the chains of slavery. There is only one way in which the people can come out of these troubles, and it consists in non-coöperation. It is the duty of the whole Sikh community to gird up its loins to preach non-coöperation and to practise it immediately on the Sikh League deciding in its favour. Non-coöperation is the only means by which India can attain freedom and prosperity.

Lord Willingdon on non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

4. (*a*) Commenting on Lord Willingdon's remarks about non-coöperation in his closing speech at the last session of the Madras Legislative Council, the *Tribune* of the 8th October writes:—"His Excellency condemned as unconstitutional and disloyal . . . 'the *complete* programme of Mr. Gandhi carried out through its various stages' . . . . Lord Willingdon is mistaken in thinking that the Congress has adopted the complete programme. But His Excellency clearly goes too far when he describes even the complete programme as disloyal. Disloyalty in India, except in its purely legal sense, as to which we have no opinion to offer, can only mean disloyalty to the Crown or disloyalty to the Empire of which India is an integral part, and in either sense it is possible for a man to seek to do everything that Mr. Gandhi and his associates have in view and at the same time not to be disloyal. The paralysis of the administration is to be brought about only with a view to the establishment of complete self-government, and the establishment of complete self-government is at present the professed goal of British policy itself. There is certainly nothing in the programme so far to suggest that this complete self-government is not to be within the Empire and under the ægis of the British Crown."

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Akali* of the 10th October says that non-coöperation is neither unlawful nor seditious. When oppression is carried to extremes, the people have every right to refuse to coöperate with oppressive rulers and thereby avoid sharing the latter's sins. Formerly sedition consisted in creating contempt for Government, but now it consists in not entering the

Councils, avoiding litigation, withdrawing students from Government schools, refusing to accept titles, and discarding the use of British-made cloth. In short, every act done by a person desirous of freedom is seditious. It behoves the bureaucracy to pass a Willingdon Act penalising all items in the resolution on non-coöperation passed by the Congress.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

British policy in India.

5. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th says that Mr. Samarath asserts in his article in the *Asiatic Review* that the appointment of a sympathetic and liberal-minded Viceroy is the only remedy for the unrest now prevalent in India. He is, however, wrong in this: the only remedy lies in the British Government's policy towards India being so changed that the legitimate demands and aspirations of Indians may be fulfilled. It is the policy referred to and not the authority attaching to the Viceroy's office that is responsible for the way in which the united demands of the Muslims and Hindus concerning the Khilafat and the Punjab atrocities have been treated. Indians should, therefore, lay great stress on their demand for a radical change in the aforsaid policy. They should carry on a vigorous agitation for self-government, thereby proving it to the British Government that only that form of rule and nothing else will satisfy them.

KASHMIRI
MAGAZINE
(Lahore);
Muhammad
Din, editor.

India and self-government.

6. The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 7th October remarks that the recognition of Egyption independence has inspired in India the hope that if she faces all hardships and troubles with perseverance, boldness and courage, and realises her degradation, she also can obtain freedom. People wonder that while Egypt can become fit for, and obtain independence after only 25 or 30 years' British connection and while the Boers can be granted freedom immediately after their defeat by England, India should not be considered fit to manage her own affairs even after 150 years' political and social training. It is easy for England, however, to give up Egypt and Boer territory, but very difficult to free a goose with the golden egg like India, which fell into her hands after centuries of longing and diplomacy. She cannot secure anywhere else the benefits which she is deriving from India, while in no other country can the English obtain the materials, produce, wealth and comfort, and exercise the despotic rule they are doing here. It is, therefore, highly necessary for Indians to carry on a vigorous agitation to obtain complete *swaraj*.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

The Esher Committee's report.

7. (*a*) Commenting upon Sri Krishana Gupta's suggestion regarding the throwing open of the higher ranks in the army to capable sons of the soil, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th October remarks that whatever is now being done or may hereafter be done to fit India for self-government will lead to no lasting result unless the Indian element preponderates in every branch of the military department. Government cannot fulfil its obligations without solving this important question, and the sooner the solution is effected to the entire satisfaction of Indians the better it will be for both Great Britain and this country.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 8th October says that a perusal of the Esher Committee's report has not surprised it in the least, seeing that it expected the Committee to act in the way it has done. The acceptance of its recommendations will still further increase the military expenditure of this country. Above all, these recommendations are wholly opposed to the spirit pervading the coming constitutional reforms.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(*c*) Writing on Professor Keths' adverse criticism of the Esher Committee's report, the *Tribune* of the 14th says:—"The question here is fundamental and the same considerations that have led the Imperial Government to definitely resolve to make India self-governing in civil affairs ought to lead them to equally definitely resolve to make her self-governing in the matter of her defence."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The first Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council.

8. (*a*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 12th October:—"There is a strong and presistent rumour that the appointment of Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia as the first Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council is favoured in high official quarters. We do hope, both for the good name of the Government and for the success of the reforms, that the rumour is without foundation. Against Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia personally we have not a word to say. Our objection is based solely on public grounds. We have never heard of any liberal views being associated with the

Sardar Sahib in any sphere of life with which the Government is even remotely concerned. It is not as if he were a dark horse. He has for some time been a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the period of his membership synchronising with a period of great official and popular activity, and the proceedings of the Council are there to show how poorly he has acquitted himself. To appoint such a man as the first Indian member of a professedly reformed and reforming Government would be an absurd anachronism. We do not think that for these appointments either race or community, apart from the fact of a man's being an Indian, should be any consideration. Still if it is intended to appoint a Sikh, we have not the smallest objection. Only let the nominee have the necessary qualifications, the most important of which, of course, is that he should be a man of progressive views."

(b) A correspondent writing to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 10th October states that with the exception of a small section of the Sikhs, almost the whole Sikh community is displeased with Sardar Sundar Singh, and his appointment to the Council will cause dissatisfaction, not only in the Punjab, but throughout India.

Loyal Gazette (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(c) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 13th October cannot help remarking that the country will not approve of the selection made by Government. The Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council should be a man whose appointment is welcomed by the public.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore): Mahbub Alam, editor.

(d) The *Imam* of the 13th October expresses the hope that Government will not commit the mistake of appointing Sardar Sundar Singh as the first Indian member of the Council. In the other event, the Councils will undoubtedly prove a farce and the boycott movement will receive a stimulus.

Imam (Lahore); Labh Singh and Ilam Din, editors.

(e) The *Desh* of the 14th October believes that the appointment will evoke a strong protest in all quarters. The Sardar never protested in the Viceregal Council whenever efforts were made to pass a law in opposition to the unanimous voice of the country and the nation. It is most necessary in order to safeguard the interests of the Punjabis in the reformed Councils that only a man truly representative of the nation should be appointed to the Council.

Desh; (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Government and national movements.

9. The *Partap* of the 10th October asks whether Government is going to start a new movement to combat the national movements in India. What does the appointment of Directors of Information in the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies signify? The editor of the *Rangoon Times*, a stout opponent of Indian and Burmese aspirations, is reported to have been appointed Director in Burma. Again, the Government of India is sending Mr. Horn, Principal of the Patna College, to America to carry on publicity work there against the movements referred to. Does this mean that Government is going to establish a powerful organisation with Indians' money to combat these movements? Formerly it tried to gain this object by subsidising certain newspapers and establishing Publicity Boards. We also should make prompt arrangements for publicity work in foreign countries on a large scale. It is to be hoped that our leaders will not display laziness in the matter.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The next Congress.

10. Writing about the presidentship of the forthcoming session of the Congress, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th October suggests that some able Muhammadan should this time be the recipient of the honour. This would foster the spirit of disseminating and supporting the principles of freedom among the Muhammadans, who are far behind the Hindus in the matter of education and advancement.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Income-tax.

11. The *Satyjug* of the 6th October says that in connection with the assessment of income-tax traders begin to be summoned from the 1st April every year. They have to attend courts for the whole year, with the result that they, as also *sahukars*, suffer considerable loss. The statements furnished by them are disbelieved, and such officials and private men are appointed to examine their account books as are wholly ignorant of matters relating to trade and the like. Again, the awards given by commissioners are rejected in many cases and the officers concerned settle the amounts of income tax themselves. Continuing, the paper says that there should be committees of tax-payers, which should fill up income statements. If Tahsildars or Revenue Officers disbelieve

Satyjug (Lahore); Narankar Singh, editor.

the statements of profits prepared by them, the people concerned should regard this as an insult to them and refuse to pay the amounts assessed in excess. If Government tries to realise the money by force they should silently watch developments. Government may resort to confiscation or attachment to recover the money, but they themselves should pay only as much as they consider sufficient They should boldly tell Government that they owe it no debt, that they are paying what is not due from them, and that it disgraces them by holding the statements furnished by them to be false. The committees referred to should sever all connection with those who, in order to please Government, pay the amounts assessed by the last named. If traders and others in all cities and towns form such committees and do their utmost to save their honour, credit and money, they can achieve success soon and save themselves from the arbitrary acts of the authorities.

TRIBUNE;
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Lyallpur city booking office.

12. One BHAGAT GIRDHARI LAL of Lyallpur writes to the *Tribune* of the 8th October :—"It is a strange irony of fate that the desires of us Indians in these days are fulfilled by their contraries. While we have been crying ourselves hoarse for greater facilities and comforts in railway travelling, the D. T. S., Lyallpur, has been pleased to abolish the city booking office on account of the enhancement of the rent of the house in which the office was located. Shall we ask, in the name of commonsense and logic, if it is a sufficient reason for such a drastic step ? The booking office could have been easily shifted to a cheaper quarter of the city, but where on earth lay the necessity of abolishing it altogether, except if it were to show to the already over-conscious public the arbitrariness of the will of those in authority. Even with the presence of the booking office in the city, third class passengers were put to no small inconvenience in purchasing their tickets, but now their plight can better be imagined than prescribed."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

13. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 29th September publishes a communicated article headed "Undue toleration on the part of the Muhammadan leaders." The writer refers to the Katarpur riots case, and says that, instead of deploring the disturbances, the Hindus tried their best to get the guilty acquitted. The Muhammadans, however, who are always actuated by a spirit of forgiveness, recommended the accused persons for mercy at the request of the Hindus. After contending that they had no right to pardon the offenders, the writer speaks of the agitation set up by the Hindus against the grant of special representation to the Muhammadans on the Allahabad municipal committee. Continuing, he says that his coreligionists are rendered beside themselves at a few sweet words from the Hindus and do not hesitate to treat the latter with undue toleration. It behoves the Muslim leaders not to destroy the rights of their community in their infatuation of the new Hindu-Muslim *entente*, which is nothing more than mirage.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(*b*) Commenting on Mr. Muhammad Ali's recent speech at Bombay the *Tribune* of the 9th October writes :—"His message to Indian Muhammadans . . . . was that if they wanted to secure the freedom of Islam they should join their Hindu brethren and work unitedly for the freedom of India. Similarly, his message to the Hindus was that if they wanted freedom they should work unitedly with their Muslim neighbours. It is a highly significant fact, and gratifying as it is significant, that every visit paid to England by some of our Mussalman brethren in recent years has strengthened their belief in Hindu-Muslim unity. . . . It is to be hoped that henceforth we shall hear less and less of exclusive communal or racial interests and more and more of the interests of the people of India as a whole, for verily it is by securing the freedom and the well-being of the whole, that we can secure the freedom and well-being of any of its component parts."

BANDE MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

The *kirpan*.

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 7th October refers to the report that Sikh soldiers have been allowed to wear the *kirpan* with their uniform. If the report is well founded, the paper congratulates the Sikhs on the redress of a legitimate grievance of theirs. It expresses a hope, however, that the removal of an ordinary grievance will not make them swerve from the right path by treading which they have gained the success, and that they will fully keep in view the common national grievances along with their communal complaints.

A complaint from Bombay.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Maulvi Sana Ullah, editor.

15. The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 8th October publishes a letter addressed to "Seth Bachu and Seth Sabbu and other Muhammadans of Bombay" by one Muhammad Israil, Karmjoi, of Birbhum [Bengal]. The writer states that when cholera broke out in the month of Ramzan this year, those of the intending pilgrims [to the Hedjaz] who were staying at the *musafirkhana* were sent to the Sat-rasta [?] Hospital, Bombay. A clergyman came to the Hospital daily after the afternoon prayers and asked every one whom he considered to be at the point of death to say "Christ is the Son of God and will intercede for us," and other blasphemous words which the writer does not remember. After stating that a pilgrim, who comes from the same place as himself and who also was sent to the above Hospital, was treated by the clergyman in this way, the writer says that it is a thousand pities that the addressees should not complain to the Bombay Government against the clergyman and make a reply to the above unseemly conduct on his part. He adds that perhaps the Muhammadans and the Government of Bombay have not as yet come to know of the incident in question.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Duke of Connaught.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

16. The *Siyasat* of the 10th October is at a loss to understand how the enthusiasm displayed in connection with boycotting the Prince of Wales has evaporated all of a sudden. It would have been better, it adds, if the movement had been directed against the Duke of Connaught, who is coming to visit India in place of the Prince. Several municipal committees have already passed resolutions to present addresses of welcome to His Royal Highness. The Lahore municipality will shortly consider a similar resolution, and it is to be hoped that Lala Duni Chand will advise it to present no address to the Duke.

The export of wheat.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

17. (*a*) Commenting upon Government's decision to allow the export of 400,000 tons of wheat from India the *Bande Mataram* of the 7th October asks why other people should be fed at the cost of Indians. Again, the export of one crore maunds of wheat from the Punjab will raise the rate to Rs. 8 per maund. Will Government take upon itself the responsibility of supplying wheat to every Indian purchaser at the rate of Rs. 5-8-0 a maund? Continuing, the paper says that it is not worthwhile to ask Government to stop the export of wheat. Our wheat merchants should do so and subordinate a temporary advantage to a permanent one. We discover daily that we shall have to remove our difficulties without any extraneous help.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 8th October the paper says that the discontent now prevailing in India is due wholly to the dearness of grain. After contending that the present political agitation in the country is ascribable to economic causes, the paper asks why Government pays no heed to the condition of the people at large. The only reason for this, it answers, is that Government does not consider itself responsible to the country. Continuing, it says that since Indians have to starve by sending abroad the wheat grown by them they had better grow maize, gram and barely, so that they may not have to go without bread, as they have now to do through excessive export of wheat. Or they should take a vow to render no help in any way in the export of a single seed of wheat.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas editor.

(*c*) The *Vakil* of the 7th October says that in the existing circumstances Government's decision to allow the export of wheat is most disappointing and improper. The export of an immense quantity of wheat is being allowed at a time when high prices have rendered the struggle for existence very keen in India. Will not the event intensify the struggle still further, especially as the harvesting of new crops is still a long way off? The *Pioneer* has gone into statistics and says that during the five years ending with 1913-14, eighty lakh and sixty-three thousand tons of wheat were consumed in India, and that if four lakh tons of it are exported now there will still be a surplus of sixteen lakh and twenty-nine thousand tons. We have the real state of the country before our eyes, however, and know how misleading the above figures are and in what poverty the people are steeped. Government had better stop the export of wheat for the current year at least, meeting its requirements from Canada and Australia. It is to be hoped that even now it will not be indifferent to the cry of the whole country, including commercial bodies.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 5th October considers it only natural that Government's decision should be opposed. Its mere announcement has sent up the price of wheat, and it is difficult to say how high the final rate will be. The prevailing dearness and the interests of the country rendered it essential for Government not to permit the export of grain and to get its supply from Australia. It is to be hoped that the people will unanimously protest against Government's most unreasonable decision, and will tell Government in clear terms that it clashes with their interests.

(*e*) Referring to Swami Shardhanand's message to the cultivators and his other countrymen to practise non-coöperation and refuse to sell wheat for export, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th October remarks that the suggestion does not amount to non-coöperation and will be an act of self-defence on the country's part, which is in no case opposed to law, constitution and Government. It is necessary, adds the paper, that companies should be started to buy surplus wheat from cultivators and sell it to Indians at reasonable rates.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

(*f*) The *Shanti* of the 9th October says that the Government's decision has caused feelings of surprise and uneasiness in the country. The export of one-and-half crore maunds of wheat will subject the poorer classes to untold troubles, which can never be realised by people living in bungalows and using motor cars. Since Australia is willing to sell wheat to it the Government of India should make its purchases in that country. We respectfully but strongly request it to look to the sufferings of the poor and *sufedposhes*, and save these people from the impending calamity. There is no reason why it should go against the united voice of the country.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Zamindar* of the 9th October asks if Indians no longer require food. Thanks to the scarcity of rains, the prospects of the next harvest are not very hopeful. Besides, Puri and Sind are already in the grip of famine. If the proposed export commences, the whole of India will have to face a dire famine. Again, wheat is not selling at such a cheap rate that Government has thought it necessary to raise it still further. The paper then goes on to say that, strictly speaking non-coöperation is the only remedy for all our troubles. Farmers and traders should now refuse to coöperate with Government selling not a single grain of wheat for export.

ITTIFAQ, (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*h*) The *Ittifaq* of the 10th October says that a sympathetic Government would have adopted an opposite attitude. The time for sitting idle or preferring requests to Government has passed; Indians should now descend into the arena of action. A Delhi merchant has suggested that no wheat should be sold to Government for purposes of export. It is dangerous to rule without paying regard to feelings of the ruled. Will Lord Chelmsford's Government take this point into consideration.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*i*) The *Partap* of the 11th October writes that meeting should be held in all important cities and resolutions of protest forwarded to Government. In case, however, it does not grant our request, we should resort to non-coöperation, asking traders to refuse to sell wheat to Government for export.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(*j*) The *Sidaqat* of the 12th October says that Government itself, which treats with contempt the people's political and economic rights, is responsible for the dissemination of sedition in the country. Continuing, it observes that the export of wheat, etc., from India is equivalent to cutting the throat of her poor children. It is to be hoped that Government will reconsider its decision even now. The question is not one of export of grain, but of life and death for Indians. When Government begins to neglect its subjects, and the latter become suspicious of it, discontent, disorder and rebellion will be the inevitable results.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*k*) The *Siyasat* of the 13th October exhorts the people to adopt a policy of complete non-coöperation in the matter. Are they not prepared, it asks, to show Government that it cannot purchase a single grain of wheat against their wishes?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*l*) Referring to the Government of India's permission to the export of wheat and rice from this country, the *Tribune* of the 8th October writes:—"The Government cannot be ignorant of the fact that the rains have been insufficient in several parts of India, that the agricultural outlook is far from being bright. They must be aware of the fact that the price levels of wheat, rice and other articles of food are still as high as, if not higher than, during the war, and the conclusion of the peace has produced no lowering of the price of the necessaries of life. The masses of India are, indeed, passing through a period of acute economic distress and industrial strikes are the order of the day. It is inexplicable why at such a time as this the Government, which is solicitous of the welfare of the people, should, instead of devising measures for conserving internal food supplies, has adopted plans for their depletion in enormous quantities. . . . We have a right to insist on the conservation of the food supplies of the country and on no exports being allowed until a sufficient supply for internal consumption at moderate and fair prices is guaranteed. Has the Government of India assured itself of the fact that the 315 millions of the people will have enough food supplies during the next agricultural year, before permitting the export of the surplus? We are not aware of the Government having at any time disclosed its own data on this subject. The official forecasts of crop estimates that are published from time to time are hardly reliable for this purpose. . . . The people are groaning under the stress of high prices all round and, in addition to economic problems of a most complicated nature, there is political discontent which partly derives stimulus from it. Under these circumstances, nothing can be more unwise, imprudent and unstatesmanlike on the part of the Government of India than to allow exports of food supplies. And it has done this after the close of the last session of the Legislative Council and when there is no possibility of an effective protest against its action being made by the elected representatives of the people in the Councils."

Indian clerks in Northern Command.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

19. "AN OUTSIDER" writes from Murree to the *Tribune* of the 8th October :—"1. [These clerks] have to work hard on all working days and are not allowed even to take rest on gazetted holidays . . .

2. The Indian clerks are not provided with lodging quarters, but British clerks are provided with first class barracks.

3. Indian clerks cannot travel by lorries nor can they send their kit by these Government lorries; but all the British clerks, their bearers, sweepers, *bhisty*, their dogs, their commodes and all their kit go by these lorries. . . .

4. Indian clerks are to draw the munificent travelling allowance of two annas a mile, but they must travel 40 miles, so that they should attend the office next day. If they finish work on Friday at Murree they must attend office at Rawalpindi on Saturday. Not a single day is allowed for the journey of 40 miles by road.

5. British clerks are to see that the kit of Indian clerks is not loaded on lorries, no matter if the Indian clerk is a Rai Sahib or is drawing 200 per mensem or more. He cannot be trusted with the duty of supervising the kit loading, but a British clerk of the standing of a private soldier or sergeant is to supervise such a responsible task.

I may mention here by the way that I have had a chance of attending a court martial which was lately held here. I observed that all the British witnesses (including the second accused, a private soldier) were seated in a chair at the time of giving evidence, but Indians of all ranks (high and low) gave evidence standing before the court."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 16th October 1920.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

England and India.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

1. *Siyasat* of the 17th October complains that while Hindus and Muhammadans are not allowed to make political speeches at their places of worship, English clergymen in India are free to do so in their churches. They can pass censure on Government, and call Indians rebels, revolutionaries or whatever else they like. The minister of Lahore cathedral, for instance, recently delivered a powerful speech in which he strongly opposed the non-coöperation movement. Continuing, the paper says that England certainly needs India, seeing that it is because of India alone that the English are enjoying all the comforts and pleasures of the world. India fills the stomachs of millions of English people, and provides work for thousands of factories in England. We fail to see, however, why this country should need England. Why should India sacrifice all her freedom for England in the way she is now doing? Indians are willing to be friendly towards the English, provided this friendship is based only on the golden principle of equality.

The Empire and India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. Commenting on Sir Sam Hughes's motion in the Canadian Parliament advocating the establishment of an Imperial Parliament, the *Tribune* of the 20th October writes:—"What is perfectly obvious is that before the Empire can be organised on a permanent basis, the colour prejudice must entirely disappear, that as long as it lasts the Empire can never be a reality, unless it be in the old sense, and an empire in the old sense must go the way of the empires of old. The modern world has no use and no room for it. Take the 320 millions of Indians. Does any man in his senses imagine for one single moment that any form and system of government, whether national or imperial, has the least chance of being permanent among these proud and sensitive people, that does not treat any single Indian as the equal of every single man of any other race? And yet it is his equality of the Indian which is denied in theory and in practice, in

practice oftener than in theory, by the advocates of [what Mr. Andrews calls] the 'new religion of the white race.' It has for years been systematically denied in the British Colonies. It was clearly and emphatically denied last year, as Mr. Montagu declared from his place in the House of Commons, by General Dyer and other administrators of martial law. It is equally clearly, if not equally emphatically, denied by the hundreds of Europeans in India who have subscribed to the Dyer fund. It is these men who are at present the greatest menace to the stability and permanence of the Empire, and in their own interest as well as in the interests of the Empire the British, the Indian and the Colonial Governments ought to strive to the utmost of their power to develop conditions of life, political as well as economic, in which no room may be left for either the exercise or the growth of this spirit of racial arrogance and inequality."

SANATAN DHARM PARCHARAK (Amritsar); Kallia Ram, editor.

The present situation.

3. (*a*) The *Sanatan Dharm Parcharak* of the 1st [received on the 13th] October says that the situation in India is becoming very serious. All that is taking place in the country is undoubtedly not satisfactory. It is true that some Government officials have made mistakes, but this should not make us doubt the motives of Government. These and the law are based on justice, although selfishness and racial prejudice have certainly blinded the [? European] officials. It is necessary that a mixed committee of officials and non-officials, including Gandhi, Malaviya and a few other capable Indians, should be formed to exchange views in a brotherly spirit with the object of devising means to remove the present unrest and promote the country's welfare. If the present agitation adversely affects the British Government, Indians will have to suffer great troubles. They will lose the comfort and peace they now enjoy, and there will burst a storm of disorder an idea of the consequences of which makes one shudder. At all events, such a thing is within range of possibilities. If the enemies of Government come to regard the popular voice as being directed against it and invade this country, the Hindus and Muhammadans may have to face an awkward situation, although the first-named could do absolutely no harm to Government. In these circumstances, it is the duty of the twenty crores of orthodox Hindus to adopt such a course of conduct as may remove the present unrest and also preserve British protection over us.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K.N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd October publishes an extract from the *Englishman* concerning Mr. Amir Ali's article in the *Asiatic Review* on the situation in India, in the course of which he warns the Government not to disregard the existing sulkiness, which is attributable to the Rowlatt, Khilafat and Dyer controversies, and urges that a Viceroy of the Canning, Ripon or Hardinge type is necessary. Commenting the paper says :—" The really important question in this case is not that of giving India a good Viceroy—the best of Viceroys will by themselves not go far enough—but that of providing honestly, straightforwardly and deliberately for the speediest fulfilment of the country's aspiration for *swaraj*."

INTIKHAB (Gujranwala); Wali Ullah, editor.

Non-coöperation.

4. (*a*) The *Intikhab* of the 28th September [received on the 15th October] says that a careful consideration will show that non-coöperation, which now engages the attention of both the Hindus and Muhammadans, was preached by the Quran thirteen centuries ago, and that the Muhammadans have been obeying this divine command in their hours of difficulty. A policy of boycott has always been adopted towards the enemies of Islam.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

(*b*) A correspondent writing to the *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 9th received on the 15th] October says that the movements started by Mahatma Gandhi have done no good to Indians nor are they expected to show better results in future. The people have not as yet forgotten the ruin wrought in the country by his *satyagraha* propaganda last year. The painful story of the Jallianwala Bagh is on everyone's lips, but nobody pauses to consider who was the real author of this bloodshed. The result of non-coöperation will be that people will have to starve, and hundreds and thousands of them will take to committing dacoities. If a General Dyer or Bosworth Smith again appears in the country, the responsibility for this will rest on Mr. Gandhi alone. The paper then addresses the Muhammadans and says that the Caliph has not sought their help and is pleased with his present condition. A Hindu Mahatma is, however, making fortifications in the houses of the Muhammadans in order to gain his own ends. He will be able to do no harm to the English, but the shots fired by the latter will end the days of the Muhammadans.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chisti, editor.

(c) One SITA RAM writing to the paper regrets that the Indian leaders should have lost their senses and should induce their fellow-countrymen to practise non-coöperation or emigrate from the country. If Ahmad Shah Abdali and Muhammad Shah Bahmani had been rulers of India during last year's disturbances, they would not have contented themselves even with the razing to the ground of the cities where the disorders took place. It is surprising that the very men who have attained high positions and gained fame and honour with Government's help should induce the ruled to tread a crooked path. Indians will undoubtedly renounce titles, resign memberships of Councils and give up Government employment, but what harm can all this do to Government?

IMAM (Lahore); Labh Singh and Ilm-ud-Din, editors.

(d) A correspondent writing to the *Imam* of the 14th October says that although the Congress has proclaimed a boycott of the courts, the hungry and starving lawyers of the Punjab pay no heed to this. The best way to meet the situation, adds the paper, is to boycott legal practitioners. While the rest of the country is making sacrifices for the sake of the Punjab, the bar in this province remains wholly unaffected. Since the Punjab lawyers, who are in the habit of bowing and grovelling before judges, munsifs and honorary magistrates, are not prepared to make any sacrifice for the nation, the people would do well not to take their disputes into courts and to decide them themselves.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(e) "MASTER" SUNDAR SINGH, of Lyallpur, writing to the *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 15th October says that the whole of India is weeping over, and feels disgusted at her present state of slavery. So far we have tried to make our complaints heard by means of resolutions and deputations, *i.e.*, coöperation. Fortunately or unfortunately, however, the English nation is such by nature or disposition that it has never heard the voice for freedom raised by any subject people. After remarking that it does not consider even the Irish to be fit for self-government, the writer says that every Indian desirous of seeing his fellow-countrymen lead an honest and free life should keep the example of Ireland in mind, and once for all discard the idea that they can ever become fit for *swaraj* by coöperating with the English.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(f) The *Ittifaq* of the 18th October says that agriculturists have been assigned the last place in the non-coöperation programme. The only proposal in regard to them is that they should not pay the land revenue. They have, however, a hand in everything connected with the country. Efforts should, therefore, be made to enlighten them first of all, so that every condition of non-coöperation may be easily fulfilled. It is students from villages that preponderate in schools and colleges, while the largest number of voters are villagers. It is also agriculturists who pay land revenue and swell the number of cases filed in the courts. Again, generally speaking military servants come from villages. This being so, there is no aspect of non-coöperation which is not largely bound up with villagers. The *zamindars* can, if they so desire, prevent their relations and dear ones from entering military service: not a single recruit can be secured without their consent. They can also at once withdraw their sons from Government schools and colleges. Moreover, if they sincerely practise non-coöperation, candidates for election to the Councils should get not a single vote from villages. Similarly, it is an easy thing for them to give up litigation and have their disputes settled by *panchayats*. If they were fully to understand the question of non-coöperation, they would boycott Government Courts of their own accord. It is useless to ask legal practitioners to give up their practice. We and our acknowledged leaders should tour in villages and acquaint *zamindars* with the existing state of affairs, the policy of Government and our demands, and the useful results of non-coöperation in a simple way. Their simple nature is endowed with perseverance, for which reason it will not be difficult for them to practise non-coöperation. If this is done, we shall soon reach our goal.

(g) Elsewhere the paper speaks of the advantages of the *panchayat* system, and says that justice is very expensive in English courts. In other words, justice is auctioned there and only the highest bidder can secure it. And even then he would be lucky if he obtains unadulterated justice. Is not justice, asks the paper, sometimes sacrificed at the alter of administrative affairs and personal influence? The decisions of our national courts would be not only cheap but also just.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(h) The *Sidaqat* of the 20th October writes that the Muhammadan agitation over the Khilafat is strictly speaking a great war with Government. The future of the political and religious freedom of the Muhammadans depends upon its result. The struggle resolves itself into a question of life and death for them. It constitutes a hard test of their sense of shame and self-respect and of the firmness of their faith. If they win in the fight they will lead an honourable life and their coming generations will remember their achievements with pride. If they sustain a defeat, however, they will be doomed to eternal slavery and degradation. We know that the nation with which we are at war possesses vast resources and war materials. We have, nevertheless, given it an ultimatum. We shall fight our enemy without any arms, and fight so desperately as to extort praise even from him. When the sepoys of the salvation army of India put on their uniform of patriotism and fire shells of truth from the gun of faith, the hands of the enemy gunners will be paralysed. His soldiers will feel sympathy for us and consider it a great sin to take the life of any member of this army seeing that General Gandhi, General Malaviya and Commanders Shaukat and Zafar are no enemies of Great Britain and are hostile only to those who are murdering truth and justice in this country in her name. Nor will the enemy be able to get a single soldier from his allies, whose troops also will be sympathetic towards India's salvation army. We take our stand on truth and are therefore confident of victory.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(i) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th October refers to the proposal of eight of the trustees of the Aligarh College that their colleagues and the Muslim University Association should discontinue to receive any aid from Government. Commenting, it says that there can be no doubt that non-coöperation is not useful in the existing circumstances, and that it would be a blunder of the first magnitude to practise it in connection with educational matters. The proposal in question is, therefore, the reverse of prudent and will prove detrimental to the interests of the Muhammadan community. We hope that the trustees will safeguard their community's interests rather than be influenced by the excitement prevalent among the students.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(j) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 22nd October 1920:—"No single item in the non coöperation programme of Mr. Gandhi has evoked such strong and energetic opposition among a very large number of thinking and patriotic Indians as that relating to the withdrawal of students from Government or Government-controlled schools and colleges.... What one would have expected in the circumstances is that in the actual carrying out of the item all this opposition would have been carefully borne in mind. As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Gandhi and his associates are going even beyond the resolution of the Congress At Aligarh, for instance, they have, during the last few days, laboured, and with complete success so far, for the simultaneous and immediate withdrawal of all the boys from the College. Is this sanctioned by the Congress resolution?... Nor can we for a moment believe that either the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee meant by the words 'withrawal of boys from schools and colleges' that the boys themselves were to be the supreme judge of what was good for them. Yet that is what the action at Aligarh has made them.... Surely it is the parent who must ultimately decide, especially in the case of boys of immature years, who constitute the majority in every college.... Look at the matter from whatever point of view we may, we feel it our duty, our most painful duty, to sound a note of warning against this part of the movement with all the strength and emphasis in our power."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

5. (a) Commenting on Pandit Malaviya's recent lecture at Allahabad against non-coöperation, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 12th October writes:—"The so-called 'leaders' of our own community must give these councils of wisdom a very close and careful thought before coming to any definite conclusion. Let the best men go inside the Chamber and fight tough fights. To stand outside and to think of compelling Government to 'climb down,' well that seems neither possible no honourable."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) MR. SEWARAM SINGH, a member of the recent Sikh deputation to England, writes in the course of a letter to the *Tribune* of the 16th October:—"I have great respect for Mahatama Gandhi's life of self-denial, but his idealism can only flourish in a utopian state where nothing but 'soul-force' may sanction the actions of people. But is the Mahatamaji or any of his followers in a position to control the forces of lawlessness which are already manifesting themselves in this country? I yield to none in the country in strongly condemning the attrocities committed by the lawless officialdom in the Punjab last year, and so long as the grievances of the Punjab remain unredressed and repetition of those brutalities is not made legally impossible for the future, the heart of the Punjab and India can find no rest. But surely the remedy does not lie in the letting loose of the forces of lawlessness and disorder all round. . . . Some gentlemen are no doubt rousing the Sikh community to throw up all sense of proportion and court disaster, but the profession of cheap martyrdom can hardly appeal to the practical side of human nature, except to induce a few to throw up the sponge of electioneering contests out of their fear of a mobocracy which is being set up all round. . . . Let all have their free choice without fearing the bureaucracy but also without being put to fear by or otherwise being afraid of the mobocracy."

The Sikhs and politics.

(c) S. SUJAN SINGH, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Sargodha, writes to the *Sikh* of the 16th October:—"The mendicant policy, the outcome of the slave psychology has failed all round. It has proved a disaster of the first magnitude in the case of the Sikhs. For putting our entire reliance in the professions of good intentions by the bureaucracy, instead of learning to stand upon our own legs, and for want of bold and independent advocacy of our cause by means of systematic agitation on constitutional lines along with the other sister communities, we have been brought to occupy a very low position in the polity of India. As a community we have hitherto stood entirely aloof from agitation and have shunned taking part in all the public movements of the day. On the one hand, the bureaucracy has thrown us overboard as something needed no longer, and, on the other hand, we are in danger of being treated by our own countrymen as pariahs beyond the pale of patriotic citizenship. . . . . Hitherto only spasmodic and, amateurish attempts have been made from time to time to take part in the public questions of the day and our efforts have been confined to making very poor and humble representations to the bureaucracy. Any attempt at agitation was simply tabooed as dangerous. . . . . This closing of the safety valve of constitutional agitation has resulted in creating a Gohana lake of deep dissatisfaction in the community which is now on the point of breaking its bounds and Niagara-like sweeping everything before it and end in a cataclysmic catastrophy. . . . . Crude and undigested political half truths thrown broadcast to the most illiterate masses of the most warlike community of the Khalsa by nondescript demagogues threaten the future of this fine race. How to stem this tide and turn it into proper channels of useful activities, is the most serious question with us now. . . . . The time has come when people who have led public movements in their leisure hours should give up these amateurish habits and become whole-time workers to hasten the national progress."

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The Punjab Executive Council.

7. (a) The *Sidaqat* of the 14th October refers to the rumour about the appointment of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia as the Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council, and says that it remains to be seen whether his presence on the Council will prove useful for his country and community. The Punjab needs on this Council a true and sincere adviser of both Government and the public. The latter will never like the appointment of a man who prefers Government's approbation or policy to the legitimate desires and aspirations of the ruled. We complain against Government and not Sardar Sundar Singh, because it deliberately makes such men its confidants as are not trusted by the people. The public should forthwith raise its voice against the proposed appointment.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(b) The *Partap* of the 15th October says that to appoint Sardar Sundar Singh to the Punjab Executive Council is to insult the intelligensia of this province. The Sardar possesses neither knowledge nor experience nor courage, and the Punjab can, therefore, derive no benefit from his appointment. He was a member of the Imperial Council for many years, but did he ever fight for the rights of Indians? Government is welcome to confer the honour on a Sikh, but its choice should fall on a capable man. After remarking that Sardar Jogindar Singh is a far abler man than Sardar Sundar Singh, the paper says that it is the duty of the Sikhs to protest against the latter's appointment to the Punjab Executive Council.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th October is of opinion that it would be better to appoint a European to the Council instead. He will prove more useful for the administration than Sardar Sundar Singh from the point of ability. Government is paving the way for non-coöperation, and the supporters of the movement should feel pleased at the appointment.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(d) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 15th October says that in view of the services rendered by him the appointment of the Sardar Sahib to the Council is not surprising. He has kept himself aloof from the National Congress and has left nothing undone to keep his community also out of its camp. Besides, he alone is fit to sit on the Council, seeing that he is a "silent member". We congratulate Government on the selection, and respectfully ask those who are opposed to non-coöperation whether the authorities' present attitude is calculated to promote union and sympathy [between the rulers and the ruled].

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(e) The *Sikh* of the 16th October writes:—"As he has hitherto been known only to be a 'silent member' of the Indian Legislative Council, and if he has ever said a word he has done so in support of the official side, it is but natural that his appointment, if proposed or actually made, should be opposed by the public..... If we oppose the appointment in the interests of the country we might be accused of opposing the interests of a Sikh leader. If, on the other hand, we support and welcome it, we shall run the risk of rightly displeasing the whole country. But we can easily be saved from the difficulties of the present dilemma if Sardar Sundar Singh would come forward to decline the appointment if it is offered to him, or contradict the report if it is a mere rumour...... The appointment of a Sikh as a member of the Punjab Executive Council will be gratifying.... in one respect. It will furnish a practical proof of the Government recognising the claims and position of the Sikhs in their own province, which they have so sadly ignored when allotting us seats in the Councils...... There is no doubt that the paucity of Sikh leaders creates a great difficulty for the Government to choose and for the people to suggest a suitable man...... In fact who is there in the whole Panth whom we may unanimously recommend and trust for such a high office...... We are sure that just as circumstances reclaimed a reactionary of Mr. Shafi's past notoriety, similarly circumstances can amend a 'silent member' of Sardar Sundar Singh's record, only if he has a mind to reclaim himself."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

The Esher Committee's report.

8. (a) The *Siyasat* of the 14th October says that every Government department in India is becoming unbearable [to the people] on account of its heavy expenditure. It has been several times proved with the aid of facts and figures that the British Government in India is the costliest administration in the world. The reason for this is that its superior officials, all of whom are imported from a foreign country, receive the largest salaries in the world. The military expenditure of India in particular has assumed such monstrous proportions that if it is not curtailed, God alone knows where the money will come from. It need not be mentioned here that all the higher officers in the military department are Europeans. They include not a single Indian, while there is very little hope of Government ever giving higher posts in the army to the sons of the soil. It spends one-half of the revenues of the country on the military department, which extravagance is indulged in by no other country in the world. This expenditure has continued to increase in spite of the hue and cry raised by Indian nationalists. It has, however, almost astounded the people to read the Esher Committee's recommendations, all of which are extremely injurious and harmful from the Indian point of view. The transference of the control of the army in India from the Government here to the War Office means that in future Indians will be unable to raise their voice against the military department. The recommendation to increase instead of decreasing the powers of the Commander-in-Chief is more unbearable still. If all the recommendations are adopted India's military expenditure, which is already unbearable, will become still more so. Government pays

no heed to the wants of Indians in regard to education, sanitation, etc., but goes on adding to the military expenditure.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 15th October says that a careful consideration of the Committee's recommendations shows that what they mean is this:—"Come, let us think of protecting this vast Empire. Do you ask what has been done for the defence of India? We have provided material for the exercise of sufficient precaution against sedition [*sic*!]." This is the purport of the Esher Committee's report, which can, in times of need, be interpreted in a way useful for the purpose of Government, whether this may or may not be useful for Indians. Is it necessary to say that the report will prove injurious rather than beneficial for Indian interests?

The next Viceroy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9 (*a*). The *Tribune* of the 14th October says:—"It would be interesting to know who really are the persons whom the *Times* had in view when it said in a recent issue that it might be expedient to appoint as Viceroy a Civil Servant of exceptional eminence possessing the confidence of the people of India, and that there are two or three very able Civilians answering to this description. . . . Our chief objection to the suggestion is that no member of a hide-bound service, with its narrow outlook, its notorious lack of sympathetic imagination and its general inability to rise above considerations of routine and convention, can ever be a fit man to guide the destinies of official India, especially at a time when India is passing through the stage of transition from autocracy to responsible government. At such a time, more than at any other, you need a man at the helm of affairs who not only brings a fresh mind with him to the study of Indian questions, but who is imbued with the best and highest traditions of public life in a free country. To appoint a Civilian to the most responsible office in India to-day would be to proclaim from the house tops the utter unreality of the Reforms."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandar, editor.

(*b*) The *Liberal* of the 17th October writes:—"Public opinion is much exercised over the selection of the next Viceroy of India. Lord Chelmsford has proved a failure and has not been able to grasp the real situation in India. It is rightly conjectured that on the choice of his successor will depend the future relations between England and India. In some quarters it is stated that the Prince of Wales, who has had a great reception on his return to England, is to be sounded as to whether he will accept this office, but this report need not be taken seriously."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Offending martial-law officers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. Adverting to the opinion of certain counsel in England on the subject of the feasibility or otherwise of proceeding against the offending martial-law officers, civil and military, the *Tribune* of the 22nd October writes:—"Upon the whole counsel are of opinion that it would be better to endeavour to bring retribution for their inhuman conduct upon these men by pressing upon the Government of India the duty of inflicting punishment upon them in accordance with the Secretary of State's direction. What the counsel do not appear to have asked themselves is, how is the Government of India to be induced to take this action? So far it has not only turned a deaf ear to all criticisms made in the press and on the platform, but it has deliberately refused to allow the subject to be discussed in the Indian Legislative Council. The opinion of counsel, therefore, comes to this that India has absolutely no redress to expect for the wrong done to her. No prophet ought to be needed to tell the Government of India that the popular consciousness that this is so is not likely to weaken the non-coöperation movement, or to check the growth of the spirit of sulkiness to which the Right Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali refers in his article [in the *Asiatic Review* and which he attributes to the Rowlatt, Khilafat and Dyer controversies]."

A railway grievance.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. (*a*) "A SUFFERER" writes to the *Tribune* of the 16th October:—"The humiliation and indignities to which Indian passengers of whatever position and status are subjected while travelling on Indian railways have become so very common and frequent that hardly a day passes without our reading some such complaint in the newspapers. As a typical instance of how Indian passengers are put to all sorts of troubles for the convenience and comfort of European

travellers and how far racial distinctions are observed, I give you the following facts which will conclusively prove my assertion." Next the writer states how on the 28th September last attempts were made at the Ambala Cantonment station to eject all Indian passengers from an intermediate compartment to provide accommodation for some European soldiers. Continuing, he says :—"The above incident is not an exception. Some of our foremost leaders have been insulted on railways, and as a rule every self-respecting Indian passenger on Indian railways always feels himself in danger of being insulted or humiliated by some European traveller or petty railway official .... To travel on a railway is to court dishonour and insult. In these days when various proposals are being made to assert equality of Indians with Europeans and boycott in various departments is strongly advocated, would it be too much to think of the idea of boycotting the Indian railway .... If a boycott is not practicable, then some other means must be devised to protect Indian honour and dignity on railways.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Railway disconnections.

12. The following is taken from "A TRAVELLER'S" letter to the *Tribune* of the 20th October :—"Great inconvenience is caused at present to the travelling public by the inconsiderate action of railway officials in starting off trains without waiting for those with which the former are connected. Instances in point are the moving off of No. 38 Down from Amritsar without waiting for No. 41 Up from Pathankote and the departure of No. 37 Up from Lohian Khas without waiting for 9 Up from Ludhiana. The trouble complained of is of frequent occurrence on both sections of the line, as a reference to the railway records will testify, and inflicts great hardship on the passengers who have counted on reaching their destinations within a specified time, in making them spend whole nights at intermediate stations, when a very little consideration on the part of the railway staff would save the situation."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Overcrowding in railway trains.

13. One MAHASHA G. S. VARMA, of Rawalpindi, writing to the *Desh* of the 20th October says that every compartment in a railway carriage is meant to carry only a fixed number of passengers, and that it is an offence to accommodate a large number of them in it. It is a pity, however, that although section 102 of the Railway Act, which treats of the subject, is being contravened every day, no public man has ever had recourse to law. We can greatly embarras the Railway Department and compel it to treat us like human beings. This is possible, however, only if we display manliness and courage in the matter.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AL-FAZAL (Qadian); Ghulam Nabi, editor.

Hijrat.

14. *Al-Fasal* of the 14th October refers to the announcement by the Central Khilafat Committee that "the door of *hijrat* has opened again." Commenting, the paper says that it is the door of destruction for the people that has been thrown open. The Muhammadans should act with foresight, and refuse to act upon the wicked proposals of their leaders, who are leading them into the wrong path. They are being pushed into a wilderness, where nothing but perdition awaits them. If they follow the advice of their leaders they will sustain an irreparable injury.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Kuka Sikhs.

15. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 19th October writes :—"Is it not strange that a section of the Sikh community which is essentially a body of honest bread winners, of unusually devotional habits and carrying peaceful avocations, is still suffering under disabilities and indignities which were placed on it in an evil moment? We mean the Namdhari Sikhs. Is this section of the Sikh community worse than the criminal tribes not to deserve a favourable consideration of their case? We think by removing police surviellance restrictions on the Namdhari Sikhs the Government has to gain everything—the good will of the people—rather than to lose anything."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Sikh *gurdwaras*.

16. Writing about the Babe-di-Ber case, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 19th October says :—"The Government owe it to themselves as also to the Sikh community to make it clear once for all that in no case ... would they lend their counte-

hance to the *jagirs* [attached to Sikh *gurdwaras*] turning into private properties of certain individuals, who are in reality and in essence no more than mere servants of these institutions of the Panth. When Government lay down, once again, that in the matter of proprietary rights, [such] *jagirs* and properties . . . are to be treated as *waqf* properties, much of the anxiety which is now agitating the public mind and the resultant unrest and heartburning among the Sikhs, will be allayed to a very great extent. We hope the Government will not be found wanting in recognising the wisdom underlying this suggestion."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The kirpan.

17. The *Sikh* of the 17th October writes :—"It is regrettable that notwithstanding that the *kirpan* has been allowed for Sikh soldiers, those charged for [the] so-called offence [of wearing it] have been tried and punished even after that. For instance, one Sardar Mangal Singh, No. 2017 Troop 3, 22nd Cavalry, Rasawalpur Cantonment, has been sentenced to 20 days' quarter guard. He pointed out that orders permitting the use of the *kirpan* had been issued; but the Officer Commanding did not mind that. We respectfully but strongly urge the issuing of definite orders releasing those that are rotting in prison in this connection as well as prohibiting arrests and trials further."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Water scarcity at Kasauli.

18. "P. R. S." writes to the *Tribune* of the 22nd October 1920 :—"At this station [Kasauli] during the summer months, there is such a great dearth of water that within twenty-four hours a family man cannot get even one full vessel of water and the plight of that family can better be imagined than described. The Indian population is the worst sufferer as it is they whose supply is curtailed when the monsoon is less. Europeans complain they cannot get enough water for bathing, etc., purposes, but our cry is we cannot get enough even for our *drinking* purposes. The cantonment committee, though they have a large surplus of money in hand, do not care to improve matters. They can, if they wish, easily bring water to Kasauli from the North Spring at a total cost of not more than Rs. 4,000. This year the supply was shorter still, since the winter reserve of water, it is said, was all diverted to Sanawar. It is really strange that this should have been done, seeing the great paucity of water in Kasauli. In the summer rich people and dog-bitten patients from all sides of India flock to Kasauli and if the influx is maintained at this rate we will not have enough water for drinking purposes even next year. There is such a great rush at the hydrants that no day passes without its seeing small hand-to-hand fights in the struggle to reach the waterpipe. The taxes in this cantonment are greater than those at others and it is inexplicable why the committee cannot afford to spend the small amount of Rs. 4,000 for the benefit of its residents."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

VIRAT, (Gujranwala); Banke Dyal, editor.

The export of wheat.

19. The *Virat* of the 11th October says that the export of wheat is the main cause of the unrest prevailing in India. In a country, where Government were answerable to the people, the former would have had to state the reasons necessitating an export of grain. There is no one in India, however, to prevent Government from exporting wheat. It is not known whether it is averse to sifting the prevailing unrest to the bottom or whether it is its deliberate intention to accentuate it. Indians have the first claim to the use of the wheat produced in their country. The authorities should think of this.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 23rd October 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mesopotamia.

1. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd October says that so long as the British Government keeps in view the benefit which England can derive from the Mosul oil-fields or certain other interests of the British nation, the establishment of a purely and independent Arab rule in Mesopotamia will be a difficult task. What is needed is that the said Government should regard the Arabs of Mesopotamia as its friends and equals of the Britons, and should base the foundation of an independent Government there on this very idea. Britain should only give the Arabs friendly advice in regard to their country's administration, and the European advisers appointed should be their subordinates and not masters. As to political and commercial relations, preference should be given to Arab interests in connection therewith. Again, British troops should be withdrawn and replaced by Arab forces officered by Arabs alone.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Afghanistan.

2. Writing about the Indo-Afghan relations, the *Vakil* of the 23rd October says that if a war breaks out between the two countries, Indian soldiers will have to take a hand in it. And if the struggle ends unfavourably for this country, Indians alone will be the sufferers, inasmuch as they will have to pay the expenses of the war. Before this additional burden is, however, thrown on them they ought to know what the bone of contention between the two countries is. They should be acquainted with the demands of the Amir as well as the wishes of the Government of India. If the real facts are disclosed to the public, it will be in a position to form its own opinion in the matter. If the Amir's demands are unreasonable, Government would be able to say that the Indian tax-payer does not favour them. But if the Indian Government's attitude is found to be unreasonable, and it is discovered that it wishes to involve Afghanistan in a war against Russia, the people would, in that case also, be able openly to express their views. Continuing, the paper says that if the Government of India wishes to be a puppet in the hands of English capitalists and imposes upon Afghanistan conditions which will ultimately prove harmful to India, the people here have a right strongly to protest against this attitude on its part. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that Indians should be acquainted with real facts. It is improper to keep them in the dark in matters which directly concern the welfare of their country.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SIDAQAT (Lahore);
Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

India's representative on the League of Nations.

3. Writing about the selection of Sir Ali Imam to represent India on the League of Nations, the *Sidaqat* of the 27th October says that he represents the Government of India and will, therefore, give expression only to ideas likely to help forward that Government's policy. It would be a mistake to say that he will plead the cause of India on the League of Nations, the greatest political assembly of the world. He is only a [gramophone] record, and will voice only the political ideas favoured by the Indian Government. Continuing, the paper says that a very large section of the Indian Mussalmans reposes no faith in Sir Ali Imam. It does not wish to speak of his questionable behaviour in the matter of the Khilafat, because it constitutes a disgraceful story. Next it asks whether he will tell the League of Nations what happened at the Jallianwala Bagh or what Muhammadan feelings regarding the Khilafat are. If not, the League is only a screen behind which all sorts of infamies are perpetrated. It is only a manifestation of the Anglo-French alliance.

SIDAQAT (Lahore);
Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

Non-coöperation.

4. (*a*) Commenting upon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's recent speech at Lahore, the *Sidaqat* of the 17th October states that it was remarked by the Pandit that if non-coöperation was to injure the people instead of Government he was opposed to the movement. But we say [in reply], "So long as you are subjects and slaves, you will always continue to be injured." The freedom of India will always be in danger even after the new reforms. India has not yet been granted the right of freedom like England. The existing state of affairs required that we should have unanimously come to a decision and done something practical, so that Government would have been affected thereby. Even the slightest difference of opinion at this juncture will prove fatal for us. When the greatest national assembly of the country has decided in favour of non-coöperation, it is the duty of every son of India—whether a Malaviya or Maulvi, high or low—to push on the movement. It is equivalent to breaking and weakening the power of the country and the nation to say at such a critical time that those who do not wish to enter the Councils may not do so, but that those who wish to enter them to serve the country may do so.

VIRAT (Gujranwala);
Banke Dial, editor.

(*b*) The *Virat* of the 18th October is surprised to see that even most of the nationalists are openly opposed to non-coöperation and regard it as harmful for the country. Facts go to prove, however, that the supporters of the movement weigh heavier in the scales and are certain to achieve success. The bureaucracy also is proving of great help to them, seeing that the more incidents occur on its side likely to increase unrest the stronger will grow the non-coöperation movement, which has been started merely because justice is not done to India by the authorities. The country has now no hope to obtain justice even from the British Parliament. In other words, the injustice which has been done to Indians by the powers that be is at once the seed and nourishment of the movement. If the authorities had displayed the least wisdom and tried to win the hearts of Indians the movement would never have sprung into existence. And if it had been started through some mistake the authorities' sense of fairness would have uprooted it. As it is, things are assuming quite the reverse aspect. The authorities are anxious to suppress the movement by force. Continuing, the paper says that non-coöperation is no laudable movement, seeing that it is apprehended to lead to diverse unpleasant occurrences. What should one do, however, when one is left no other alternative? If the authorities do not wish the movement to succeed they should do justice to Indians.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 25th October the paper says that the people do not now like to bear of slavery and sycophancy, and no longer repose any confidence in the authorities. Thirty-three crores of Indians have shaken off their sleep and wish to obtain self-government. They know that Government possesses power and machine-guns, but, nevertheless, every one of them wishes the first bullet to hit his chest. India has seen hundreds, nay, thousands of years of slavery. Her good days have now dawned, and it is to be hoped that she will not rest until she has attained real glory and greatness.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore);
Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*d*) The *Ittifaq* of the 27th October says that Indians are intoxicated with the life of slavery. The slave, however, who considers his life to depend on a tyrannical master, does not live in the true sense of the term. He drives away from his mind the idea of the might of the Master of Masters who can destroy the greatest tyrant in the twinkling of an eye. Continuing, the paper denies the truth of the contention by the moderates that English education and Government educational institutions have civilised Indians. They have, it adds, made slaves of Indians and lowered them in the eyes of the inhabitants of foreign countries. It can assert with great confidence that if modern education had been imparted to them on patriotic lines, India would long ago have broken asunder her chains of slavery. If national educational institutions are established, Indian students will learn to rely upon one another, the ties of love among them will be strengthened, and they will not hesitate to sacrifice even their dearest thing for their nation. They will not have to salute the Union Jacks; they will bow before God. They will not be flogged on their backs, and even the mightiest person will fear them. It is the duty of parents to listen to the Congress and withdraw their sons from Government schools and colleges. If they themselves have rendered no service to their country and nation and have been unable to shake off their bondage, this should not make their sons follow their example.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(e) In criticising Mr. Gandhi's proposition that education must be sacrificed to higher politics, the *Tribune* of the 24th October writes:—"There comes now and then a conjuncture in the affairs of a people when it must risk its all, and education after all is only a part of this all, if it is to preserve anything that is worth having . . . The only question is whether the characteristic features of such a conjuncture are present in our case . . . There are a good many people among us, and these so far include all but a handful of the most prominent leaders, who think that the question cannot at present be answered in the affirmative. . . [Such] a conjuncture . . . is not constituted merely by a grave wrong committed by one's opponents or even by a series of grave wrongs."

(f) Commenting on Mr. Satyamurti's complaint that instead of paralysing the bureaucracy, the Congress resolution on non-coöperation has really paralysed all political activity in the country, the paper says:—"The plain fact of the matter, of course, is that on the one hand some of us have come to believe in non-coöperation as a sort of universal and all-sufficing panacea, and on the other those, who do not believe in it in that sense, though accepting it as a legitimate and very useful instrument find themselves absolutely paralysed. There is, indeed, no political activity except the activity associated with the non-coöperation movement, no political leadership except what is engaged in the propagation or the carrying out of this movement . . . It would be the country's dire misfortune, if as seems not improbable, it were eventually discovered that in spite of all its attractiveness Mr. Gandhi's formula only represents a fragment of truth and not the whole truth, that the nation in India cannot, at this stage, live by non-coöperation alone, and that in neglecting other elements of the truth, it has neglected sources of nourishment quite as indispensable, though not as strong, as the strong meat of non-coöperation."

(g) The *Tribune* of the 26th October thus concludes an article on the non-coöperation movement:—"We consider some of the methods that are being adopted likely to do more harm than good to the country, and . . . . fear that the reaction, which we regard as almost inevitable, if things go on at the present rate, will mean a very great set-back. Undoubtedly the force of the movement will remain. It cannot fail to add to our moral stature. It has done so already. But the better way, in our opinion, would be so to guide the enthusiasm that Mr. Gandhi has succeeded in arousing along wholly fructifying channels as to eliminate at once the risk of immediate harm and of ultimate set-back. Mr. Gandhi can yet do this if he likes. We know of no one else who can."

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

(h) The *Vedic Magazine* for October writes:—"It is a matter for sincere gratification that most of the leading nationalists . . . ., though they opposed Mr. Gandhi's resolution in the Congress, have obeyed the mandate of articulate India and have whole-heartedly joined in the boycott of the new councils. . . . For hundreds of years we have invited and maintained foreign rule on account of divided counsels and the failure to recognise that the first qualification for fitness for self-government is the capacity to merge personal preferences and cheerfully submit to the verdict of the collective judgment of one's compatriots. If we do not submit to a mandate of our unofficial parliament, merely because it is only morally binding upon us, and never think of disobeying laws and regulations issued by the bureaucracy although many of them are opposed to all our conceptions of justice and fair play—presumably because they are, in the ultimate resort, enforcable by physical force,—we clearly demonstrate our unfitness for *swaraj* . . . Let us learn to obey our unofficial elected representatives so that when they become official representatives no new fresh and difficult adjustment of the angle of vision may be needed."

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

(*i*) Elsewhere the journal writes:—"We must enter our emphatic protest against the attempt of Lala Lajpat Rai, who declared in his concluding speech at the Calcutta Congress that everybody should try to make the non-coöperation programme of the Congress a success, to whittle down the Congress resolution. Lala Lajpat Rai is advising his countrymen to boycott the Councils, but to safeguard the continued existence of Government schools. This species of loyalty to the Congress is indeed queer . . . Government schools and colleges were founded with a view to train men who would help in maintaining bureacratic rule. . . . To talk of promoting non-coöperation without replacing nurseries of subservient coöperation is to talk what cannot be called 'sense' by the wildest stretch of imagination. . . . It does not behove Lala Lajpat Rai to pose as a non-coöperator and yet to strengthen the roots of coöperation by leaving the bureaucracy free to shape and mould the minds of the rising generation."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*j*) The *Zamindar* of the 20th October says that the time has come when all the Muslim and Hindu college students should afford proof of their national and religious life. After referring to the situation at the Islamia College, Lahore, the paper writes that to-day Islam expects every Muhammadan to do his duty by it, while India expects every one of her children to do his duty by her. Muhammadan students should remember that they constitute the hope of their country and community and are the standard-bearers of Islam and the pride of India. They should carry on a struggle patiently and steadily like their Egyptian *confréres* with a view to gain their object. The education which produces slaves is no genuine article.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*k*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd October says that there is already a great paucity of national schools and colleges in the Punjab. It is, therefore, the reverse of prudent and expedient to ask students to practise non-coöperation. In preaching the movement among the student community, Mr. Gandhi and his associates should not lose sight of the growing educational requirements of this province. It is true that the existing Government and aided schools create no great ideas of patriotism in the minds of students, and that the present system of education is defective in several ways. Indians should establish educational institutions with their own money: it is galling to a nation's sense of self-respect to look for official help in the completion of its educational matters. Indians should make their own arrangements for the sort of education they wish imparted to their children. Unless this is done in a satisfactory way, however, the extension of the principle of non-coöperation to education in the country, especially the Punjab, will lead to very undesirable consequences.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*l*) Commenting upon Mr. Yaqub Hassan's telegram to the students of the Aligarh College to stand firm, the *Sidaqat* of the 27th October says that during the recent European war, English students exchanged the pen for the gun to protect their country against danger. Islam also expects help from its sons in its hour of need.

SIKH SEPOY (Ferozepore); Tek Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

5. (*a*) In its combined issue of the 8th and 15th [received on the 26th] October the *Sikh Sepoy* says that non-coöperation has sprung up from the *hijrat* movement. We think, however, that it will not prove more successful than the latter propaganda has done. Besides, if now the people refuse to coöperate with Government the next time they will decline to work with one another. Again, even if non-coöperation proves a success, there will be a rebellion in the country leading to disorder and breaches of the peace. And whether the people may or may not coöperate with Government after that, governance in India will recommence from 1857, so to speak. The Sikh community should not let itself be carried away by the wave of non-coöperation. Those who think that

Indians will get *swáráj* in the same way as the Egyptians have done are labouring under a mistake. While there is only one nation and one religion in Egypt, there are hundreds of religions and scores of nations in India. The Sikhs should give up such absurd ideas. They should coöperate with the authorities, point out the latter's mistakes to them, secure the repeal of unpopular laws like the Rowlatt Act, and get Government moulded according to their wishes. The new India Act affords them an opportunity of doing so. If they give way to sulkiness now, they will never again get another opportunity like the present. They should avoid pursuing the policy of non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 24th October writes:—" Thursday's sitting of the Sikh League was an emphatic and unequivocal reply to all those who are in the habit of describing the Sikhs as a politically backward community. The delegates, drawn as they were largely from the rural masses of the province, mustered strong and took a lively interest throughout the proceedings. The whole day was spent over the non-coöperation resolution, which was in the same terms as the resolution passed at the special session of the Congress, with this difference that in the preamble to the Sikh resolution a new ground for non-coöperation was added, *viz.*, the utter disregard shown by Government of the rights of the community... It was passed by an overwhelming majority, only about a dozen voting against it."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Sikh* of the 24th October writes :—" It is a pity that under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and Company the same spirit of mobocracy carried the day, which the Mahatmaji has so often so strongly condemned in his speeches as well as in his articles in *Young India*.... The Sikh mobocracy have decided to follow the Special Congress verdict and set practical examples of renunciations ; but what will they do if the Gandhi programme is rejected by the Nagpur Congress ? Why do a thing which one may have to repent of, or rue afterwards ?"

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 24th October says that one arm of the bureaucracy has been paralysed. There should be a mourning to-day in the palace of Government. Those who had the liberty of independent nations destroyed by using the Sikh community as a puppet in their hands should hang down their heads in shame. They used to boast everywhere that although the whole world might desert them, the Sikhs' relations with Government could not be cut off. At all events, the Punjabis should not now give way to despair. There is now no reason why the Punjab should not forge ahead of other provinces in the matter of non-coöperation. The Sikhs have come to realise their degradation, and have stepped into the arena with such might and main as to raise high hopes. Continuing, the paper says that strictly speaking non-coöperation is a religious duty and no political problem. It hopes that the Sikhs will reserve their bravery and swordsmanship for use on some favourable occasion and will at present try to " capture the fortress of the national movements " with the weapons of restraint and forbearance.

The Seditious Meetings Act.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 27th October writes :—" The action of the Punjab Government in declaring the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura to be proclaimed areas under the Seditious Meetings Act is utterly incomprehensible.... The application of an exceptional and admittedly repressive measure at a time when the forces of public life in the province and the country are solely directed to enlarging the bounds of lawful freedom is a proceeding as indefensible as it is supremely inexpedient.... It is open to the rural people to enquire why if Lahore and Amritsar, which have hitherto been the chief centres of public meeting can be, as they very rightly are, exempted from the application of the Act, the villages, which have so far had too few rather than too many public meetings of any kind, are to be subjected to this grave disability. We have been told so much about the loyalty of the villagers that we are bound to ask if the present action of the Government is in any way compatible with its oft-repeated declarations."

(*b*) Commenting on the Punjab Government's *communique* on the subject, the *Tribune* of the 28th October writes :—" We are prepared to assume for the sake of argument that the right of public speaking has, in some cases, been abused .... Did not some of the highest authorities connected with the Government of India declare only the other day that things were not worse, but distinctly better, in India in this respect than in many other countries of the world and of the Empire itself ? In how many of those countries has the right of public speaking been sought to be controlled as the Punjab Government is seeking to control it in this province ? .... Secondly, the statement of the Punjab Government is obviously one-sided. It dilates upon the transgressions of certain public speakers, but says nothing about the Government's own sins of omission and commission .... It is all very well to remind us of the Lieutenant-Governor's anxiety to restore the old relations of amity and the old understanding between the Government and the people .... But His Honour will, we believe, be the first to admit that the people are not satisfied, that much that they have been asking for from the first with the utmost strength and earnestness has not been given to them yet, and that hope deferred has made the heart sick.... Is all this, we ask in all seriousness, at all calculated to conciliate the public mind or to bring peace to an unhappy province ?

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(c) The *Sidaqat* of the 28th October says that Government has exempted religious meetings from the operation of the Act. To the followers of Islam, however, religion and politics are not two different things. The Khilafat question, for instance, is a combination of both. From the Muslim point of view, therefore, the religious freedom of Muhammadans in the districts concerned should be considered to have come to an end. Next the paper says that the prohibition of public meetings will undoubtedly save Government from hearing bitter things. Will it, however, put down unrest, which Government wishes to remove ?

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

M. Zafar Ali's conviction.

7 (a) Writing on M. Zafar Ali's conviction, the *Tribune* of the 29th October says :—" The conviction is, in our opinion, wholly unsustainable and the sentence outrageously severe .... The conclusion to which we have been irresistibly led is that the Maulvi, however strong may have been some of his statements and observations, committed no offence." Next the paper examaines the character of the prosecution evidence and some of the allegations made against the Maulvi, and comments as follows :—" The Maulvi is alleged to have said .... that in certain circumstances which had not yet arisen the Government would perish. Now this is exactly the sort of statement which the Attorney-General of England, speaking on behalf of the British Government, declared some time ago did not constitute an offence, because the disloyalty was only contingent. Are we to have a different law in India, and is Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan to be convicted for using language which in the case of Sir Edward Carson was held by the highest legal authority to be legally innocent ? And is this the sort of evidence on which not the only conviction of the accused but a sentence of five years' transportation is to be sustained ? .... Public opinion all over the country is sure to condemn with equal strength and emphasis what is nothing else than a grave miscarriage of justice and the Government, if it is wise, will lose no time in remitting the sentence altogether."

(b) Elsewhere the paper writes :—" [Zafar Ali] should be treated as political prisoners are treated in England, alike as regards food, clothing, and all other matters. A beginning was made in this respect with about 40 Martial Law prisoners some months ago. We do hope the Government will strictly adhere to the policy then laid down and will further develop it along the same line.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

India's opium revenue.

8. The *Vedic Magazine* reproduces a resolution introduced in the American Congress to recommend the abolition of the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in India and other parts of the British Empire, except for medicinal purposes. Commenting, it says :—" Now an interesting situation has arisen. 'Excise' is a transferred subject. If the Indian Ministers do not abolish the cultivation of poppy and the manufacture and sale of liquor, they will stand condemned before civilized humanity as parties to the drugging and demoralisation of their race, if, on the contrary, they do the right thing—which in our opinion, they must be made to do at all costs—they will have no money to spend on education and sanitation and this will give an opportunity to the enemies of Indian progress to say that the experiment of partial *swaraj* has failed and, therefore, the sphere of self-government ought to be curtailed and not extended."

Postal holidays and the Sikhs.

Sikh (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

9. The following is from the *Sikh* of the 24th October:—"In a previous issue we .... drew the attention of the Punjab Government to the sheer injustice done to the Sikh employés of the Postal Department by withholding their national holidays [from them] .... But what is this riding roughshod over the evident claims of a great community due to? Is it not due to there being no Sikh occupying a respectable position in the office of the Postmaster-General, Punjab, where such matters are to be considered and duly recommended further? .... Still we are told that the Government authorities in filling up appointments, pay due regard to the Sikh claims. In the great Postal Department we have not even the 1-7th said to be set apart for us .... In the whole of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan the poor Sikhs hold only 65 posts, and those, too, mostly and mainly of junior grades. Our plight, therefore, so far as the great Postal Department is concerned, can better be imagined than described. We don't think it is too much for us to ask and for Government to concede to us our adequate share in this connection."

A complaint.

Zamindar Gazette (Jullundur); Kandhar Singh, editor.

10. The *Zamindar Gazette* of the 15th October says that the practice of hearing cases on tours is a source of great trouble to the people and ought to be done away with. Government should order its officers not to decide cases while out on tour, taking them up only where people can easily obtain legal help. It should abolish the practice along with *begar*, and thus remove a legitimate grievance of the poor and dumb villagers.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Saugor slaughter-house.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st October states that, according to a special telegram from Saugor [Central Provinces], the Deputy Commissioner there has, instead of accepting the municipality's decision to close the local slaughter-house, decided to take the place in his own hands. Further, he has begun to get kine slaughtered there, all the roads around the place being blocked with the help of the police. These autocratic proceedings on his part are calculated completely to destroy the rights of our municipal committees; and if the decisions of the latter can be trampled upon by Deputy Commissioners, the sooner these bodies cease to exist the better. All the municipalities in India should protest against the high-handed proceedings in question, while the municipal commissioners of Saugor should tender their resignations and nobody should consent to step into their shoes. Again, the people should express their unanimous opinion on the subject in the same way as they did in the matter of the Ratona slaughter-house. Meetings should be held in all places and abhorrence expressed for the tyrannical proceedings on the part of the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor.

Sanatan Dharm Patrika (Lahore); Diwan Chand, editor.

(*b*) The *Sanatam Dharm Patrika* of the 24th October says that the authorities are represented to be governing us for our own good. When, however, both the Hindus and Muhammadans are opposed to kine-killing why is the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor obstinate enough to allow the daily slaughter of 500 kine and thereby to injure our feelings? Will the shameful excuse be put forward that this, too, is done for the good of India?

The sacred thread.

Sanatan Dharm Patrika, (Lahore); Diwan Chand, editor.

12. The *Sanatan Dharm Patrika* of the 17th October states that Brindar Kumar Ghosh and Upindar Nath Mukerji, who were transported in the Manaktola bomb case, write to the press that on their arrival in the Andamans [Hindu] convicts are divested of their sacred thread. After saying that the same treatment was accorded to the Lahore leaders on their arrest, the paper regrets that the event should have caused no agitation in the [Hindu] community. Government should be requested in a most respectful manner to let us perform our religious duties in all circumstances and to have full regard for our religious susceptibilities.

The *kirpan*.

Punch (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

13. The *Punch* of the 20th October expresses satisfaction at Sikh soldiers having been permitted to wear the *kirpan*. It considers it necessary to add, however, that the principles of Sikhism place no limit on the length of the *kirpan*. Under no circumstances should it be shorter than a sword.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Lahore municipality.

14. The *Liberal* of the 24th October writes:—"We hear that an attempt is being made in certain quarters to import a European official as Secretary of the Lahore municipal committee. We wonder if the report is well-founded; but if it is, we cannot but be sorry for those who are the originators or supporters of this antiquated move. In these days of reforms and progress, it is but the perversity of mind to think of dependence on outside help even in small matters like the governance of a small municipal committee..... Will Lahore blacken its face by resorting to a retrograde measure like the one that is said to be agitating the mind of certain people here? It is too late in the day now to decry the fitness of Indians to manage their own affairs."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Lord Mayor of Cork.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The *Tribune* of the 31st October writes in the course of an article on Mr. MacSwiney's death:—"It is impossible to withhold one's sympathy from a person who for so long a period as two months and a half inflicted 'this plague [of hunger]' upon himself whether under mistaken impression or not, does not matter—so that [his] country might be free. Secondly, the hunger strike in this case was launched not from an excess of abstract idealism, but as an emphatic protest against concrete oppression. It is absolutely undeniable that not only had freedom been too long withheld from Ireland, in the face of an agitation for it which was as universal and as determined as any of which history makes mention, but that latterly England had in her efforts to put down lawlessness—itself the outcome of misgovernment and of the withholding of freedom—resorted to methods which were themselves as lawless as anything could be. In the name of justice what had been offered to Ireland was a complete negation of justice."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

India's representatives on the League of Nations.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 30th October says that Sir Ali Imam, Sir William Meyer and the Maharaja of Jhallawar have been appointed to represent India on the League of Nations. The people cannot, however, repose complete confidence in them, seeing that two of them have already held high posts under Government and the third is the ruler of a Native State. Nor have they been consulted in making the appointments. Since, however, Indians have been given the right of representation on the League their representatives should be those leaders in whom they repose implicit faith and whom they expect sincerely to make every effort to safeguard their rights and interests. As to what the three gentlemen selected have done for the betterment of India, this is known to all. It will not, therefore, be wrong to say that they are not India's representatives in the true sense of the term.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 31st October:—"It is significant that Sir Ali Imam has been appointed to represent India on the League of Nations. Sir Ali Imam is a staunch Muhammadan, and we will not be surprised if his appointment succeeded in kindling a ray of light in the depressed hearts of the Muhammadans. India is believed to be a figurehead at the League of Nations, but much can no doubt be done by association with other representatives of the world, if one really meant to do something. Sir Ali Imam has therefore an opportunity of helping in the redress of a grevious wrong that has been done to Islam, and may we hope that he will turn this opportunity to good account by bringing into play his unique powers with which he is now armed by the Government of India?"

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Esher Committee's report.

3. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th October says that India will derive very little or only nominal benefit from the Esher Committee's report. It is a black lie to say that the Committee has made no recommendations likely to stand in the way of India obtaining a national Government. The greatest complaint against its recommendations is that India's public opinion had nothing to do with them. Both its Indian members affixed their signatures to the report before educated and thoughtful men in the country could express an opinion about the document. This was an unpardonable mistake. It was idle to expect Sir Umar Hayat Khan to disagree with the recommendations made in it, but it is a matter for surprise that Sir Krishna Gupta should have signed the report before his countrymen could express their opinion in regard to it. As it is, the report has reached the Secretary of State, but Indians have not been consulted about it, nor has it been laid before the [Imperial] Legislative Council. They have had no opportunity of discussing it, and its acceptance in the present circumstances would mean that Government is indifferent in connection with Indian affairs and does not care for the country's opinions. It is such indifference on its part that is responsible for the unrest and discontent prevailing among the people. It cannot be justified in accepting and adopting recommendations in regard to which Indians have not been consulted.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 27th October the paper says that the revolutionary recommendations made by the Committee will very injuriously affect India's independence. The Secretary of State and India herself will in future have no control over the army maintained in the country. The Commander-in-Chief will now communicate direct with the Imperial General Staff, and the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy will have no opportunity of expressing their disagreement with any decisions arrived at. The Committee has recommended that a supply department should be established and placed under a civil officer, who should be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indians cannot oppose the first part of the proposal, but they should oppose the appointment of the officer in question as a member of the Council referred to, seeing that the arrangement will increase the number of the European officers on the Council. This is an important question, and Indians should protest against the proposal.

(*c*) Continuing in its issue dated the 29th October the paper says that one of the recommendations of the Esher Committee is to the effect that the British element in the army should be increased. The adoption of this recommendation would still further add to the already enormous military expenditure of India. An army should undoubtedly be kept in a state of high efficiency, but it is equally necessary that the indispensable needs of other departments also should be met. It is, therefore, a defective and short-sighted policy that the bulk of the revenues of India should be spent on the army, inasmuch as it results in her other requirements being disregarded and retards her collective progress. Again, there is a marked difference between the recommendations relating to the appointment of Indians and Europeans, respectively. Experience has shown that there are several Indians who, in spite of their low educational qualifications, can very ably perform the duties of a high office. And even if it be admitted, as has been said by the Committee, that the failure of Indians to rise to higher posts is due to their low education, still this does not solve the question why these appointments were not thrown open to them earlier. Why have no arrangements been made for their military training on a high scale, as is done in the case of Europeans at the Sandhurst College? The bestowal of higher posts on them would infuse a martial spirit into them, place them in a position to defend their country and convince them that they enjoy equal rights of citizenship with the Britons in the true sense of the term. Besides, such a thing would be quite in consonance with the policy enunciated in the announcement of the 17th August 1917.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Non-coöperation.

4. (*a*) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the nd November:—" Mahatma Gandhi has now removed the veil and made it clear that his movement aims at a wholesale revolution—the overthrow of 'the present satanic Government'—by peaceful means of course. In his letter to the trustees of the Aligarh College he has clearly and boldly defined his position. .. We know our country and more particularly our own province, where so many factions are working, all at cross purposes with each other. Judging from the real morale

of our province with special reference to our own community, we can say, without any fear of contradiction, that the present temper of the nation and particularly of the Sikh people, does not and cannot gaurantee, at present, conformity to the spirit of non-violence. . . . It is our firm conviction that Mahatma Gandhi's cult has the seeds of hatred and ill-will towards others and as such it will doubtlessly tend to violence and breaking loose of the forces of discord and strife among ourselves . . . We are not prepared to subscribe to the programme drawn up by Mr. Gandhi and so unthoughtfully and injudiciously adopted by the Sikh League."

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Ahmad Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Zulfiqar* of the 1st November draws Government's attention to the very serious proportions the non-coöperation movement is assuming. It is evident, adds the paper, that no one is prepared to practise in non-coöperation of his own free will. If one section of the people is being threatened the other is being misled into doing so. If this state of affairs continues and Government makes no satisfactory arrangements for protecting its subjects, the time is not far distant when the agitators will succeed in lowering its prestige, and law-abiding people will have to suffer loss of life and property. It is the duty of Government to nip the evil in the bud.

JYOTI (Lahore); Vidya Vati Seth, editor.

(*c*) The *Jyoti* for October says that some people ask why they should kill their conscience by accepting the Congress resolution on non coöperation when their views are opposed to those of the majority. Will they tell us, however, why they obey the provisions of the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act, seeing that these laws were passed against their wishes? Even when we obtain *swaraj* we shall have to accept the decisions of the parliament elected by us, although these may or may not conform to our views. Why should we not begin to acquire this habit at once?

(*d*) Elsewhere the journal says that Government schools and colleges constitute the real centre of bureaucratic power. It contends that these institutions denationalise Indian youth, make the latter unpatriotic, and teach them habits of mendicancy and dependence on others. Continuing, it writes that if we wish to pursue the path of non-coöperation, we should avoid sending our sons and daughters to schools and colleges which teach their students to coöperate with Government and follow in the footsteps of the bureaucracy.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*e*) The *Zamindar* of the 27th October says that although the number of such students and parents as are opposed to the disaffiliation of schools and colleges from the official universities is very small, still they constitute an ugly blot on the bright face of Islam and India. After remarking that Indians have declared a war against the bureaucracy, the paper writes that the nations which have the good fortune to possess arms employ these in their fights with their enemies. Those, however, which are unarmed and helpless can wield only the weapon of non coöperation in order to achieve their object. The Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs have now unanimously decided to wage a peaceful war with the bureaucracy. Our country has been in the chains of bondage and servitude for a century and a half, and we cannot think of war or *jehad*. Continuing, the paper says that history bears testimony to the fact that young students have always taken a prominent part in national movements. We do not complain against the unfortunate students and teachers in India who cannot even temporarily sacrifice education to liberate their country and religion. We complain only of the ill-luck of this country. Although streams of blood flowed in the Jallianwala Bagh and the blood of the Caliphate was most heartlessly shed, our unfortunate country continues to bear the ugly stain of slavery and subjection.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*f*) The *Vakil* of the 27th October publishes a communication from **ABDUL WALI, B.A.**, Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League. The writer quotes figures to show that while in 1918-19 Government spent only one and a quarter crores of rupees on secondary education, the public spent twice as much for the purpose. Is it not regrettable, he asks, that we should, in return for the small amount provided by Government, hand over to it the entire control of education? We can get this money by asking all unaided educational institutions to double the tuition fees. The extra amount raised could be utilized for helping aided schools, which could then give up the Government grants received by them. The proposal to leave Government schools is not, therefore, as terrible and impracticable as it is stated to be. Only a small amount of sacrifice is needed to make it a success.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*g*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 30th October publishes a communication from one MUHAMMAD ZAFAR, M.A., LL.B. The writer strongly opposes the proposal to convert the Aligarh College into a national institution and asks the Muhammadans what harm can be done to Government if schools and colleges cease receiving aid from it and are emptied of students. Continuing, he says that the Hindus hate the Muslims even now and do them as much harm as they can. While the latter, he adds, have forthwith given up the use of beef, *mahajans* continue charging exorbitant rates of interest from them. Again, *chhut* is strictly observed by the Hindus even now.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*h*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 30th October:—"In the course of his recent letter to the trustees of the Aligarh College, Mr. Gandhi wrote: 'We are engaged in a war in which our only weapon is the force of public opinion, and we shall reckon ourselves beaten in the battle if we do not carry the public with us in the present dispute. The test of public opinion will be in the first instance your majority.' So far as this first test is concerned, the issue has gone against Mr. Gandhi. The trustees of the Aligarh College have, by a very large majority, rejected the proposal for the refusal of Government grant and the disaffiliation of the College from the university. Nor has this action been taken in a hurry or on the spur of the moment ..... That this decision will be welcomed by the majority of right-thinking men in the country, including all but a few of those actually engaged in education or who have hitherto been known to take a keen and energetic interest in it, there is abundant evidence [to show] .... It is, indeed, not too much to say that the Aligarh College has by saving itself saved a good many other institutions in the country." Continuing the paper denies that official education "has made us slaves or has even tended to perpetuate our slave mentality." It then writes among other things:—"We can certainly have a number of national schools and colleges and even universities working side by side with the official schools, colleges and universities, supplementing their effort, correcting and modifying their influence, and acting as a sort of exemplar to them .... That way both the success of the movement and real national good lies..... The cry of boycott of the existing schools must be definitely discarded, and the sooner it was discarded the better..... There should be a vigorous and persistent effort to transfer the control of the existing Government colleges and schools to unofficial bodies, to ensure that the Government grant-in-aid shall not carry with them any bureaucratic control and to change the character of the universities from being more or less official bodies principally, if not solely, controlled by popular representatives."

SCIENCE-GROUNDED RELIGION (Lahore); Har Narain Agnihotri, editor.

(*i*) The *Science-grounded Religion* for November writes:—"The present revolutionary movement of 'destroying' Government and Government-aided or even affiliated institutions is not only most harmful for the educational interests of students, but is subversive of order, and being the outcome of personal grudges or racial hatred and vindictiveness against the British, it is morally wrong and degrading. . . . We, therefore, condemn it most strongly. . . . We are not deceived by the word peaceful even if it is used before the word revolution, because we know that the feelings of intense hatred or ill-will against the Government that rule the hearts of so many of our people and that form the basis of this movement, will lead them to attack, and come in collision with, those who either do not support them or who fully oppose them, as was the case when boycotting of foreign goods was used as a political weapon in Bengal and young men were employed as pickets for that purpose. . . . Again, the bitter experiences of the *satyagraha* movement last year leads one to think that this so-called peaceful revolution, too, may develop into riot and bloodshed, because men and specially young men are apt to become blind by the overpowering influence of passions of hatred and vindictiveness and then get out of the control of the leaders. . . . It is a great falsehood to preach that the English education, imparted hitherto by universities under the control of Government, has been an unmixed evil or pre-eminently evil, and that it has produced only slaves, because all the chief leaders of the National Congress, national conferences, Home Rule Leagues, etc., who make much ado of patriotism, are the products of this very system of education."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar) Gian Singh, editor.

(j) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 26th October writes :—"Although we agree that the present Government or Government-aided schools 'give but an indifferent education, teach us false history and take no note of the national wants,' yet we refuse to recognise the necessity of emptying these schools and colleges all at once. . . . . We contend the money, which the Government pays to our schools in the shape of grants-in-aid, is also our own, paid by us in various forms. Just as the demand of handing back of our religious and educational institutions does not involve any surrender of principles, similarly receiving back our own money does not indicate coöperation. . . . . No doubt these grants-in-aid impose the compliance of certain conditions on those who accept them, and these conditions are galling sometimes, but then the wiser course is to get the removal of these conditions."

The Sikh League and non-coöperation.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

5. (a) Writing about the adoption by the Sikh League of a resolution on non-coöperation, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 26th October says in the course of the leader :—"The decision arrived at the last session was not the outcome of cool and calm deliberation, and . . . . was warped by strong bias and party feelings. . . The Leaguers had assembled there with a pre-arranged, dogged determination to pass, happen what may, the resolution of non-coöperation passed at the special sessions of the Indian National Congress. . . . We have not the slightest doubt about it. For we are fully cognizant of the facts that forces of unreasoning stupidity and blind faith in the wise enemies of the Sikh community, in whose hands some unwary or clever Sikhs were playing, were fully arrayed against any constructive programme which the sound intelligentia of the nation might venture to put forth."

(b) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"The text of the resolution on non-coöperation of non-violence passed at the last session of the Sikh League has not been so far supplied to us. But as far as our memory goes we think there was a clause in it which enjoined the social boycott of those who would not comply with the terms of the resolution. In other words, it meant that the decision of the Central Sikh League carried the weight of the supreme authority over, and dictated obedience to, the entire body of the Sikhs. We seriously doubt the *bonâ fides* of that body to such dictatorship. The Sikh League is a political body of a section of political enthusiasts among the Sikhs. It represents and voices forth the views of only a fraction of the Sikh community. The views of those who are in Government service or others who hold that a mean course is the only best possible or of those who hold moderate views or of those who are conservative in politics or of those who totally eschew politics, did not and could not find any ventilation in the Sikh League. Under these circumstances, what credentials, we venture to ask, has the Sikh League to inflict its decision on those whose views it neither respected nor ventilated ? Its decision is therefore not binding on the whole Sikh community. If it is binding at all on any one it is binding on the non-coöperationists alone."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(c) The *Sikh* of the 31st October writes :—"[The assembly] was composed of Sikh, Hindu and Muslim supporters of Mr. Gandhi's non-coöperation programme, and those who raised their hands were not all delegates. . . A decision arrived at with the help and support of such a mass, using every means, fair or foul, that struck their self-appointed spokesmen and leaders, is not the decision of the whole Guru Panth which has always been the first to condemn such mobocratic conduct. We suggest the Central Sikh League issuing a manifesto to this effect for the dis-illusionment of the public in general and the Panth in particular, for even though all of us may agree as to the principle, we must not rest until the decision so unfairly made is condemned and upset."

Labour in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. Writing about the meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Bombay, the *Tribune* of the 4th November says :—"Labour in India can no longer be ruled by sympathetic outsiders. Lala Lajpat Rai gave utterance to a deeper and more far reaching truth than his actual words indicatad when he said that 'Labour, properly organised, properly awakened and properly applied, would make it impossible for any foreigner to impose his will on the country.' The foreigner in this case is not merely the foreigner who comes from another land but foreigner on our own soil, within our own gates, among our own people. Just as labour in England will not allow an Asquith, a Balfour or a

Bonar Law to impose his will upon itself, so Indian labour will not allow the best and truest representatives of the capitalist or professional classes to impose their will upon it. . . . . The establishment of trade unions will accentuate, as it is itself the outcome of, a struggle not only between the labouring classes and the Government, but between the labouring classes and other classes among the people of India themselves."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

7. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 28th October thinks that the Sikh League having passed a resolution on non-coöperation and urged the rural population of the Punjab to act upon it, the authorities have considered it necessary to kill national movements in the villages in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura whose inhabitants live comparatively near the educated people in cities. The editor is at a loss to understand why non-coöperation should be interpreted to mean sedition and insurrection. If Government regards the movement as unlawful, it should issue a gazette extraordinary setting forth its views and warning the people and their leaders. We do not know what particular fault has been committed by the three proclaimed districts. Are not speeches on the Khilafat and the Punjab question being made in every nook and corner of India? If Government has not proclaimed these districts with the object of suppressing non-coöperation, will it say what its other reasons are? It should say where in these districts unlawful meetings have been held and bloodshed took place, which villages in them have raised the standard of revolt, and where secret societies are being formed. Will those of our leaders who differ from us as to the programme of non-coöperation tell us if it is permissible to coöperate with a Government given to taking such unconstitutional steps? Can we, in face of such unjust acts and continued repression, keep our schools and colleges affiliated to the official universities and send our representatives to the Councils? In conclusion, the paper asks the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs to go on raising on outcry until they are strangled by the bureaucracy. They should not hold meetings in gradens and should allow no opportunity to Government to practise repression on them. They should, however, vigorously follow a policy of non-coöperation. Individual efforts are more useful than public meetings. Everyone should do his duty without waiting for others to set the example.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 29th October cannot understand why the Punjab Government has proclaimed that sedition is rampant in this province, although this is not a fact. How many meetings, asks the paper, have recently been held in the Punjab which were likely to disseminate sedition? If it is not mistaken, only one *diwan* was held at Wachhoa in the Amritsar district. There was no other meeting in any of [the villages in] the three proclaimed districts. Apparently Government wishes to impose no restrictions on Khilafat meetings, seeing that no special interest is evinced in these districts in the Khilafat movement. Where is, therefore, the dangerous situation to cope with which the people of three districts have been deprived of their liberty of speech? Legitimate political movements will now be stopped in these parts of the Punjab. It is possible that some speakers overstep the bounds of moderation and constitution, but Government has laws to deal with the matter. Nor can it be said that it enforces these laws only sparingly. It has already instituted cases against Zafar Ali, Laqa Ullah and Sufi Muhammad Iqbal. This being so, there seems no reason why the entire public should be deprived of its liberty on the ground of violent speeches by certain individuals. The paper then goes on to say that in exempting election meetings from the operation of the Act the Punjab Government has laid itself open to the charge that it wants to suppress the non-coöperation movement. The right course to adopt, it adds, would have been to exempt all meetings—for or against individual candidates. Next it states that, according to the public, the enforcement of the Act in the Punjab is a reply to the non-coöperation resolution passed by the Sikh League, and that Government dislikes the idea of the movement spreading to the general Sikh public. It is possible that this surmise may be correct, but there is one thing against it, *viz.*, that Government was considering the matter even before the last session of the League.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 30th October the paper alleges that, as a result of the enforcement of the Act, no one can organise meetings against Council elections in the districts concerned. After remarking that the restrictions involved are highly improper, the paper says that it is not seditious to ask the people not to enter the Councils. There is consequently no reason why such meetings should be prevented with the aid of the law. We know that Government does not wish to suppress meetings against Council elections. We would ask it [expressly] to exempt them from the operations of the Seditious Meetings Act.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*d*) In commenting upon the Punjab Government's press *communiqué* regarding the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in three districts of this province, the *Sidaqat* of the 29th October concedes that the utterances of certain speakers are inflammatory in some respects. The point, however, that demands attention from Government is why people make such inflammatory speeches and what compels them to adopt a harsh tone. The *communiqué* says, "There are others who have persuaded themselves, rightly or wrongly, of some injustice or injury in the past and feel it incumbent on them to keep alive its memories." Are the ruin of the Khilafat and the British occupation of the holy places [of Islam] and the Arabian peninsula such an ordinary thing, however, that some people have [only] wrongly or rightly persuaded themselves of injustice in regard to it? Is the Punjab affair also a trivial matter of the same kind? Is the Punjab Government of opinion that these "contemptible and ordinary" occurrences have affected only a few persons? Apparently it has not taken the trouble to study public feeling in regard to these matters. The public would have no complaint against Government if the Khilafat question were decided in accordance with Muslim wishes and Indians were granted *swaraj* on colonial lines. We sincerely wish that the strained relations between Government and the people should improve, but how can this be possible when either party regards the other as its enemy?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*e*) The *Siyasat* of the 29th October says that the Punjab Government is becoming more and more inclined to repression every day. It has proved by its conduct during the past few weeks that, instead of sympathising with the people's feelings, it likes to trample upon and crush them. The speed with which it is moving towards repression convinces us that it will enforce the Defence Act also in the Punjab, nay, that it will not rest until it has employed all the means at its disposal to practise repression. Does it think, however, that it will be able to extinguish the national fire which now burns throughout the country and is spreading from day to day? Does it think that repression on its part will make the Punjabis abandon non-coöperation or give up the demands which they are determined to have fulfilled? It will soon discover its mistake.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*f*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th October says that it has been admitted by Government that not only no disturbance has occurred anywhere, but that the people have also no desire to create one. The enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act and the sentencing of Maulvis Laqa Ullah and Zafar Ali Khan to five years' imprisonment each shows, however, that Government wishes, not to punish them for having caused unrest or made mischief, but to punish patriots for their independent views. Its first desire consists in gagging the people and imprisoning those who may open their lips. If it wishes to remove all possibility of disturbances for the future, there should occur nothing likely to cause excitement among the people, they should be accorded the same treatment as is extended to the Britons, and India should be ruled for her good alone. The enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act cannot do away with unrest, the prevalence of which in the country is ascribable, not to the speeches of political leaders, but to the violation of promises by British Ministers and the constant rigours practised by responsible Government officers.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*g*) The *Sikh* of the 31st October writes:—"If events are to follow the same course as they did in 1919, then the proclamation of the Seditious Meetings Act again in the three important districts of the Punjab—Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura—does not augur well for this already most afflicted province. The binding down of certain presses with security and the arrest and prosecution of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan and two Maulvis of Panipat, who (all of them) have also been convicted now, followed by the prohibition of public meetings, clearly show that the Government is gradually but rather speedily reverting to its past unpopular ways. We admit that the wave of public demonstrations and enthusiasm is at a high pitch and the non-coöperation movement is being universally favoured in the country. But with all that nothing justifies the gagging at the public voice against a free expression of thought, so long as there are absolutely no signs of violence or a breach of the peace. If the leaders—including Mahatama Gandhi—preach a thing which they consider as an efficacious remedy against what they believe to be an evil, let them do so, so long as it does not amount to a breach of the law; and it is a fact that wheresoever they have spoken they have rather condemned violence."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

M. Zafar Ali's conviction.

8. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th October says that it was under the impression from the outset that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan had been arrested only to be punished. Maulvi Laqa Ullah, Sufi Iqbal Ahmad and Maulana Zafar Ali have by their sacrifices set a golden example to those devoted to the country. No reliance, adds the paper, can now be placed on the justice of British courts. Indians should now be prepared gladly and unhesitatingly to suffer hardships over their views and convictions. Some time back a man called John Steel was prosecuted in England for having used insulting language towards his Government. He said in the course of a lecture, "We shall prepare an army of 'reds' in England and wage a war against capitalists. Lloyd George, Churchill, the King and the whole constitution may go to hell. Instead of the present constitution we shall soon see the red flag waving." The trying magistrate sentenced the accused only to pay a fine of £ 3½. The latter, however, refused to pay it, saying that he was out of employ. Can we say, the paper asks, that the English and Indians are equally treated under the British Government?

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 30th October says that Zafar Ali has been awarded the severest of the sentences so far inflicted in the prosecutions launched in connection with the Khilafat movement. These sentences constitute a challenge to the movement, and show that Government wishes to suppress it by following a policy of repression. The public thinks that gross injustice has been done to Zafar Ali. The severity of the sentence passed on him has evoked feelings of sympathy for him and those of indignation against Government. Repression by the latter will benefit neither itself nor the people, and will so widen the gulf between the two as to render it impassable.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Sidaqat* of the 30th October says that the people did not even suspect that Maulvi Zafar Ali would be sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. Its summing up by the Public Prosecutor had weakened the case against the Maulvi It is now patent to everyone that Government had already made up its mind to punish him and to deprive him of his liberty, and that the case instituted against him was a mere pretext. Justice has been so ruthlessly sacrificed at the altar of expediency that it would be impossible to remove this unclean and bloody stain from the skirt of Government.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 2nd November writes:—"We do not think the cause of justice could be vindicated only by such a severe punishment. It is difficult to suppress the irresistible wave which is surging the Indian mind for liberty by punishments like these. The nation, as a whole, has made a right-about face to old order of things and is putting on a bold face to brave all these sufferings. The cause of the revolutionary party in India gains enormously by acts of repression, while that of the Government suffers proportionately. There is no need of mincing matters. We ask the Government to rise to the height of the occasion to listen to the impulses of the nation. The best way to check sedition. . . . is to take out the matter thereof. Persecution is no cure."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Alleged outrage on a female passenger.

9. The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th October publishes a telegram stating that a mass-meeting was held at Ajmer on the 26th in connection with the non-coöperation movement. Great excitement, adds the message, prevailed at the meeting owing to a European guard named Wright having entered a third class compartment for females while a train was in motion and outraged a young Muhammadan woman travelling in it. There was one more Indian woman in the compartment, but the guard threatened her into silence. When the train arrived at the Ajmer station the outraged woman reported the matter to the police. Upon this a Muhammadan

sub-inspector, Mr. Ghulam Farid-ud-Din, placed the guard under arrest. Subsequently, however, the European circle inspector ordered him to set the man free. Mr. Ghulam Farid-ud-Din then resigned his appointment by way of protest. Commenting, the *Bande Mataram* says that the feelings of hatred which such acts create in the minds of the people cannot be described in words. It is surprising, however, that our English officers should be averse to attending to them. The commission of the shameful deed in question in a running train and in the presence of another woman was a satanic act in itself; but to overlook it and to have the accused released owing simply to his being a European is a still more devilish thing. If Government officers can thus protect an ordinary and wicked *gora* of immoral character, there is nothing surprising in their highly praising an influential officer like General Dyer, who has, from his own standpoint, rendered the greatest service to Government. In these circumstances, it is idle to expect justice from British courts and officers. We congratulate the sub-inspector of police referred to on the moral courage displayed by him. In our opinion it is not the time now for any sensible person to serve Government.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Kine-killing.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

10. The *Ittifaq* of the 3rd November writes that it is time that kine slaughter were stopped in India. No respectable and fair-minded person would tolerate wounding the feelings of Indians for the sake only of *goras*. Again, it would be unjust if Government were to disregard the wishes of Indians out of regard only for whites. Cows are no longer slaughtered for the Muhammadans, and the entire responsibility for kine-killing now rests on *goras*. The latter undoubtedly belong to another country and the ruling nation, but all the same their position here is that of guests and a guest should respect the feeling of his host. Cow-killing and pig-rearing, which are far too common in cantonments, are looked down upon by the Hindus and Muslims, respectively. It is to be regretted that Government should have so far done nothing to end these practices. Indians should now so arrange matters that not a single animal should be sold to butchers. It is useless to submit petitions to Government.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lahore municipality.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 30th October announces with extreme regret, grief and shame that the financial sub-committee of the Lahore municipality has decided that the post of secretary, which had been vacant for the last six months and the work of which had been very ably carried on by Bakhshi Harbhajan Das, B.A., should be given to Mr. Pearce. This is a most deplorable and retrograde step, and constitutes a cruel and murderous attack on the blessed spirit which aims at preparing Indians for *swaraj*. Will those Indian municipal commissioners who voted for the appointment of a European secretary and who cannot assuredly be said to represent the views and feelings of the people of Lahore, say whether they consider no Indian fit for the secretaryship of the Lahore municipal committee. After remarking that Government considers Lord Sinha fit for the Governorship of Behar and Orissa, the paper says that no grosser injustice could have been done to the people of Lahore, and that no more insulting an attack could have been made on Indian intellect.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 30th October says that since Bakhshi Har Bhajan Das has been working as Secretary there is no reason why he should not be confirmed in the appointment. In case, however, he is not considered fit for the post, it should be conferred on some other Indian. There is no dearth of Indians who can satisfactorily perform the work of the secretary of a municipal committee.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 31st October writes:—"It is significant that the committee has not in these days of reform and progress been able te make up its mind to entrust the control of its office to an Indian. It failed last year to nominate a non-official president owing to racial discord among its members, and it has now failed to confirm the appointment of Indians to the posts of secretary and engineer, respectively. And the wonder is that several members believe in their heart of hearts that the present incumbents of both the offices, we mean Bakhshi Harbhajan Das and Lala Hukam Chand, have been discharging their functions creditably both to themselves and to the committee, and that they are eminently fitted in every respect to deserve the trust reposed in them. Where lay the difficulty then in confirming an action which was taken several months back and for which there was no cause for repentance ?"

Partap (Lahore), Krishna, B.A., editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 1st November says that Mr. Harbhajan Das's work has in no way been inferior to that of his European predecessor. But work is out of the question in these days, when decisions are arrived at on the basis of racial distinctions. At the present time when Indians are demanding not only a prominent but their full share in the country's administration, the decision in question is shameful and degrading.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Military prisoners in India.

12. "A **Sympathiser**" writes to the *Tribune* of the 4th November :—"The question of the military prisoners has been altogether forgotten by our countrymen. Most of these men have been sentenced by court martial while on active service in Mesopotamia and Palestine under very depressing circumstances. The years 1915 and 1916 had been very terrible years for the Indian army in Mesopotamia. . . . . The extremes of heat and cold, want of water, the breakdown of the transport and of the medical arrangements—all these combined to create a state of indescribable sufferings. What wonder if under such trying circumstances some of the soldiers should lose the balance of their mind ? However, very soon their good sense prevailed again—they felt repentent and voluntarily surrendered themselves. Nevertheless these men were punished with transportation for life. Many of the military prisoners, however, have been sentenced for offences of a purely technical character, such as losing the belt, losing the over-coat, refusing to take food cooked by others and losing the rifle—which all are very common things in war time ; and for these trifling offences they have been sentenced to various terms of ten years' to life transportation. There can be no doubt that they were punished merely on disciplinary grounds. Now that the British Government has come out victorious in the war, there is no ground whatsoever for denying them that consideration which both justice and expediency demand. Surely the Government in the hour of victory can afford to be more generous and can forgive those petty failures of military niceties, which in the hour of peril had been treated with disproportionate seriousness. Will the Government turn a deaf ear to the solicitations of these prisoners, most of whom have loyally and faithfully served in the army for a very considerable period ? No one can ever forget the achievements of the Indian army in Mesopotamia and the Government cannot justly refuse to extend the hand of mercy to the friends and relations of those soldiers who have laid down their lives and suffered in countless other ways for the sake of the British Empire. It would be ingratitude to the memories of the fallen . . . . I do not understand why similar clemency has not been extended to the Indian military prisoners, when we see that the British soldiers, punished for similar offences have been released. I know that in many cases such an act of clemency would be merely an act of justice. . . . Now that an amnesty to political prisoners has been proclaimed, though it has been given effect to in a grudging spirit, it is time that the Government should turn its attention to these men."

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MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 6th November 1920.

119 [illegible]—11.11.20—SGPP Lahore.

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TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

Military prisoners in India.

12. "A SYMPATHISER" writes to the *Tribune* of the 4th November :—

"The question of the military prisoners has been altogether forgotten by our countrymen. Most of these men have been sentenced by court martial while on active service in Mesopotamia and Palestine under very depressing circumstances. The years 1915 and 1916 had been very terrible years for the Indian army in Mesopotamia. . . . . The extremes of heat and cold, want of water, the breakdown of the transport and of the medical arrangements—all these combined to create a state of indescribable sufferings. What wonder if under such trying circumstances some of the soldiers should lose the balance of their mind ? However, very soon their good sense prevailed again—they felt repentent and voluntarily surrendered themselves. Nevertheless, these men were punished with transportation for life. Many of the military prisoners, however, have been sentenced for offences of a purely technical character, such as losing the belt, losing the over-coat, refusing to take food cooked by others and losing the rifle—which all are very common things in war time ; and for these trifling offences they have been sentenced to various terms of ten years' to life transportation. There can be no doubt that they were punished merely on disciplinary grounds. Now that the British Government has come out victorious in the war, there is no ground whatsoever for denying them that consideration which both justice and expediency demand. Surely the Government in the hour of victory can afford to be more generous and can forgive those petty failures of military niceties, which in the hour of peril had been treated with disproportionate seriousness. Will the Government turn a deaf ear to the solicitations of these prisoners, most of whom have loyally and faithfully served in the army for a very considerable period ? No one can ever forget the achievements of the Indian army in Mesopotamia and the Government cannot justly refuse to extend the hand of mercy to the friends and relations of those soldiers who have laid down their lives and suffered in countless other ways for the sake of the British Empire. It would be ingratitude to the memories of the fallen . . . . I do not understand why similar clemency has not been extended to the Indian military prisoners, when we see that the British soldiers, punished for similar offences have been released. I know that in many cases such an act of clemency would be merely an act of justice . . . . Now that an amnesty to political prisoners has been proclaimed, though it has been given effect to in a grudging spirit, it is time that the Government should turn its attention to these men."

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

1. Commenting upon the Viceroy's speech at Sylhet, the *Sidaqat* of the 10th November says that Mr. Lloyd George made a fool of the Muhammadans during the war. Lord Chelmsford has now tried to deceive the Muslims of Sylhet by assuring them that out of the ashes of Turkey there will spring up a new and a stronger Turkey, whose relations with Great Britain will be as friendly as they used to be in pre-war days. Does His Excellency, asks the paper, regard the Muhammadans as so very foolish and simple-minded as to be deceived by his fine phrases? Next it refers to the Viceroy's remark that no indemnity has been imposed upon Turkey, and goes on to say that since Turkey lost the day an indemnity should have been realised from her, but that she ought to have been left as she was before the war. As it is, the British and their allies have put an end to her existence and divided her territories among themselves. With what face can they, then, ask for an indemnity? Is it not throwing dust in the eyes of poor Muhammadans to tell them that the English have placed them under a great obligation by not demanding an indemnity from a kingdom which no longer exists? Continuing, the paper writes that Mr. Lloyd George's breach of faith has had a wonderful effect in opening the eyes of the Muhammadans. They can now look the Viceroy in the face, and can no longer be bewitched by him. As to "a ring of free Muslim states" spoken of by His Excellency, the first of them is to be established in Mesopotamia, the president of whose Council of State is the Naqib of Baghdad. Sir Percy Cox is thinking of moves by which to kill the snake of Mesopotamia without injuring the British stick. Are these "free Muslim states" to be like the one that is going to be established in Mesopotamia? Have not the Turks been destroyed to enable Mesopotamia to enjoy liberty like that of Belgium? Did not the English promise help to the Arabs in establishing a Khilafat of their own if they assisted the former in extinguishing the Turkish Khilafat? The Arabs proved traitors to Islam, but the day is not far off when they will have to say that Turkish repression was far better than British kindness.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The League of Nations.

2. Writing about Mr. Hardinge's election as President of the United States of America, the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th November says that the doings of the League of Nations go to show that the lengthy announcements Mr. Wilson used to make about the freedom of subject nations were merely empty boasts. Most of the countries of the world continue under foreign rule against their will, witness the cases of Ireland, Egypt and India. Foreign nations carry on the administration there in an arbitrary manner and, so far from paying any regard to the wishes of the ruled, trample upon them very contemptuously and mercilessly. Nor is this all; the League has forcibly placed many more countries under foreign domination. Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine deserve special mention in this respect. In its present form the League is only an association of the greedy and tyrannical powers which, after the destruction of Germany, Austria and certain other countries, have come to think that the whole world was created for them, and that all human beings are meant only to serve them. The paper then goes on to say that Mr. Hardinge's election is in no way palatable to England, seeing that he is an enemy of the League of Nations, under cover of which she has occupied vast territories herself and conferred some on other powers.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The late Mr. MacSwiney.

3. Writing about the death of the Lord Mayor of Cork, the *Siyasat* of the 9th November says that if the British Government had granted reforms to Ireland by degrees and at proper times, that country's history would have been different from what it is now. If this history is stained with blood, the event is ascribable to the necessary reforms not having been granted to unfortunate Ireland in time. The political horizon of India also is greatly overcast, and it is necessary to make her at peace by conceding reforms to her betimes. In the other event, there is an apprehension of this country also falling a prey to horrible incidents, an idea of which bewilders one and sends a shiver through one's heart.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

India and the Empire.

4. Commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's remark in his speech at the second day's sitting of the Trade Union Congress at Bombay that Indians wanted to remain a part of the British Commonwealth, the *Tribune* of the 6th November writes:—"If England . . . . . will afford India the opportunity of unrestricted development, if she will see that for India to remain a member of the Empire involves neither humiliation nor degradation and does not in any way prevent her people from fulfilling themselves individually, nationally as well as internationally in the highest sense and to the utmost extent, from playing that part in their own affairs, in the affairs of their country and in those of the world which they could do as an independent people, there is not the smallest doubt that the British connection will continue for all time."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

India and the League of Nations.

5. In commenting upon Sir Ali Imam's appointment to the League of Nations, the *Zamindar* of the 1st November says that he is the same gentleman who, by forcibly suppressing the Khilafat movement in Hyderabad, marred the reputation of that State and its ruler. A man who has shown by his conduct that he considers it a great sin to uphold the cause of the Islamic Caliphate can never be expected to represent the true feelings of India on the League. Indeed, he is not expected to do even as much as was done by the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha in the matter of the Khilafat and Turkish questions.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Esher Committee's report.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 31st October says that it is necessary to reduce the Indian army to its pre-war strength. If, in view of the unrest prevailing in the Middle East and western Asia, for which India is not responsible, it has been considered necessary to keep a larger number of soldiers in this country, it is unjust to saddle her with their expenses in case of their employment in those countries. Next the paper takes exception to the recommendation by the Esher Committee that the Indian army should be placed under the War Office. It then passes on to the question of conferring higher military posts on Indians, and says that the Army Council to be established in accordance with another of the Committee's recommendations will ultimately contain an

Indian also. No definite period has, however, been fixed for this purpose, and Indians are not likely to have a representation on the Council for an unusually long time. It is not known, therefore, when their hopes in this respect are to be realized. Continuing, the paper says that there are three disappointing things in connection with the recruitment of the Indian Defence Force. To begin with, recruitment will be confined to rural areas and university students. People living in cities will have no share in it, although they have the same right to defend their country as villagers and university students. Again, the members of the Force will receive the same pay as is drawn by Indian soldiers. For the present, moreover, Indians will not be given Royal Commissions in it. All these draw-backs deprive the Defence Force of its claim to be called as such. The reason why people residing in cities will not be recruited in the Defence Force is that some students, who were also members of the Force, took a part in last year's Punjab disturbances. It is not surprising that the latter should have behaved like this at a time when most of the authorities were given to thoughtlessness and high-handedness. No sensible Government would, because of this, keep residents of cities out of the Defence Force. And since it has been announced that Indians are to be made equal partners in the Empire it is a breach of this announcement to refuse them their full share in the Force. In short, the recommendations of the Esher Committee are disappointing in every way and can confer no appreciable benefit on Indians. If a strong agitation were started against the Committee's report, the Secretary of State, who is now considering the document, could get such amendments made in it as may be favourable for the people of this country. Any delay on the part of Indians in performing this important duty will prove suicidal for them.

Non-coöperation.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

7. (a) "A MUHAMMADAN" writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 31st October strongly condemns the policy of non-coöperation, and says that it is simply suicidal on the part of his co-religionists to follow it. After asking them not to renounce titles or to give up employment under Government, he remarks that the Hindus can have no real sympathy for them in the matter of the Khilafat, which is a purely religious question. They are making common cause with the Muhammadans with the sole object of securing the latter's help in the attainment of Home Rule. It is they who will derive more benefit than the Muslims when self-government is conferred upon India. The non-coöperation movement spells certain ruin for the Muhammadans. The writer then goes on to say that Mahatama Gandhi has preferred to perform his experiment on the Aligarh College, although a number of Hindu educational institutions also receive substantial grants from Government. He is extremely sorry to see that Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali should be the Mahatma's chief supporters.

SANATAN DHARM PARCHARAK (Amritsar); Rallia Ram, editor.

(b) The *Sanatan Dharm Parcharak* of the 1st November publishes a communication from its manager, RAM RATAN SHARMA. After remarking that the desire of Indians to obtain *swaraj* is a natural one, the writer says that some officials blinded by the powers invested in them undoubtedly commit horrible mistakes at times. It is wrong to think, however, that the British Government is responsible for this high-handedness. British is better than any other [alien] rule, and the course which Mr. Gandhi and his associates are leading the country to adopt is injurious not only for England but for India as well. If Mr. Gandhi's movement proves a success there will arise great unrest and chaos in the country. Continuing, the writer says that Indians are as yet unfit to govern their country, nay, even unable to distinguish between a friend and a foe. Besides, there still exists a great deal of disunion between the Hindus and Muhammadans in some parts of India, and efforts are being made to undermine orthodox Hinduism. If India were to be governed by the Muhammadans the Hindus would be unable to observe *chhut*, etc. And if the Bolsheviks or any other power takes advantage of the present unrest, incalculable harm would be done to India. If the people have any grievance against Government they should get it removed in a sensible way.

(c) In its issue dated the 8th November the paper says that the hearts of the Muhammadans are undoubtedly sore, but that it is foolish in the Hindus to allow themselves to be influenced by this into severing all connection with the British Government. Under no other Government can they have the same freedom and comfort as they are enjoying now. If the

Afghans or any other Muslim power were to invade India with success would the Indian Muhammadans stand by them? It is a serious blunder to ask Indians to weild the weapon of non-coöperation.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Jiwan Tat* of the 2nd November characterises educational non-coöperation as very dangerous and harmful. The movement is the outcome of the personal enmity which Mr. Gandhi and his associates have for Government. It does not aim at bettering the condition of students or reforming the present system of education. It is extremely regrettable that Mr. Gandhi should mislead students in order to use them as a tool for the attainment of his political objects. Besides, it is morally sinful to deprive eight millions of them of the present education unless some better arrangements have been made to educate them, while it is dangerous to mix up national education with politics. The paper then goes on to say that a boycott of the existing schools and colleges will do Government no harm. It will only ruin our young men and bring a great calamity upon the country. Our youth should profit by Lala Har Dayal's bitter experience: he has ruined his whole life by disseminating seditious ideas against Government.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*e*) The *Vakil* of the 4th November disagrees with Mr. Gandhi's opinion that it does not become an Indian to receive aid from hands besmeared with the blood of the innocent persons murdered at the Jallianwala Bagh. Instead of refusing aid from Government, adds the paper, we should have it increased still further. The money which Government gives the people for education comes out of the latter's pockets. It belongs to us and we ask for it from Government, not in charity, but as a matter of right. Our demand should be that Government must give us grants-in-aid without interfering with our education. If it refuses to make grants to us on this condition, we can consider whether the amount spent on education, which forms part of the taxes levied from us, should not be realized direct by us.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Sidaqat* of the 5th November writes that some silly and short-sighted people are against a boycott of Government schools. If they think that the boycott will result in their sons failing to obtain Government posts and dying of starvation in consequence, this argues narrow-mindedness and want of courage on their part. If all Government and aided educational institutions are deserted, Government will have to take students of national schools and colleges in its service. People from England, Canada, Australia or New Zealand will never fill the posts now held by Indians. Indeed, they do not care for these appointments. It is Indians alone who rub their forehead [at the authorities' doors] for a post on Rs. 50 or Rs. 100, and resign themselves to fate.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*g*) Writing about the situation at the Aligarh College, the *Partap* of the 6th November says that the Secretary, the Principal and the Syndicate can give no explanation of the shameful treatment they have accorded to Mr. Muhammad Ali. The first two obtained help from the district magistrate and the police to make the last-named leave the College premises. This shows that the trustees of the College and Government have united against the party of non-coöperation. The struggle carried on at Aligarh is not between two sections of the Muhammadans, but between Government and the nationalist party. We think that wherever this party tries to bring a national college into the right path, it will be opposed by Government. The supporters of non-coöperation should bear in mind—probably they already do so—that they have to fight Government and not their fellow-countrymen.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*h*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th November advises the trustees of the Aligarh College to free that institution from official control and interference at the earliest possible date. There should be introduced an element of freedom in education, so as to remove the defects which now characterise the latter and to infuse into its recipients a spirit of love for the nation and the motherland.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*i*) One ARIF HUSAIN (of Delhi) writing to the *Zamindar* of the 7th November takes the trustees of the Aligarh College to task for their decision in regard to that institution, and says that they have flouted the commands of God and His Prophet. They have preferred, he adds, the grant received by the College from Government to the clear behests referred to. Next he urges the

Muslim public to boycott the trustees, to hold meetings everywhere to express want of confidence in them and to stop rendering any pecuniary help to the College. As to the students, he consider it incumbent on them to boycott the College, to enter which is now a sin.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dial, editor.

(j) The *Virat* of the 8th November urges students not to recede from the position they once take up. Students have taken part in the political evolution of every country, and those in India have now been invited to serve their motherland. If they display cowardice or selfishness at this juncture, they will not only put the present generation to shame but will again bind India in the chains of slavery. The path is undoubtedly beset with difficulties, but no danger should frighten them.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

SATJUG (Lahore); Narinkar Singh, editor.

8. (a) The *Satjug* of the 3rd November says that about a fortnight has passed since the Sikh League adopted a resolution on non-coöperation. No steps have as yet been taken, however, by its workers to give the resolution a practical shape. They should not keep quiet at this juncture and should devote all their attention to the important matter in question, leaving all other work aside.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(b) A correspondent writing to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 7th November asks who is responsible for the step taken by the Sikh League. He details the stock grievances of the Sikhs and comes to the conclusion that the deplorable attitude adopted by the authorities in regard to Sikhs rights is responsible for the resentment prevalent in the community.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(c) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 9th November writes in the course of the leader :—" [Mr. Gandhi] aims most decidedly at the immediate destruction at all costs, of our educational seminaries . . ., because . . . ' it is a sin for the nation to receive education in schools financed by or under the influence or control of the Government.' We are sorry we cannot attach any the least weight to the fallacious, hypocritical and untenable assumptions so mistakenly taken by Mr. Gandhi as his hypothesis for his destructive propaganda. If it is sinful to receive education in schools financed by, or under the influence or control of, the Government, we assert it is equally sinful to profit by numerous other facilities provided by that very Government. Has Mr. Gandhi denied to himself the numerous benefits accruing from all these facilities ? The answer to this cannot be any other way than in the negative. If it is in the negative we ask : is not the position of Mr. Gandhi that of a hypocrite—preaching one thing and practising the other ? . . . Can Mr. Gandhi hope to evolve a peaceful revolution with his undisciplinary and outrageous measures ? Certainly not and decidedly not. His movement is full of mischief and as such is bound to result in mischief. His pretension therefore that the non-coöperation movement is religious amounts so to say, to nothing more than self-deception or a clever trick to appeal to the religious sentiments of the Indian . . . We would, therefore, most earnestly appeal to all the elements in our community that make for the preservation of all that is good and great in it, to combine to fight strenuously against the anti-Sikh forces that threaten to shake the very foundations of Sikh society. We also appeal to young hopefuls of our community to beware of the bait which has been laid by some irreligious and paid mischief-mongers, to catch . . . impulsive youths to serve their own ends. Neglect would bring them ruin and disaster."

Government and non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. Commenting on the Government of India's resolution about its attitude towards the non-coöperation movement, the *Tribune* of the 9th October writes :—" Even the most superficial observer will see at once that the statement is wholly one-sided, that while it says so much about the 'folly' of the non-coöperation movement, it has not a word to say about the Government's own policy which has both led to the adoption of that movement and helped to make it the partial success it has been. The genesis of the non-coöperation movement is well known. It was originally started as a protest against two concrete official wrongs, for one of which, at any rate, the Government in India itself was principally responsible. Has the Government followed a different policy since ? It places in the very forefront of its reasons for the policy it claims . . . . to have followed so far the fact that 'India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realization of the principle of self-government within the Empire.' Has this fact been properly or adequately recognised in the formulation of

its general policy? Has it been followed in the crucial matter of the treatment of the official offenders in the Punjab and in dealing with the Punjab question generally? Did the Viceroy take note of this fact when he struck at the very roots of government by discussion by disallowing Mr. Shastri's resolution on the one subject which more than any other was agitating the public mind at the time? Surely the Government of India cannot ask us to believe that the best way of persuading the country that Mr. Gandhi was wrong in thinking that the present form of government had to be ended at all costs was to show that under it even an obvious and palpable wrong, a wrong which the whole country is unanimous in condemning with unequalled strength and emphasis, and which even the Government of India and the Secretary of State have condemned, cannot be righted! And if the diagnosis of the situation is radically faulty, so is the remedy prescribed. The Government as usual makes the mistake of imagining that to keep the sword of Damocles in the shape of 'repression' hanging over the people's heads is the best way to improve an admittedly difficult situation. . . . The Government seems to be wholly unable to realize that great as are the differences between Mr. Gandhi and other leading and patriotic Indians on the question of methods, there is no difference regarding the end. Complete self-government to be attained at the earliest possible moment is the goal of the whole of political India to-day, and if those whose good sense, sobriety and moderation the Government commends could be persuaded to believe that the non-coöperation movement would lead to that goal, then the whole country with one voice would support it. It is just because this is so that the Government should be more than usually cautious in launching upon a policy of repression. That it would fail is certain. Its one effect, as far as we can see, would be to weaken the forces of opposition to the more controversial parts of the non-coöperation movement among the people themselves, and to make all sections of the nationalist party forget their present differences and offer a united constitutional opposition to what would at once be construed as a new blow to individual liberty and to the cause of self-government."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

India and the Labour party.

10. Writing about Colonel Wedgwood's visit, the *Zamindar* of the 9th November states that the Colonel remarked in the course of a speech that if Indians did not stop their agitation even on Government agreeing to confer self-government on them within a specified period, the English Labour party would sever all connection with them. Commenting, the paper asks what help that party gave us last year when terrible atrocities were perpetrated in the Punjab and hundreds of India's sons fell victims to dire cruelty by merciless Dyer. After enquiring of what use its sympathy was to us, the editor says that in the matter of the Khilafat also the Labour party is opposed to us. What good can we, then, expect from it? Since its help and support can in no way benefit us, its opposition also can do us no harm.

SIDAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

Repression.

11. Referring to the arrest of Taj-ud-Din, editor of the *Taj* (Jubbulpore), the *Sidaqat* of the 7th November writes that, like soldiers, we should always be ready to serve our faith and country. Fresh recruits should at once fill up the gap caused through soldiers going to jail or dying in the war of justice and righteousness. Again, if a commander or a lieutenant dies, there should be others to step into his shoes. When the Muslims create this spirit in them, they will be considered fit for the Khilafat or *Swaraj*. We should be thankful to Government for breeding martial habits in us through its repressive laws. Our future is hopeful, because we are losing fear of the jail.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Treatment of political prisoners.

12. (*a*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 6th November:—"It is with the greatest regret we learn from a letter published by some of our vernacular contemporaries that one of the two Maulvis, convicted in the Panipat case, who is in the Central Jail, Lahore, has been given grinding work, ... To treat political prisoners in the way in which the Maulvi is alleged to have been treated so far is not only to deepen the forces of discontent and to aggravate the bitterness of a situation which is already acute, but to strengthen the hands of those who have been trying to prove that India does not enjoy the liberty and equality to which she is entitled as an equal partner in the Empire. . . . . The great thing at a time like this, ... is for the Government to do

everything in its power to win the heart of the country, and the heart of the country can only be won by showing that the agitators are wrong in asserting that there is inequality, injustice or tyranny anywhere, that in reality Indians *are* treated just as Englishmen are treated in their own country. We do hope Sir Edward Maclagan will rise to the height of his opportunity . . . . . and that henceforth the practice of treating political prisoners as ordinary felons will be a thing of the past."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 8th November writes that on a complaint having been made about the treatment accorded to Zafar Ali in the Lahore jail, Government transferred him to the European ward, while he is well treated even in the Montgomery jail. The condition of the Panipat convicts in the Lahore jail is, however very distressing. After complaining that they are made to grind corn, the paper states that Taj-ud-Din, editor of the *Taj* and the *Khilafat* of Jubbulpore [C. P.], is not also being treated like a political offender, although his case has not as yet even been taken up by court. If Government's attention is drawn to the case of a particular political prisoner he is not treated badly. Those prisoners, however, about whom silence is kept, are treated like ordinary criminals. Government should issue general instructions for the guidance of jail authorities about the treatment of political prisoners, who should be treated differently from ordinary convicts. On no account should they be regarded as degraded human beings, which is now generally the case in India.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

AKALI (Lahore); Mangal Singh, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

13. (*a*) The *Akali* of the 3rd November says that rumours are current to the effect that as the Sikhs are greatly displeased with Government over its cold treatment of them and their failure to secure their rights, it is thinking of pleasing them, if possible, by doing them a great kindness very shortly. Commenting, the paper says that this kindness has manifested itself in the prohibition of meetings in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura. It congratulates those, who favour coöperation with Government and thus expect to milch an ox [look for an impossibility], on the event. Some people will say that the prohibition applies to the Hindus and Muhammadans also and not to the Sikhs alone. They should know, however, that the villages in these districts are inhabited mostly by Sikhs, and that only recently two or three meetings were held there and the work of awakening the villagers was started to a certain extent. The bureaucracy could not tolerate, however, that the Sikhs also should work for the liberation of Mother India by joining hands with other communities in political matters.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd November says that it would not produce a wholesome effect to prosecute political leaders and supporters of the Khilafat, as also to introduce the Seditious Meetings Act in the country. The Act should, therefore, be withdrawn early from the three districts of the Punjab in which it has been enforced.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

VAKIL (Amritsar), Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Kine-killing.

14. The *Vakil* of the 7th November publishes a communication from SYED MUHAMMAD ISMAIL, President of the Bombay Muslim Volunteer Corps. The writer says that repeated demands have of late been made on the Muhammadans through the *Bande Mataram* that they should forthwith leave off eating beef. The Hindus have also been advised to take advantage of the present Hindu-Muslim unity to introduce resolutions in the Councils against the use of beef. No Muhammadan has, however, any right to support or respect any law which clashes with Islamic injunctions. How can the Hindus be justified in asking the Muhammadans to suggest that kine-killing should be forbidden by law? Municipalities and the Councils have no right to adopt any resolution contravening the teachings of Islam.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Lahore municipal committee.

15. (*a*) The ***Bande Mataram*** of the 4th November says that the Deputy Commissioner has thrust an Anglo-Indian secretary on the people of Lahore, making an improper use of his powers and not giving the members of the municipal committee sufficient time to settle the matter. Toadies, who, to the misfortune of the Lahore public, are now in a majority on the committee lent

him their support, with the result that a white elephant has been fastened on the committee for a long period, if not for ever. It is surprising that the Lahoris have called for no explanation from their city fathers.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali, editor.

(b) Writing about the appointment of Mr. Pearce as secretary to the Lahore municipal committee the *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 6th November says that the event has disappointed the Hindu members of the committee in particular, who can derive much undeserved benefit if an Indian, especially a Hindu, holds the post of secretary. It is impossible for a Muhammadan to get this post, inasmuch as his application is bound to be rejected by a majority of votes. A European secretary would be a blessing to the Muhammadans until sufficiently educated Musalmans are available for the post or the Hindus can bear to see a Muhammadan in it.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The forthcoming census.

16. The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th October calls upon the honorary workers concerned to desist from helping Government in the census work, losing no time in resigning their appointments. It asks the people to refuse to give their names to enumerators, and thus prevent the completion of the census returns. This can entail no great sacrifice, and will make it clear to the whole world that Indians are not overpleased with their Government. If the law prescribes a penalty for this, it cannot exceed a fine of a few rupees.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 13th November 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Indians in Mesopotamia.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

1. The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th November alleges that the unfortunate Indians who were so carried away by Government's offer of brilliant prospects as to get themselves ensnared by securing employment in Mesopotamia are now in great trouble. For years past they have been able neither to obtain leave nor to get themselves discharged. The white employés, on the other hand, have come back almost in a body. Our correspondent reports that Munshi A. R. Hamid Shafi, Dresser, Indian Stationary Hospital No. 61, applied for permission to return to India on the grounds that he had obtained no leave since 1917, that his aged mother was ill, that the parents of the girl, to whom he was betrothed before he went to Mesopotamia, were insisting on the performance of the marriage, and that he had to return to India in order to recover certain documents, which he had left with a person, who had died since. He made this application on the 14th June last, but, no reply having been vouchsafed to him, he submitted another application on the 2nd August, stating further that since the war had ended he should be permitted to return home. The poor fellow has been informed, however, that he cannot be relieved at present. If he were to complain he would be liable to be tried by court martial. Can there be greater high-handedness than this?

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Non-coöperation.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore): Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Ittifaq* of the 8th November says that Government servants cannot maintain their position on the pay received by them. This compels them to take bribes, which lowers them in the estimation of the public as well as the authorities. What good is there, then, in doing that which results in the loss of one's honesty and self-respect, brings humiliation on one, and casts a slur on the name of one's forefathers? Military service undoubtedly protects one against unlawful temptations, and those in it are highly honoured by Government. But this is so because military employés protect the life and property of the rulers [*lit.* the Empire.] It is to be regretted, however, that such noble work should meet with very little appreciation in this

country. Indian troops sacrificed their lives to rescue the British Government out of a critical position, but the reward which India is getting for her services is apparent. Nevertheless, Indian officers are very happy with their lot. Will not Indian Government servants, both civil and military, listen to the united call of the nation? This is the time for them to serve their country.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishen,
editor.

(*b*) Referring to Colonel Wedgwood's remark in his speech at the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, that non-coöperation was likely to excite feelings of racial hatred between Indians and Englishmen, the *Partap* of the 14th November says that the former have been compelled to start the movement. The propaganda has its dark side also, but there is no help for this. Government alone, which is responsible for its inauguration, can put an end to it. As it is, Government's policy, which has mainfested itself in the form of arrests and convictions, will strengthen the movement. Non-coöperation will result in Indians getting *swaraj*, but it would be better if the object is gained without the feelings referred to coming into existance. If England does not grant *swaraj* to India now, neither the non-coöperation movement nor racial hatred will the suppressed. Indians have shown by according a princely reception to Colonel Wedgwood that they do not hate the English as a people. They are only tired of the Englishmen in India and are anxious to take the reins of their country's administration in their own hands, in which case India would prove of greater help to Britain than she is at present.

AKALI
(Lahore);
Hira Singh,
editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 17th November says that, for the fault of having refused to let the noose of the Rowlatt [Act] be thrown round her neck, India was badly wounded, disgraced and severely injured. The wise doctors [the European members of the Hunter Committee] only sprinkled salt on her wounds. She has left with God those who threw bombs from aeroplanes, disgraced chaste women and showered bullets on peaceful people, and has begun to bandage her wounds herself [has adopted non-coöperation]. The leaders of the bureaucracy do not, however, like this. In a recent *communiqué* Government characterises non-coöperation as a movement opposed to law. Apparently this means why India does not sprinkle salt on her wounds, accept the decision of the Hunter Committee and associate with men like Dyer and O'Dwyer; why she is averse to her money being sent to England for the preparation of aeroplanes and bombs, which latter will one day explode on her head; why she does not let her children learn the lesson of slavery, so that they may laugh on seeing her wounded and half-dead and may love those who sprinkle salt on her wounds; and why she refuses to work in the workshops [Councils] where ropes are made to bind her with. The authorities assert that so far they have acted with leniency. Is it leniency, however, to pay no heed to India's outcries and complaints, to keep many an innocent and helpless person in jail, and to give a pension to, and allow funds to be collected for, the murderer of hundreds of innocent persons? Nor is this all; those who try to create feelings of hatred for non-coöperation have been praised and encouraged, and asked to help in maintaining peace and order in the country. Can this help be rendered by those, however, whom the people do not like to see and at whom curses are thrown at crowded meetings? No, never. Government will only add to the prevailing unrest if it brings them to the forefront. So long as it does not make peace with Indians of the type of Zaghlul Pasha it is hardly possible to restore peace in the country. This result cannot be achieved unless the noose of slavery is removed from India's neck and she is made free, and unless the authorities shake off the intoxication of power and treat Indians as their equals. India wishes that the spleens of her children may not be raptured [by Europeans], that Indians may not be made a target for bullets for not salaaming [? European officers] and that they may be given sufficient food to fill their stomachs, only the surplus being obtained from them, and that, too, by begging and not by force. It is surprising that nothing should be done to remove the real trouble, and threats should be indulged in instead.

(*d*) In its issue dated the 8th November the paper says that we are slaves and are being governed by a powerful foreign nation, which does not consider us to be human beings. The honour of our mothers and sisters, our religion and faith, our civilisation and our national honour are in danger. There is only one way in which we can save ourselves from this humiliation, and that is that complete *swaraj* may be given to us, so that we also may live in our own country as other people live in theirs. If the people wish to get rid of their spirit of slavery they should strike at the root of the institutions where the so-called education is imparted to us by a foreign nation, and thus destroy the stronghold of servitude. So long as they do not make their own arrangements for educating their children, they should not even dream of liberty. It is said that until these arrangements are made our boys should not leave the present schools and colleges. It would make no difference, however, if the necessary arrangements are not made in a year or two. We are waging a peaceful and government-changing war to secure our national liberty. The schools and colleges of Germany, France, England, etc., remained closed during the great European war and their students met death by exposing their chests to bullets. Can we not even withdraw our boys from institutions that teach slavery, and send them to national schools and colleges? We have to secure liberty by harassing the bureaucracy, and it is necessary for this that we should make a simultaneous and successful attack on it. No sacrifice is too great to make in the cause of liberty. We should not mind if we are kept out of education, nay, even loose our heads, in order to protect religion[!].

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

(*e*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 10th November says that Mr. Gandhi's advice to students to leave Government and aided schools and colleges is based on imprudence. To instruct them to disobey their parents and teachers is not only improper, but even condemnable. The advice is opposed to the highest principles and teachings of Hinduism.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Ittifaq* of the 11th November says that non-coöperation is sure to lead us to the desired goal. It should now be seen which item of the programme should be taken up first of all. We are convinced that the present system of education is the chief cause of India's ruin and degradation and should, therefore, be attended to first. The people should start schools and colleges wholly free from English influence.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*g*) PANDIT DEV RATAN SHARMA writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 14th November says that the managers of private schools in the Punjab know that, because of Government recognition and official aid, these institutions cannot fulfil the objects with which they were started. They cannot avoid teaching historical books which are an insult to our nation and our national existence. They cannot also give up those unnecessary and, to a certain extent, injurious subjects, the study of which only injures the intellect and health of our children. The time has now come when all private schools and colleges should be united to form an independent national education department. If Government does not employ scholars turned out by them we shall require a large number of them for running not only these but also commercial and industrial institutions. Lala Hans Raj should take the guidance of the nation in his hands and liberate the D. A.-V. College and schools from Government control to begin with. All private schools and colleges will then follow suit and cut off their connection with the Government Education Department.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*h*) The *Zamindar* of the 16th November says that the future of the National Muslim University appears to be very bright. Even if the buildings and furniture of the Aligarh College are not made over to it, there is no reason why a similar institution should not be opened there to become the centre of Muslim education. The Muhammadans should contribute most liberally to the funds of the University, so as to put their enemies to shame. Muslim boys from all parts of India should be sent to the University in question. The day is not far off when it will turn out self-respecting and true Muhammadans and thereby show to the world that the education imparted at official schools and colleges was a deadly poison for the community.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

INDIA (Gujranwala); Sham Singh, editor.

3. (*a*) *India* of the 30th October [received on the 17th November] says that the Sikh community has at last decided to break off all relations with a Government, in whose sense of justice we have no faith, which has trampled on our feelings, caring nothing for our loyalty and devotion, which has, by observing distinctions of race and colour, not only overlooked our rights and the obligation under which it is to us, but has also murdered our aspirations, and which has frequently made promises in order to serve its ends, but is given to breaking them as soon as the crisis is past. In these circumstances whatever our individual opinion may be, we ought to bow our heads before the decision and order of the community. We wish to follow non-coöperation

at once and without demur, thereby affording practical proof of our zeal. The decisions of the brave Sikhs are always weighty and practical, while the community is not in the habit of retracing its steps after having once made a forward move. No power in the world can make the valiant Khalsa do otherwise. Addressing the young Sikhs, the paper says that the eyes of the nation and the country are fixed upon them, the hopes of the future generations. They should be ready to make the greatest sacrifices for their nation and country.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 16th November writes :—" The Sikhs are moving at a headlong pace. The recklessness with which this break-neck speed is being accelerated by some misguided brothers of ours, at the instance of some anti-Sikh political workers, vividly recalls to our mind the memory of the grim scenes which followed similar recklessness in the past." Next the paper details certain events from Sikh history and continues :—" We lost our *raj*, we lost our prestige, and above all we lost our independence and became a helpless subject people. All this was due to the . . . . huge blunder[s] which the Sikhs committed in following the advice of false friends and spurning that of true well-wishers . . . Shall [they] make the same mistake now ? Shall they follow false friends and bring ruin and disaster to their community ? Shall they recede the long journeys covered by them through their years of strenuous and persistent labours towards their progressive advancement in religion, in education and in politics ? Shall they once again commit the huge blunder to set back the hands of the clock of their communal progress by their following those who have done nothing in the past except to efface their separate communal existence, and who are capable of nothing better than this in future as well ? [Non-coöperation] is . . . a dangerous movement and as such should be totally eschewed by the Sikhs."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Government and non-coöperation.

4. (*a*) Referring to the Government of India resolution on non-coöperation, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th November says that although it does not approve of certain stages of the movement, especially the boycott of schools and colleges, still it cannot endorse Government's present policy in regard to the propaganda. The resolution says that " Government realise that it is to enlightened public opinion they must chiefly trust for a dissipation of the danger that now envelopes India, as it is on that same public opinion that India's political future must depend." Since the Government of India admits the force of public opinion, the question arises why no practical importance has so far been attached to this opinion. Leaving aside other matters, we take up the Khilafat question and that of the Punjab atrocities. The whole Indian public, without distinction of creed and nationality—including moderate, enlightened and right-thinking men—has loudly cried for the redress of both these wrongs; but all to no purpose. This shows that Government attaches no importance to public opinion in this country. It cannot, therefore, be justified in asking from the people referred to for practical help and sympathy in suppressing the non-coöperation movement. Again, it is for the first time that the Government has admitted that the future of India depends upon the country's public opinion. This opinion is that India should forthwith be granted national government. This is the goal which every Indian places before himself. Government should, therefore, take such steps to give India self government as may satisfy her children. Continuing, the paper says that the Government of India speaks of the absurdity of non-coöperation, but has kept silent as to its own policy, which gave birth to the movement. It is no exaggeration to say that the movement owes its origin to a policy of indifference and coldness on the part of the Indian and Home Governments. The movement is the outcome of despair and disappointment, and in this state people would do anything, howsoever harmful, that may strike them. In conclusion, the paper refers to the futility of repression, a resort to which, it says, will only help to popularise the non-coöperation movement.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th November says that the supporters of non-coöperation wish to shake off the yoke of subordination and aim at securing an equal share in the British Commonwealth. This is the common feeling and the movement cannot, therefore, be called unconstitutional or intended to subvert the present Government. Nor can it now be checked even by

Mr Gandhi and the Ali brothers, let alone the moderates. The non-coöperation, the *satyagraha* and other movements of the same kind are merely symptoms of internal troubles, and so long as these troubles remain the movements referred to are bound to manifest themselves in one way or another. If Government wishes [the people] to listen to the voice of the moderates, it is its own duty also to heed the voice of at least those whom it considers to be the brains of India. As it is, where are the people to whose voice Government has listened? Did it heed the voice of Mr. Shastri, Mr. Chintamani, or Babu S. N. Banerjee? And will it now listen to that of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad? We are of opinion that it is not prepared to listen to the voice of any body; it wants only its own to reach the country directly or through the moderates. This is the root cause of the whole mischief. In these circumstances, no compromise is possible and peace cannot be established in the country.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(c) The *Zamindar* of the 13th November says that the moderates have been requested to lead the country and start a propaganda against that of the Congress. Who will, however, listen to them, seeing that they do not work hand in hand with the public? The treatment meted out to them at public meetings is no secret Government should not think that the adoption of a repressive policy will rally them round it. They may hold views different from ours, but are no enemies of their country. Again, the Viceroy is highly displeased at the leaders of the movement inciting students and the masses. In withdrawing students from official universities, however, they are doing a great service to their country. It is no loss to sacrifice the interests of the present generation of students in order to ensure a glorious future for the whole nation. The paper does not also agree with the resolution that it is objectionable to teach politics to the illiterate masses. Besides, the authorities and not Gandhi and others are responsible for the strong political feeling now prevalent among the masses. Government caused excitement by its high-handedness in enforcing martial law in the Punjab and perpetrating various atrocities under it. Continuing, the editor states that Lord Chelmsford has requested influential and wealthy persons to suppress the non-coöperation movement. He is constrained to say that Government aims at creating a division among us. His Excellency wishes that the influential and rich classes should grow suspicious of the public and apprehend a danger to their property in consequence of the latter being in a state of excitement. The same idea was spread in Russia, the sole result being revolution, bloodshed, ruin and chaos. Does the Government of India wish to produce in India also the causes which gave birth to Bolshevism in Russia? Its appeal to people of property is very dangerous, and the latter should not allow themselves to be imposed upon by such moves on its part. But why appeal to the higher classes, the moderates and the rich at all? Why does not Government try to ease the situation by throwing oil on troubled waters? Why does it not admit its mistake in the matter of the martial-law atrocities and punish the offending officers? Again, why does it not restore Turkey to her pre-war position and withdraw its forces from Arabia? Why does not Lord Chelmsford quietly leave India and confess his dismal failure as Viceroy? Why do not the British people give complete self-government to India, so that all movements like *satyagraha*, non-coöperation, etc., may die a natural death? Unless this is done, the movement for the liberty of India cannot be killed.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(d) The *Siyasat* of the 13th November says that Government has held out the threat that if there is any disturbance of the public peace it will resort to a policy of repression. The paper is at a loss to understand, however, what Government means by this threat. Do not the arrests of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Sufi Iqbal, Maulvi Zafar-ul-Mulk, Mr. Taj-ud-Din and Sardar Mangal Singh fall under the category of repression? Does Government mean that a larger number of arrests will be made in the days to come? Next the paper dilates on the futility of repression and goes on to say that Government regrets that the amnesty extended to martial-law prisoners should have had no effect on the people. Government, it adds, only did its duty by releasing innocent people, but expects the public to feel thankful for this. It makes no mention, besides, of the insult which it has offered to the Punjab and the rest of the country by letting off the tormentors [of the people] scotfree.

SIDAQAT
(Lahore);
Ghulam Haidar
Khan,
editor.

(*e*) The *Sidaqat* of the 14th November writes that Lord Chelmsford has tried to console the Muhammadans by stating that the Government of India did its best to represent their feelings in the matter of the Khilafat. Does His Excellency think, however, that this statement will have the desired effect? If this is so, he could not have correctly gauged their feelings of pain and resentment. The Muhammadans will continue to mourn the loss of the Khilafat till it is restored to them. He should ask himself whether Government can expect them to trust it in face of the breach of the promises made to them by Mr. Lloyd George. Coming to the question of the Punjab atrocities, the paper avers that the punishment awarded to the offending officers cannot heal the wounds of Indians. Nor is this all; an era of repression has again set in. Can, then, His Excellency expect the moderates and the educated community to coöperate with Government in suppressing the non-coöperation movement? The situation can be eased only if, instead of embarking upon a policy of repression, Government summons a conference of the moderates and extremists and discusses matters with them in order to arrive at a definite conclusion.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(*f*) The *Tribune* of the 14th November thus concludes a review of the Government of India resolution on non-coöperation.—"The only true remedy lies in taking courage and statesmanship in both hands and making a genuine and earnest endeavour to satisfy the people. Only the adoption of this remedy would strengthen the hands of those who disbelieve either wholly or partially in the non-coöperation programme, not because, as the *Leader* puts it, they love the Government, but because they consider it to be prejudicial to the best interests of the country. Will the Government try this only true remedy?"

KHALSA
ADVOCATE
(Amritsar);
Gian Singh,
editor.

(*g*) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 16th November:—"We think where it is the duty of all saner elements of society to counteract and undo the evil effects of this movement, not in the interest of the Government alone but in the interest of society itself, it is equally the duty of the Government to do something to pacify and remove the irritating causes which have been engendered by Government's own blundering, short-sighted, and unjust and at times provoking policy. . . . Conciliation and pacification are, in our humble opinion, the only remedy for the widespread and general discontent. The Government must be open-hearted and liberal-minded in their relations with the people, if they really care to convince them that the grant of liberty to the people of India is their ultimate object."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The Esher Committee's report.

5. PROFESSOR RUCHI RAM SAHNI writes to the *Tribune* of the 19th November:—"The Esher Committee report will bring added strength to the non-coöperation movement and, if they are well advised, the Government should not loose one single moment in announcing that the report has been thrown into the W. P. B. Will they do it? Or will ideas of prestige again stand in the way? I am sorry that in the midst of the pre-occupations of the non-coöperation movement, little attention has, so far, been paid by the public to the report. Even a cursory examination of it will show that, far from preparing us for an equal partnership in the 'British Commonwealth' or leading us to *swaraj* within the Empire, it is calculated to place British domination in India on a firmer footing than ever. Certain proposals of the Committee, if carried out, will cut at the very roots of self-government for ever... Can it be seriously contended that the whole report is designed not only to retard the attainment of responsible government in India, as far as possible, but, in one very important particular, to make it almost impossible for us to achieve that goal?"

ITTIFAQ
(Lahore);
Ghulam
Muhammad
Khan,
editor.

The British Government and India.

6. The *Ittifaq* of the 14th November says that every Indian has now come to know that neither our honour nor our lives are safe in these days. What happened at the Jallianwala Bagh and Mananwala? Were not thousands of India's sons kicked to death by thousands of *Goras*? Cases of outrage on Indian women are a matter of daily occurrence. *Goras*, devoid of all human feelings, make poor Indian women fall victims to their brutality in railway trains. After referring to the case in which a European Guard is said to have entered a third class compartment near Ajmere and outraged a Muhammadan woman, the paper says that let those Indians who are a disgrace to

their nation, who are never tired of extolling British justice, who characterise non-coöperation as unjustifiable and who ask whether there can be a better Government than the British [*lit.* this] come before us and look us in the face. They should have asked whether there can be a worse Government than the British [*lit.* this] Government.

Self-government for India.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

7. The *Partap* of the 17th November says that the British Government has, by breaking its pledges to India, made it clear that public opinion in this country carries no weight in the councils of the Empire. It is strange, adds the paper, that Indians should, nevertheless, be expected to take pride in being citizens of the British Empire and to sacrifice their lives for it in times of need. This is represented to be an exceedingly valuable concession. The result is that feelings of deep resentment are being created among Indians. Both the English and Indians are now unanimously of opinion that Government should be cast in a new mould. The paper then goes on to say that India should be allowed to join the league of independent nations on a footing of equality. Her greatest need just now is that she should be granted *swaraj*.

The prevailing unrest.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

8. The *Jat Gazette* of the 10th November says that the unrest prevailing in India is not ascribable solely to the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers, although it has acquired considerable strength from these efforts. It owes its origin to the ill-treatment accorded to the people by the authorities and subordinate officials, and cannot be removed until Government issues an announcement directing its officers to treat the public well. It is deeply to be regretted that respectable people should have to suffer great trouble in connection even with ordinary official matters.

Repression in the Punjab.

DHARM (Lahore); Karam Chand Bahl, editor.

9. The *Dharm* of the 15th November says that there can be not the least doubt that the Punjab Government has embarked on a policy of rigour and repression. It has begun openly to make use of the Press Act and the Indian Penal Code, and several persons have already been arrested. We cannot congratulate it on this: no responsible Government can feel proud of preventing its subjects from taking part in the political affairs of their country.

The Amritsar Home Rule Conference.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The *Tribune* of the 19th November writes:—"We have no hesitation in saying that the prohibition of the Home Rule Conference at Amritsar under the Seditious Meetings Act is a blunder of the first magnitude ... The Conference was to have been held under responsible auspices, and the chair was to have been taken by one of the foremost public men in the whole country. It is inconceivable that such a Conference would have been any party to an unconstitutional act, or that the speeches made at it would have belonged to a materially different category to those usually made on similar occasions. No one can, of course, guarantee at a time when public feeling admittedly runs high, and when the very proclamation of the district and town of Amritsar, along with two other districts, has tended to make that feeling even stronger, that no speeches such as the bureaucracy usually takes exception to would have been made or attempted to be made. But, in the first place, the presence of Lala Lajpat Rai in the chair would undoubtedly have acted as a check, and, secondly, if in spite of this, speeches had been made of a really and seriously objectionable character, the Government would have been perfectly at liberty to proceed against the individuals concerned under the ordinary law .... And if the stoppage of the meeting, to our mind, is indefensible and extremely unwise and unstatesmanlike, so is the failure to make a public statement of the reasons which have led the authorities to take this step. The customary statement in the District Magistrate's order that 'such meetings are likely to promote sedition and disaffection, and to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity' can, of course, carry no conviction to the uninitiated. Hundreds of public meetings have been held at Amritsar and elsewhere in the central Punjab during the last twelve months for the discussion of political subjects. In how many such cases has either sedition or disaffection been promoted or public tranquillity been disturbed ?... On the contrary, is it not a fact that even on occasions when more than fifty thousand persons have met together at Amritsar itself, no disturbance of any kind has taken place, and the police have had no occasion to interfere ?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Public freedom in India.

11. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 19th November:—

"We frankly welcome the action of the authorities in prohibiting, along with the Conference, the meeting that was proposed to be held in Jallianwala Bagh for the purpose of presenting an address to Colonel Wedgwood. Colonel Wedgwood is here to see things for himself, and although he has no official position of any kind, he is one of the accredited representatives and leaders of a great and growing, though for the present, powerless party, and he may be trusted, on his return home, to give a faithful account of the things he has seen not only to his own party but to Parliament and to the Secretary of State His story would evidently have been worth little from our point of view if he had not had personal experience of the exact value and character of public freedom in India, to what a large extent it exists only on sufference, and how easy it is for the two Governments, the central and the provincial, to act in such a way as, in effect, to authorise an official in the position of a District Magistrate to become the sole authority for determining whether at a particular place and a particular time a public meeting of the most responsible order for the most innocent political or semi-political object is to be allowed. He will now be able to tell Mr. Montagu how on the very eve of the reforms, which are to usher in the first beginnings of responsible government in India, a public meeting for the purpose of presenting an address to a friendly member of Parliament not only can be but actually has been prevented, and this at the very place where, if only as an atonement for Dyer's misdeeds, the fullest public freedom ought to be allowed.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Political prisoners.

12. The *Desh* of the 18th November states that it was suggested by a certain newspaper that Government should release the remaining political prisoners on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit to India. The country has been deprived of this rare opportunity, but the suggestion could be carried out on the arrival of the Duke of Connaught. Government should no longer keep in jail the internees and political prisoners who have not as yet been set free.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Mr. Gandhi and Imam Mehdi.

13. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th November takes exception to Mr. Shaukat Ali's remark in the course of his recent speech at Surat that Imam Gandhi had appeared in place of Imam Mehdi. After remarking that, according to the Islamic scriptures the latter cannot be a non-Muslim, the paper says that Mahatma Gandhi is actuated by good intentions and seeks the political salvation of this country. It will not, therefore, be meaningless and improper to call him a political *imam*. To speak of him as a Muhammadan *imam* or Imam Mehdi is, however, to degrade and insult the Muslim faith. Mr. Shaukat Ali's view borders on innovation and blasphemy.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Lawrence statue at Lahore.

14. (*a*) Adverting to Mr. Duni Chand's resolution at the last meeting of the Lahore municipal committee about the inscription at the base of the Lawrence statue on the Mall, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 14th November says that no Indian possessing a sense of national self-respect can help supporting the resolution. It is the duty of the committee to remove the words complained of, which are an insult to the Punjab's bravery and self-respect, and should have been removed long ago.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 18th November the paper says that the words are a standing insult to the manliness of the Punjab, and that it would be wise on the part of the civil station sub-committee, to which the matter has been referred, to recommend their removal. In these days when so many causes have contributed to the embitterment of the feelings of Indians, it would be best to remove the inscription; this would, indeed, be in consonance with Sir Edward Maclagan's recent appeal to the people.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Rohtak municipality.

15. "DISILLUSIONED" writes to the *Tribune* of the 19th November:—

"With reference to a letter . . . appearing in the *Tribune*. . . . regarding the election of Lala Manohar Lal Badhwar as non-official president by the Rohtak municipal committee, the public would be shocked to learn that the fears entertained by the Rohtak citizens have at last proved only too true. The Commissioner has, against all expectations, disapproved of the election. He has, moreover, ordered that a non-official president cannot be elected except with the previous sanction of the Local Government. The Municipal Act does nowhere fetter the discretion of the board in this way. The action of the Commissioner has caused deep disappointment to all the citizens of Rohtak, and they feel that, in spite of all talk of the coming of the new era and the inauguration of the changed policy of the Government, the bureaucracy likes to move in the old grooves and is not willing to part with its powers even in the matter of local self-government. . . . Mr. Manohar Lal Badhwar, a man of vast influence, varied experience, and thorough knowledge of Western institutions and their working is not approved by the Commissioner, in spite of the choice of the municipal committee, simply on the ground of his being a non-official."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Alleged ill-treatment of the Panipat convicts.

16. The *Partap* of the 18th November says that Sufi Iqbal Ahmad's brother visited him in the Lahore jail on the 8th. He was told by the Sufi that since the 4th or 5th the latter and Maulvi Laqa Ullah had not been required to work at mills, and that either had been employed to separate kernel from castor oil seed. They were not even allowed to take a walk, to wash themselves or to talk to each other, as had hitherto been the case. Again, they were confined in a damp and dirty cell. Commenting the paper says that it is most improper, nay, most shameful, to accord such treatment to persons who spent all their life in literary pursuits and who have not been convicted for dacoity, murder, theft or any other heinous offence.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Britain and Turkey.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

1. The *Siyasat* of the 22nd November asks why Great Britain is spending crores of rupees and sacrificing hundreds of lives in continuing the war in Turkish territories. Why does she not end the fighting by making over these territories to the Ottoman empire? It is stated on her behalf that Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Armenia, etc., have been separated from it to be given the right of self-determination. Instead of getting this right, however, these countries are being pushed into rivers of blood. Besides, why does not England concede it to her neighbour, Ireland, and why has she adopted a policy of rigour and repression towards the Irish which no civilised country can tolerate? If she is not prepared to free Ireland in order to prevent herself growing weak, what right has she to deprive Turkey of territories which have been under Ottoman sway for centuries together and whose separation from Turkey will not only weaken but ruin the last-named?

The Irish situation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. The *Tribune* of the 26th November writes:—"Nothing could be easier than to condemn in the very strongest terms the simultaneous and cold-blooded murder of as many as fourteen British officers in Dublin .... But the feeling of indignation promptly gives place to one of despair as soon as one begins to reflect that Ireland is, after all, in the grip of a civil war, and that in the presence of the awful facts of such a war reason, the moral sense, humanity all stand paralysed. As the *Daily Chronicle* observes, 'the atrocities perpetrated by Sinn-Fein are a desperate stroke by hunted men.' They are in reality the protest of men gone mad in anger, in excitement and in terror against the policy of repression and of reprisals which has now for some time been relentlessly followed in Ireland."

Bolshevism.

AKALI (Lahore); Hira Singh, editor.

3. The *Akali* of the 22nd November says that, in spite of the efforts of the censor's department, news has reached India and other countries which shows that Bolshevism is the best form of government. That the Bolshevist principles

are clean and excellent is evident from the fact that wherever the Bolsheviks go, the representative people in the place become their admirers. We are told that this is ascribable to their promises, which are, however, never fulfilled. But whether their promises are true or false, it cannot be gainsaid that the Bolsheviks know well how to disseminate their views, and that they possess the power to fascinate the large majority of a people in a very short time.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Employment of Indian soldiers abroad.

4. Referring to the Sydenham-Aga Khan controversy over the Esher Committee's report in the columns of the *Times*, the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th November says that Lord Sydenham is wrong in asserting that Indians are very glad to serve abroad. The truth is that Indian soldiers do not go to foreign countries gladly. As a matter of fact, they are compelled to go there. Martial law is so harsh that they cannot give expression to their feelings of resentment against the practice. Perhaps Lord Sydenham intepretes their forced silence as acquiescence. In conclusion, the paper says that the country is now unanimous in demanding that Indian soldiers should be recalled from foreign countries, and that the demand reflects the wishes of the sepoys also.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

AL-FAZL (Lahore); Ghulam Nabi, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5. (*a*) One " MASTER " ALI MOHAMMAD, B. A., writing to *Al-Fazl* of the 18th November says that whatever reasons the Muhammadans may have to feel dissatisfied [with Government] it should be seen whether they will gain the object with which they have resorted to non-coöperation. Can they really bring pressure to bear upon the English by means of this movement and hope to get the Turkish peace treaty amended ? If this is possible the non-coöperation movement should undoubtedly be pushed forward ; but if this is not so, which is a fact, where is the use of adopting a policy harmful for ourselves ?

AKALI (Lahore); Hira Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing under the heading " The war [of non-coöperation] has commenced," the *Akali* of the 18th November says that the struggle is between liberty and slavery, peace and pride, or justice and injustice. Entrenchments have been prepared, and one party [Government] has begun to attack the other, which is unarmed, but says that it will not give up its trust in God, no matter whether bullets are fired on it and it is destroyed by being bombed and imprisoned. It also says that it will gain victory for certain, and that the armed people will suffer defeat, seeing that it does not wish to enslave anyone, to conquer the country of any people or to plunder anyone in order to enrich itself. This war cannot end unless one of the parties is rendered effete. No truce is possible now. Those who are for a compromise between the parties should stand aside. Only those are needed at this time who will fight on either side.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Ittifaq* of the 21st November tries to meet the arguments employed by the trustees of the Aligarh College and those who share their views in condemnation of non-coöperation. In conclusion, the paper says that it is the duty of India to practise non-coöperation with those who have hurled her down the abyss of degradation. It is wholly useless and absurd to say that non-coöperation is not a religious duty, simply because its originator is a polytheist.

AKALI (Lahore); Hira Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Akali* of the 21st November says that the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikh League have decided that we should not enter the Councils. We should now consider what treatment should be accorded to the people who are still enamoured of the Councils and turn a deaf ear to the voice of the nation and the country. We should hold *panchayats* of our brotherhoods to entreat them to preserve the honour of the nation. In case they prove to be so hand in glove [*lit.* intoxicated] with white-skinned people as to disregard the popular request a social boycott should be observed against them, even the offerings brought by them to *gurdwaras* and temples being rejected. In short, we should so harass them as to compel them to apologise to their brotherhoods. And if this fails to remove their intoxication it should be declared that they are no Indians, and there should be complete non-coöperation with them.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 22nd November says that those people, who are wanting in ability, patriotism and the spirit of self-sacrifice and who, finding the field clear for them, have stood for election to the Councils, deserve to be dealt with in the hardest manner. If a candidate is a lawyer, no client should engage him; in case he is a physician, no patient should go to him; and if he is a trader no one should buy anything from him. This will bring these tuft-hunters to their senses in a very few days, and they will have to resign their seats. The paper then says:—Lions of the Punjab! This is a question of honour for you. If anybody intends to disgrace you, it is your duty to boycott him. Vote for no candidate. It is now an offence against the nation to vote for any one standing for election to the Councils.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*f*) In noticing Mr. Gandhi's reply to the Government of India's recent *communiqué* on the non-coöperation movement, the *Tribune* of the 23rd November writes:—" 'I must close this lengthy article,' he says 'with noticing the absence of the only thing that can stop the inevitable progress of non-coöperation, *viz.*, a full and satisfactory revision of the Khilafat terms and complete satisfaction about the Punjab. When and if the British nation respects the wishes of India on these two points, coöperation will replace non-coöperation and *swaraj* within the Empire will be the most natural consequence'... In other words, it is primarily for the righting of these wrongs, and not for the attainment of *swaraj*, that he has started the non-coöperation movement... Are we to work for *swaraj* that we may redress or prevent concrete national wrongs, and may in all matters determine and realise our destinies in our own way? Or are we to work for the redress of concrete national wrongs, that we may be the better able, by coöperating with the Government, to attain *swaraj*? Any one can see for himself to what different practical conclusions and consequences the two different courses must lead in all cases. In the present case, as far as human eyes can see, the latter course is not open to us at all. There is not the smallest chance of our having redress as regards either of the two wrongs, unless and until we have *swaraj*."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Sir Edward Maclagan on the situation in the Punjab.

6. (*a*) The following extracts are from an open letter to Sir Edward Maclagan contributed to the *Tribune* of the 20th and 21st November by LALA LAJPAT RAI in reply to His Honour's speech on the situation in the Punjab:—'In the last paragraph of your speech in which you recount the things which, in your judgment, the people of the Punjab want, you have, ... unconsciously betrayed the bureaucratic mind. With due deference, I beg to submit that the things that separate us are of far greater importance than those that unite us. It is true 'we all want an increase in the production of wealth in the province.' It is equally true that 'we all want a decrease in the production of crime,' as well as 'the spread of health.' But do 'we *all* want education among men and among women.' If so, why was the Primary Education Society of Rupar so vigorously opposed by the district authorities of Ambala? You have not mentioned the things that separate us. Let me mention a few of them. We want a free India, which the bureaucracy does not. We want a national army, which the bureaucracy does not. We want lesser salaries for the I.C.S., the I. M. S. and the other Imperial Services, which these Services are opposed to. We want higher salaries for the subordinate ranks in Government service, which the heads of departments are not prepared to concede. We want a united India, which few, if at all, among the Europeans would like to see. We want fewer Europeans, in the services, which you are not prepared to grant. We want the stoppage of industrial monoplies which the Government in British India and the Native States are giving to Europeans. We want to nationalize education, which your official universities prevent. We want a recognition for independent Trade Unions, which your railway administration is not prepared to give. We want the repeal of the Arms Act and of the coercive laws, which you are keeping on the Statute Book.

"The fact is, Sir Edward, that we are poles asunder.... If the Government is really anxious for 'good will and peace' there is only one way and one way to secure it. Let us know definitely what the Government is prepared to do:—

(*a*) towards getting a modification of the Turkish peace treaty,

(*b*) to give us responsible self-government at once or within the shortest possible time,

(*c*) to put us on the road to organizing national defence, [and]

(*d*) to heal the wounds made by the Punjab atrocities.

"It is only then that we may talk of 'good will and peace."

"There are one or two more points in your address on which I should like the liberty of expressing my views. . . . . Your Honour seems to be under the impression that the non-coöperation propaganda notwithstanding, the new Councils are likely to be representative of all the interests. There could be no greater mistake than this. To any one who knows the province as Your Honour certainly does, it should be clear that there are very few amongst the gentlemen who are standing for the Council election who represent the views of any respectable portion of the various communities whom they propose to represent. If Your Honour will analyse the various nominations made (at least those made by the non-Muhammadan and the Sikh communities), you will find that the bulk of the nominees are there only because better and really representative men have left the field for them . . . . The application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura is conclusive proof of the fact that public sentiment is with the non-coöperators and the only way to check our propaganda is repression. We will obey the law so long as there are some districts left where we can meet and preach. We will take counsel what to do when the whole province is covered by the Seditious Meetings Act. We will do nothing secret, and as already said, we will use all our influence to prevent violence . . . . But in case repression does bring any sort of disturbance in its train, the responsibility for it will rest with the Government as it did in 1919 . . . . So far there has been no breach of the peace anywhere in the Punjab; the people, though excited and irritated, have behaved wonderfully well; they have met in their thousands and thousands without seeking the help of one policeman to keep order and peace. You have prosecuted and convicted some, yet the movement is going on in full force and your punishments have had no deterrent effect. It is a new phenomenon in the judicial history of the province that persons accused of crime should refuse to defend themselves, and go to jail rather defiantly. As a reader of human nature, Your Honour cannot fail to realise what a great moral effect this attitude is likely to have on the younger generation of the Punjabis. It is most probable that the phenomenon will become pretty common before we proceed to the next step in our programme of non-coöperation. The experiences of the last martial law administration are still fresh in this province and if these memories have not been able to crush the spirit out of us, even Your Honour will admit that you can not conceive of more deterrent methods of repression . . . . I am not unaware that some of the most esteemed and fair-minded of Anglo-Indians think that 'non-coöperation' is a gamble for immediate Home Rule. I beg to assure them that it is not so. It is a well considered scheme, logically and financially as sound as any commercial transaction can be, and I am certain that if the country perseveres in it, it will gain what it wants without a drop of blood being shed."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) "The *Tribune* of the 21st November concurs in Lala Lajpat Rai's statement that the 'things that separate us are of far greater importance than the things that unite us.' Next the paper goes into details, and continues:—"For all practical purposes, those who only believe that India will have full self-government *some* day and are not prepared to take any step towards hastening its advent by a single day, some of whom, indeed, actually seek to retard it, while most believe in it only on the principle 'After me the deluge,' have little or nothing in common with those to whom the present state of subjection, with its injustices, inequalities and humiliations, is a vivid flame burning into their thoughts and destroying peace, and the problem of transforming this state into a state of freedom and of equal partnership is a problem not for the distant nor even for the near future, but a problem of this day and hour. Let us look at the matter from another point of view. How does the bureaucracy treat the men who have been actively engaged in fighting this battle for their country's freedom? Let us take some of the most conspicuous instances of all. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, who seems to be actually a favourite with the bureaucracy and its organs to-day, was not long ago arrested at Barisal, produced before a Magistrate, who kept him standing and objected when he took his seat on a chair which he thought had been provided for him, was tried summarily, convicted and fined. Mr. Gokhale, who, since his death, has been the recipient of honours and tributes from officials and Europeans such as have not fallen to the lot of any other Indian in our modern history, had to tender an apology in the nineties and throughout the latter part of his life figured in the C. I. D. register. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu had to publicly complain of the attentions of officious C. I. D. officers during a tour in Eastern Bengal. Mr. Arabindo Ghosh had to resort to Pondichery in order to avoid prosecution by the bureaucracy. Mrs. Besant, who in spite of the insults to which she is now subjected by enthusiastic youths who mistake intolerance for patriotism, is every inch an Indian, because she is closely identified with the cause of Indian freedom, was interned. Mr. Tilak passed nearly a decade of a life, every moment of which was consecrated to the service of his country, in jail, and was easily the most hated and the worst persecuted Indian of his time. Even Mr. Gandhi was arrested last year and his movement was restricted. And how are our political prisoners treated in jail? With the single exception of Mr. Tilak, in whose case the Bombay Government commuted the last of the three political sentences from transportation to simple imprisonment, no convicted political prisoner that we know of has ever been treated as political prisoners generally are treated in England..... Would such a thing have been possible if 'the things that separate us' had been 'far fewer and far less important than the things that unite us'? Is it conceivable that in a self-governing India political offenders could ever have been treated with even a fraction of the severity with which political offenders have been treated in India hitherto? And are there visible signs of a change even now?"

Repression in the Punjab.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

7. The following is from the *Sikh* of the 21st November:—"The re-arrest and imprisonment of Bhai Shingra Singh of Aulakh and arrest and prosecution of Sardar Mangal Singh, the talented editor of the "Akali," leave nothing more to prove that the Punjab Government has been ill-advised as to the handling of the present situation. And how glaringly inconsistent are these repressive measures with the exceedingly gentle and well meaning speech which His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor delivered at the last informal meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council, is too evident to call for arguments....If the people dissatisfied with the evidently unsatisfactory actions of Government *re* the past acts of injustice and atrocities give vent to their indignant feelings, let them do so, so long as there is no sign or proof of actual violence, or breach of the peace, there being no other recourse available to the afflicted party. It is for this very reason that we take the strongest exception to these absolutely unjustified arrests and prosecutions and urge the reconsidering of the present attitude."

India and Islam.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

8. The *Ittifaq* of the 19th November publishes an article written by "HAJI BAGHLOL." The writer says that while lying on a charpoy he heard a great noise outside his house. He went out and saw two old people—a man and a woman. On his enquiring why they were making a noise he came to know that one of them was MOTHER INDIA and the other ISLAM, while both said that they had been robbed and ruined. The writer then enquired from them what one should do when asked to obey both of them, adding that while INDIA was asking the people to protect her, ISLAM was calling on them to go to his rescue. ISLAM replied that there could be no dispute over the matter and that the people should first obey INDIA and protect her, bearing in mind that by doing so they were protecting him also. INDIA instructed the writer to sever his connection with her enemies.

"*Swaraj* in ten years."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The *Tribune* of the 24th November writes under the heading "*Swaraj* in ten years":—"'Immediate Swaraj' is the cry that has gone forth from hundreds of platforms, and that demand must be satisfied in spirit, if not in the letter, if things in India are once again to assume normal shape.... The maximum period can, of course, under no circumstances be more than a decade or so. To say that a longer period is needed to enable India to assume her normal responsibilities is to insult her intelligence and her manhood.... At the very commencement of the new era and at one stroke all existing inequalities should be abolished, and the angle of vision of the Government in regard to the men who have been fighting or have fought the battle of the country's liberty should be radically changed. These, as well as the formation of a real and completely equipped national army, are the things, more than any other, by which the people will judge of the sincerity of the Government and of the genuineness of the reforms proposed. Nothing short of these can be expected

to satisfy Indian self-respect, or change the mentality of those who have convinced themselves that the only permanent place for India lies outside the British Empire. . . . In our opinion the new era, if such an era is really to be ushered in, can be fittingly inaugurated only by a general amnesty, emptying His Majesty's jails of all political prisoners."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

Women and politics.

10. The *Zamindar* of the 18th November publishes a letter from a *Purdahnashin* lady of Gujranwala to the Muhammadans, Hindus and Sikhs. The writer says that women cannot take an active part in national movements owing to there being no member of their sex capable of leading them. She is of opinion that the wives of the esteemed leaders of the country could prove themselves most fitted for the task. Women possess the spirit of patriotism, sacrifice and determination, but they can find no opportunity for work. If this were not so, they could prove very useful for the nation and the country. They are ready to step into the arena and only require a lead in the matter. Liberty cannot be obtained unless the whole nation works unitedly, and the coöperation of women would bring success near at hand. Next the writer appeals to her Indian sisters to withdraw their girls from official and mission schools, and to the teacheresses in them to practice non-coöperation. They are also asked to discard the use of all foreign articles, to take to the spinning wheel and to subscribe to the Khilafat Fund. They should remember the insult offered to their sex during the martial law days. Next she urges Indians in Government service, especially the members of the C.I.D., not to disgrace themselves for a pittance. The C.I.D. men are worse than even crows: they kill their own countrymen. And in spite of their valuable services, the British nation is ready to cut off their heads for the sake of a single member of it. The writer concludes with a condemnation of the conduct of Saiyid Lal Shah in giving false evidence against Zafar Ali and making others do likewise, which was unbecoming of him as a Saiyid and descendant of the Prophet.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

Students and politics.

11. The *Ittifaq* of the 22nd November says that non-participation by students in political and national affairs shows that their nation and country are always to remain in the chains of slavery. It is necessary, therefore, that political education should be imparted to them, so that they may not live in schools and colleges like prisoners, but may receive the light of national life. History shows what the movements of young men and students have done for the nations concerned. It is through their efforts that any country has made any great advance.

INDIA (Gujranwala); Shamsher Singh, editor.

Racial distinctions in India.

12. In its combined issue of the 6th and 13th November *India* says that no civilized nation in the world accords such shameful treatment to political prisoners as is meted out to them in India. It is still worse and more regrettable, however, that the whites imprisoned in this country for offences involving moral turpitude should be provided with facilities and comforts which they cannot have even outside jail. Again, the inconveniences to which Indians are subjected in railway trains, the distinction made between them and whites in the matter employment under Government, etc., have had the effect of greatly embittering their feelings. Would to God some one were to lead the authorities into the right path.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Esher report.

13. In criticising the Esher Committee's report in the *Tribune* of the 21st November, PROFESSOR RUCHI RAM SAHNI writes:—"The Committee would at once transfer complete control of the Indian forces to the War Office in London, to be employed wherever they might be wanted. They would thus, in a very real sense, become part of the Imperial forces, while India would continue to be saddled with the cost of training, equipping and maintaining them."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act at Amritsar.

14. The *Partap* of the 22nd November says that the authorities always profess their willingness to concede to Indians the latter's legal right of the liberty of speech and writing, and claim that they have never put any obstacles in their way in the matter. Their claim is falsified, however, by the

prohibition of the Home Rule conference at Amritsar, and that of the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh at which an address was to be presented to Colonel Wedgwood. The conference was to be held under the auspicies of a responsible body, and the Colonel also is no nonentity. Official interference with the liberty of the people is regrettable in the extreme.

The pay of police constables.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

15. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 26th November:—"It is a pathetic admission which the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, makes in his report on last year's working of the force when he says that while even a casual labourer can depend on earning some Rs. 15 a month and a sepoy earns Rs. 11 a month on recruitment and receives free rations to the value of another Rs. 7-8-0 a month and free kit, a constable on recruitment receives no more than Rs. 13 a month out of which, again, he has to pay for his own uniform and shoes. The amount is admittedly insufficient for his maintaining himself and his family and so, in the words of a contemporary, 'it amounts to a tacit understanding that he is to pick up the balance as best he can without letting his superior officers catch him doing it.' The arrangement is admirable, except for one little flaw in it. The poor tax-payer who has to mintain the constabulary out of his slender income is unfortunately also the individual who suffers most from this arrangement, for it is from his pocket that the 'balance' comes. And the story of the constable is the story of many another poorer employé in Government service. When will the Government in India realise that it is not enough to look to the comforts of the superior ranks and to go on multiplying their allowances and augmenting their salaries? Perhaps not before the proletariat has become its own master."

Drunkenness in the Punjab.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

16. Commenting on the Punjab Excise Report for 1919-20, the *Siyasat* of the 20th November says that it is extremely sorry to see that although there was an increased consumption of liquor in this province Government has done nothing practical to remedy the evil. After remarking that the only way to do so is totally to prohibit the sale of liquor, the paper writes that the English abolished the practice of *sati* on the ground that it was opposed to religion. They do not, however, prohibit the use of liquor, although its consumption is forbidden by religion. The reason for this is that its sale goes to fill the State coffers.

A railway complaint.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Hussain, editor.

17. *Al-Munir* of the 16th November publishes a letter from ALLAH DITTA KHAN BALOCH, a Head Master in the Kabirwala tahsil, Multan district. He states that on the night between the 31st October and 1st November he went to the Multan city railway station to catch the 42-Up train, which leaves there for the Khanewal side at 9 P.M. When the train had steamed in intending passengers began to run about to secure seats in it. A few soldiers were lying comfortably in three or four compartments, while one stood at the door of the carriage. No passenger could venture to approach these compartments, and it was with great difficulty that the writer could find accommodation for himself. Nearly one hundred passengers were left behind. At Khanewal the writer heard the soldiers wrangling with Malik Rahmat Khan, who is a contractor there. They would not let the latter get into their carriage. The police constables and other railway employees also, who came to the spot, asked the contractor to leave it. If it is thus that railway employees remove the troubles of passengers God alone can help the latter. Railway passengers are often put to great inconvenience for want of accommodation in trains, and this inconvenience is considerably enhanced through soldiers travelling by rail. The Railway Board should order more carriages to be run [than is the case now], while that meant for soldiers should be such in appearance that ignorant people may easily distinguish it. This carriage should, besides, be next to the engine.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Nawab of Tank.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

18. A Tank correspondent writing to the *Siyasat* of the 19th November states that Nawab Ghulam Qasim Khan of Tank was externed to Rangoon four years back, but that he has not yet been released in spite of the royal proclamation of clemency. He was accused of dissuading people from enlisting in the army, but there is no proof to bring home the charge to him. Commenting the paper says that this is not the only example of the repression practised by the

authorities. They are still keeping a large number of people in jail, which is in direct contravention of His Majesty's proclamation. The difficulty, however, is that the King-Emperor and his ministers live across the seas, and know absolutely nothing of our sad plight.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Begar in the Balrampur State.

19. A correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th November states that poor shopkeepers and agriculturists in Balrampur are subjected to great trouble by [touring] State officials in the matter of supplies. Again, whenever some Government officials are on tour State officials take advantage of this to rob the people. Let alone State officials, there is [always] a great influx of Government officials in Balrampur, and the houses of poor agriculturists are forcibly entered into, and the last-named are got hold of while asleep and very cruelly taken away in the cold. The men are detained for weeks, kept under strict supervision like sheep, and employed to start game. Their innocent and small children, who depend only upon them, are often seen crying and running after them, but these cruel people [the officials] beat them back. The latter also send their peons and *chaprasis* forcibly to fetch shopkeepers, who are involved in trouble in case they refuse to go. One Badri was ordered to close his shop on the charge of having failed to make supplies, and is now starving owing to the suspension of his business. Commenting the *Bande Mataram* says that the above are very painful facts and need no comment. There can be no remedy for all this except a manly struggle by the people, who should try to obtain their rights and safeguard them against tyrants and usurpers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

" Not to vote at elections."

20. The *Tribune* of the 23rd November writes :—" The Dacca police recently searched the premises of a press in East Bengal and seized copies of a notice issued by certain persons asking people not to vote at the ensuing elections. Similar notices have in one form or another been issued in many places, and this is the first time that we have heard of a press being searched and copies of these notices being seized. The matter is one of great importance and urgency and unless the Government of India will promptly declare its policy in this matter, individual police officers, acting on their own responsibility, may make great havoc and cause a good deal of confusion and avoidable suffering, as they have so often done in the past. The legal position is, we believe, perfectly clear. The issue of general notices is quite in accord with the letter and spirit of the law, and the interference that is prohibited by law can only mean interference by means of threat or force or immoral inducement and not interference by means of an appeal to the voter's understanding, patriotism and public spirit."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The coming census.

21. (*a*) A Dera Ismail Khan correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 21st November complains that educated people are being compelled to work as enumerators, and that the *parwanas* sent to them are couched in the most arrogant and insulting language. They are ordered to work carefully and not to leave the station without the permission of the municipal secretary. Commenting the papers says that the wording of the *parwana* apart, it is extremely unjust to ignore the domestic requirements of people and to compel them to render honorary service This is a kind of *begar* which the bureaucracy exacts from the educated classes. The paper hopes that all self-respecting people will refuse to obey such insulting orders and thus save themselves from disgrace. It also asks Government to engage other men than poor clerks and *munshis* to work as enumerators, and to pay the latter for the extra work done by them.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 21st November writes :—" It is a pity that Government authorities do not attend to anything pointed out to them in the interest of the subjects until the cry becomes the loudest. In fact they have become so much habituated to yield to agitation that they turn a deaf ear to what is said calmly and respectfully. Now the time of the new census is drawing nearer and nearer, while the complaint against the order to ask a Sikh to give his caste—Khatri, Arora, etc.—is still continued. Do [the authorities] still think with all the present Sikh agitation that they could succeed in classifying the casteless Khalsa into castes without any protest by the nation ? If they do so they are sadly mistaken. It is still time for Government to pay special attention to the matter and thus avoid another difficulty being added to those that already exist. We wonder why when a Panjabi Christian 'Charles' is to be recorded as a mere 'Panjabi Christian,' a Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh should be mentioned as Arora, Khatri, etc. So, if Government wish that the Sikhs should co-operate with them in the matter of census they should now rise to the occasion and remove the cause of the impending difficulty. To ask a true Sikh to give his caste is tantamount to an insult—contempt of his religion."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(c) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd November:—"We would like the Government of His Honour Sir Edward Maclagan to remove the anomaly of invidious distinction which is to manifest itself in the coming census of the Sikhs. The Government must know that Sikhism does not recognise any caste distinctions. The community is a one common brotherhood of Sikhs and nothing but Sikhs. So any attempt to divide them into castes and subcastes not only means the mulification of the fundamental principle of Sikhism, but also tends to give a colour to Government's unworthy desire to create and perpetuate caste prejudice among the Sikhs. In the instructions issued to the census takers we find that while taking census they are to record whether the Sikhs is an Arora, a Khatri, a Mazhabi or what else. We should like the Government to cancel these instructions and issue new ones enjoining that Sikhs should be recorded as nothing but Sikhs. This would save the Sikhs the necessity of setting on foot a new agitation to otherwise frustrate this object of the Government. This plain speaking which Government may do well to heed in time."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

Amir Chand Bombwal's case.

22. The *Zamindar* of the 18th November writes that the administration of the North-West Frontier Province is a remnant of the old despotic monarchies. The British Government, it adds, has still further enhanced the difficulties of this unfortunate province by entrusting the reins of its administration to an arrogant and opinionated ruler like Sir Hamilton Grant. The case of Mr. Amir Chand Bombwal is an instance in point. He was opposed to Nawab Muhammad Azam Khan presiding at a certain meeting, with the result that he was interned under an unconstitutional postulate of the Frontier administration that an insult to a title-holder amounts to an insult to Government itself. Sir Hamilton Grant does not, however, release him even now that he has been pardoned by the Nawab, as would appear from a letter written by the last-named to the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. The Nawab writes in this letter that since Amir Chand was interned out of regard for the former's diginity and honour and has now been pardoned by him, he may be restored to liberty. The statement constitutes permanent disgrace for the administration of the Frontier Province. Let those who always extol the central and local Governments come forward and explain how far it is compatible with law and humanity to intern a man on the ground of his having opposed the proposal that a certain person should preside at a certain meeting.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 27th November 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Persia.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 30th November expresses satisfaction at Lord Curzon's recent speech on Persia in the House of Lords, and hopes that the British attitude towards that country will correspond to what is suggested in the speech. In view, however, of Europe's conduct in regard to Asiatic kingdoms during 150 years past, which has taught orientals a bitter lesson, the Persians are hardly likely to be satisfied with his Lordship's utterance. Britain's policy towards Egypt is known to everyone. France assured Morocco of her friendship, but in the end deprived the latter of its independence. What befell Turkey during the European war constitutes a lesson for Asiatics. In face of all this it is difficult to believe in the declared British policy regarding Persia unless it is actually carried into practice.

Vakil (Amritsar). Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 1st December says that far-sighted people know full well that with the Russian bear to its north and the British lion to its south the lot of the Persian cat has never been an enviable one. Britain witnessed the imprisonment and hanging of Persian nationalists and the bombardment of the Persian house of parliament by the Russians, but she never said a word against the Muscovite atrocities. Again, it was she who sent an ultimatum to Persia on the 16th of October 1918 to demand that the work of the protection of the southren roads and trade routes should be entrusted to British Indian officers, and that the necessary expenditure should be met by the Persian exchequer. Will Lord Curzon say how he can make these admitted facts fit in with the policy declared by him? The subsequent events—the way in which the secret agreement with Persia was concluded and the results to which it has led—are too well known to the world to need repitition in this article. His Lordship may deceive his own conscience, but he cannot deceive people possessing a knowledge of history.

The Turkish question.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. (*a*) Writing on the defeat of M. Venezelos, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd November says that Great Britain does not like the turn affairs have taken in Greece.

Indians, however, have received the news with the greatest satisfaction, and desire that England should take advantage of this opportunity to have the Turkish treaty so amended as to enable Turkey at least to get back Smyrna and Thrace. British statesmen will be displaying extreme short-sighted if they fail to do so. Their unjust treatment of Turkey has already caused a conflagration in India, and is apprehended to have most injurious consequences if efforts are not made to remedy the evil. Mr. Lloyd George should also see what difficulties England has experienced in removing Mesopotamia, Arabia, etc., from under the Turkish rule. Bloodshed is still going on in Mesopotamia; and if England has succeeded in temporarily silencing that country by sending lakhs of soldiers there and at the cost of thousands of lives on both sides, this does not prove that the local population prefers British to the Turkish rule.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

(b) In its issue dated the 26th November the paper says that a combination of the Turks and Bolsheviks is likely to create a situation in the Near East calculated to endanger the world's peace. The best thing for England to do, therefore, would be to make friends with Turkey, who should get back such of her provinces as have been given to other powers. The allied possession of Constantinople should also cease. All this would not only remove the unrest prevailing among the Turks, but also restore peace in the Islamic world and India. If England does not take advantage of the present opportunity to amend the Turkish peace treaty, the world will be led to say that she has murdered the legitimate desires of the Muhammadans. Besides, the feelings of resentment prevailing against her in the east will be certain to grow stronger still.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(c) The *Vakil* of the 28th November publishes a similar article, in which it urges a revision of the Turkish peace treaty and calls upon England to take advantage of the present situation in Europe to achieve this object.

SIDAQAT
(Lahore);
Ghulam Haider
Khan,
editor.

(d) The *Sadaqat* of the 24th November says that, so far as they were concerned, Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues decided Turkey's fate once for all. They had come to believe that, with the raising of their flag of prestige and suzerainty over the Muslim holy places and the Arabian peninsula, Islam would lose even the power which had been left it and which harrowed the soul of Europe, particularly England. The Premier has dismembered Turkey and divided her territories among his "brethren." He has extinguished the lamp of the Caliphate which had been burning for the past 1,300 years. He has also captured the city which symbolised the grandeur of the Islamic world. It remains to be seen, however, whether device or fate will triumph in the end. The defeat of Venezelos, Great Britain's supporter in Greece, has wrought an unexpected change in the situation. It has struck the British Cabinet, particularly Mr. Lloyd George, like lightning. Besides, the man, whose tactics involved British statesmen in great perplexity during the war, is again going to occupy the Greek throne. The Allies fear lest the Turkish peace treaty, which has not as yet been ratified, should prove so much waste paper. Mustafa Kamal Pasha is daily gaining in stength, and if the Turkish nationalists continue gaining victories at the present rate and an understanding is arrived as between the Greeks and Turks, the day is not far distant when Great Britain and France will have to vacate Constantinople. Circumstances show even now that the magnificient victory won by Great Britain cannot prove lasting, and that she should never expect to reap any fruit from it. Mr. Lloyd George's view that Islamic powers are a very contemptible element of European politics will prove the cause of the ruin and destruction of the British Empire. He also fully convinced himself on the extinction of the Turkish Government that no Islamic body could now disturb Great Britain's peace. But he made a dreadful mistake in his estimate of Muhammadans.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishen,
editor.

(e) The *Partap* of the 25th November says that this is the time for Government to pour balm on the lacerated hearts of the Muhammadans by revising the Turkish peace terms. Indeed, two events, which have occurred recently, render this revision imperative. One of these is the defeat of M. Venezelos and his replacement by a man who has always been desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Turkey. If Smyrna and Thrace were given back to the Turks, Greece would probably offer no opposition to this. Again, Kamal Pasha recently attacked Greece and has succeeded in occupying some Greek towns. The other event is the

Bolshevik rise and the joining of hands by the Turkish nationalists with Bolshevik forces after traversing Georgia. All these things show that it would be well for the Allies to display foresight at the present juncture; for, otherwise, a new war is likely to break out. England knows that Bolshevik Russia and not Turkey is her arch-enemy; and if, therefore, she wins the latter over to her side the Bolshevik danger will vanish once for all. Let the Arabs remain independent. The Turks will have no objection to this. Such of their territories as have been made over to Greece should, however, be restored to them. Again, if the Allies vacate Constantinople the Turks will go over to the side of England, while the Indian Muhammadans will thenceforth lead a peaceful life. It is time that the Viceroy got the Turkish peace terms amended. He should tell the Home Government in unmistakeable terms that if it wishes to maintain peace in India a revision of the terms is absolutely necessary. In case the ministry does not listen to him he should tender his resignation.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

(*f*) Writing about the Caliphate, *Al-Munir* of the 24th November refers to the Muslim opposition to the Home Rule movement in the past, and says that the sympathy displayed by the Hindus with us in our loss of the Khilafat led to our becoming enamoured of them. We not only stopped killing kine, but began to bestow every praise on the Hindus. The latter, however, gradually made *swaraj* a part of the Khilafat question, and subsequently most dexterously separated this question from that of *swaraj*. And now Hindu newspapers make absolutely no mention of the Khilafat, and talk only of self-government. It was for the sake of the Khilafat that the Muhammadans resorted to *hijrat*, renounced their titles and practised non-coöperation. The Hindus have, however, acted with such cleverness that the Khilafat question has been thrown wholly into the background, and the *swarai* scheme, which we never asked for, has been set before us. The Muhammadans also have become enamoured of it and have lost sight of the Caliph and the Caliphate.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Sadaqat* of the 3rd December writes that if Muhammadan leaders wish their youngmen to serve their land and faith like brave soldiers, efforts should be made to free them from worldly cares and wants, which now stand in their way and cool their enthusiam. It is the most important duty of the nation to help and look after its soldiers' families, just as Government does. We regret that our leaders should not have so far realised this or taken any practical steps in the matter. After referring to the opening of a fund for the help of Sikh prisoners, the paper expresses the hope that the Central Khilafat Committee will take early steps to afford relief to [the families of] the soldiers who have lost their liberty to emancipate Islam.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Greek atrocities in Symrna.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 24th November says that it is with the connivance of the Allies that the Greeks have been practising oppression and tyrannies of a thousand kind in Smyrna. We learn from European newspapers that the Greeks shot ten thousand Turks at Brusa after its evacuation by the latter. The Greeks contradicted the report, but a correspondent of the *Near East* has recently corroborated the reports of their massacres of the Turks. He states that there hardly passes a day when some heart-rending tyranny is not practised by the Greeks upon the Turks in Smyrna. The truth is, adds the *Siyasat*, that these atrocities far surpass those said to have been perpetrated in Macedonia. The Allies, who used to denounce the Turks for the latter's imaginary oppression of the Armenians and who have destroyed the Ottoman empire on the plea of these supposed tyrannies, keep such silence now as if they knew nothing of the Greek atrocities in Smyrna.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians in Fiji.

4. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 28th November:—"Mr. C. F. Andrews wires from Santinikatan . . . .—"'The gravest news comes from Fiji. 30,000 Indian selling off everything and determined to abandon Fiji, because of the treatment received. Indians leaders asked advice.' Indians in India cannot be expected to watch with equanimity the trials of their countrymen abroad and, in the face of grave crisis in Fiji, it is the clear duty of Indian leaders and public bodies in India to urge upon the Indian Government the desirability of moving in the matter without the least possible delay."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Irish debate.

5. Writing about the recent Irish debate, which it considers noteworthy for several reasons, the *Bande Mataram* of the 1st December says that by the Dyer debate proved that the British nation, whose love for democracy is so much talked about, is averse to allowing the countries under it a position higher than that of slaves. The present debate has supplied another proof in support of this fact, and the Indians who repose confidence in the Britons' love of justice should read the details with their eyes open.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

PARTAP Lahore; Krishan, editor.

Non-coöperation.

6. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 27th November considers it the particular duty of the Punjab to carry non-coöperation into effect. Other parts of the country have declared that they can make no peace with Government unless justice is done to this province. They have indulged in no empty talk and have afforded practical proof of this. In Bombay 80 per cent. of the voters have abstained from voting, and it will be a matter for shame if a larger proportion of Punjabi voters exercise their right. Other provinces are boycotting the Councils in order to have justice done to the Punjab. Will the people here welcome the Councils? Next the paper tells the sons of the Punjab that their motherland demands a sacrifice from them, namely, that they should prove, by their conduct, to the candidates for seats on the Councils that those who flout the unanimous voice of the whole nation can expect no respect or help from them. Let those who would enter the Councils in spite of protests from the people do so. We should decide later what treatment should be accorded to these men. Our present duty consists in withholding our votes. The leaders in other provinces have their eyes fixed on the Punjab. Government is also afraid of this province, because it knows that the Punjabis not only talk but carry their words into practice. The honour and dignity of the Punjab demand that the Councils should be boycotted here more completely than in other provinces. The Punjabis should bear this in mind and altogether abstain from voting.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 28th November says that the whole country has resorted to non-coöperation in order simply to ensure reparation for the tyrannies practised on the Punjabis. If the people of this province honour their nation and have any respect for their mothers and sisters, it should be their foremost duty to carry non-coöperation into effect. No Punjabi should take part in the new Councils until Government admits the oppression practised in the martial law days and is prepared to rectify all the mistakes made by it in connection with the Khilafat question. Next the paper refers to some of the atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated in the Punjab, and goes on to say that, as the result of this maltreatment, no Punjabi should have given his vote or offered himself for election to the Councils. We have to admit with great shame, however, that many shameless Punjabis have come forward and have not also as yet withdrawn their names. In view of what they or most of them did in coöperation with Government against their fellow-countrymen during the martial law regime, they were certain to desert their nation in the present national fight and to go over to the side of the traitors. These sycophants suffered no trouble during the martial law days, and indulged in backbiting and caused oppression to be practised on their fellow-countrymen. With a few exceptions, they proved traitors to their brothers and are behaving in the same way even now. It is the voters who suffered great troubles during the martial law administration, and we would say to them that the honour of the country is in their hands. Other provinces have been touched by their troubles and are making sacrifices in consequence. Is it not then their duty manfully to carry on the present struggle and prove to the world by totally boycotting the Councils that they are not shameless enough to overtook their having been humiliated and disgraced?

(*c*) The *Dharm* of the 29th November says that the Punjabis should learn a lesson from the poor voting in Bombay, Behar and Bengal. It was they on whom the greatest oppression was practised during the martial law regime. They will really deserve to be cursed if they forget all this oppression and vote for those who have forsaken their country and nation and wish to enter the Councils from selfish motives. Next the paper expresses the hope that no one in Lahore will exercise his right of vote. The people, it adds, will not have to wage political wars repeatedly or for a long time. In case they fail in the present struggle through their folly they will be certain to die as a nation. On the contrary, if they remain from the laurels of victory will be theirs and they will very soon obtain *swaraj*.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore) Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*d*) The *Ittifaq* of the 2nd December publishes a poem written by "AZHAR," who tries to dissuade the people from voting at the Council elections, saying that those who wish to enter the Councils are all traitors, slavishly do the will of Government, practise tyranny, inasmuch as they go against the nation's wishes and cause injury [to it], hanker after honour, and support Dyer and O'Dwyer, who perpetrated atrocities on the people. Be they Mians or Lalas, he adds, they are enemies of their country and bite the nation like snakes. They betray their country for a few pice, and are its unworthy sons.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*e*) The *Zamindar* of the 1st December writes that Government wants to please us by giving us the toy of reforms, and is providing diverse facilities for voters. All this is, however, like mocking us and our opinion. If Government had attached any importance to our opinion we would have strongly supported the Councils and returned respected leaders like Gandhi and Muhammad Ali to them. But when no one cares for it, how can we vote and how does Government ask us to do so? When no heed is paid to the united demands of India in regard to the Khilafat, the Punjab atrocities and the grant of Home Rule, only a most shameless person can vote at the Council elections. Indians must show by their conduct that those who hanker after worldly position regardless of our religious and national sentiments, are not our real representatives, so that when the reformed Councils are formed the whole world may know that England is ruling India despotically and that not a single representative of the public is on the Councils. We have no hope from the candidates, but the public should boycott them and abstain from voting for them. This should, however, be done in a most orderly way and there should be no compulsion. It would be sufficient to explain the situation to every voter and then leave him to do as he pleases.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*f*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 28th November:—"A few days more and we shall be called upon finally to determine who our representatives in the new Councils are going to be..... Shall we in our vain attempt to boycott the Councils allow our best men to be boycotted and thereby be guilty of having committed national suicide......? We have already disfigured our future and made our task more complicated by our resolve to boycott the new Councils...... If the end of all agitation is to force the hands of Government, why in the name of Indian civilisation and culture should we forego an opportunity to do this in the Councils, where alone it can be done with any chance of success?

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*g*) The *Vakil* of the 27th November says that non-coöperation has dealt the severest blow to Muslim educational institutions. Indeed, the Muhammadans have surpassed their more active and zealous [Hindu] neighbours in the matter of obedience to the Congress resolution. After remarking that the Hindus are displaying great caution in stepping into the arena, the paper says that while the Muhammadans are destroying their educational institutions, the former are engaged in strengthening theirs. Not a single college or school of the Hindus has as yet closed down.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*h*) The *Tribune* of the 27th November writes:—"In the course of an interview granted by him to a press representative at Delhi Mr. Gandhi is reported to have said that he thought it quite possible to run all the present educational institutions in India without any Government aid if he could carry the country with him...... Is there any likelihood of his being able to carry the country with him in this matter, especially in the course of one single year?.... In Bengal, Madras, Behar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam not the smallest impression appears to have been made by the educational part of the non-coöperation movement. In the rest of the country, and especially the Punjab and the United Provinces, things are undoubtedly different, and all the three great institutions that have been marked out for attack have suffered terribly. All of them have, in fact, been closed for the moment. But it is safe to assert that even in these cases what may really be called success is not yet in sight. Except in one case no provision has so far been made for the education of the boys who have gone out. In all the several cases the authorities of the institutions are definitely hostile to the movement. Lastly, in none of the cases is the attitude of the parents definitely known to be in favour of Mr. Gandi's proposal, while in two the authorities of the institutions claim that the vast majority of the parents of the boys are with them. And, except as regards these institutions, the bulk of the educational work in the province is going on exactly as before. Surely this does not show that there is any likelihood of the organisers of the movement being able to carry the country with them within a reasonably short period, far less in the course of one single year."

GULZAR-I HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

The Muhammadans and non-coöperation.

7. (*a*) The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 20th November says that certain selfish Muhammadan leaders instigated their co-religionists to migrate [from India]. Lakhs of the latter went to Kabul, but the world knows what sort of treatment was accorded to them there. The leaders in question also took a deputation to England at the cost of hundreds of thousands of rupees, but met with no success even there. Instead, however, of trying to improve their own lot and that of their co-religionists, they worked themselves into a state of excitement, decided to follow Mahatma Gandhi, prepared a programme of non-coöperation, and began openly to oppose Great Britain. Cries of *swaraj* were raised and the foundation, not of Islamic fraternity, but of a united Hindu-Muslim nationality, was laid. These Muhammadan leaders have determined to start with putting an end to education, for want of which their community has already been involved in ruin. Continuing, the paper says that it has repeatedly written that it is not opposed to the Hindu-Muslim unity. There was and still is, however, one nationality in this country. The Hindus resorted to non-coöperation and branded the Muhammadans as *dusht* [wicked], while the latter regarded the former as infidels. Again, most of the Hindus made it their goal to subvert the Muslim empire in India. After having accomplished this task, they gained power and position under the British Government and began to crush the Muhammadans still further. Now, however, that the last-named have come to their senses they have got them to indite *fatwas* in support of non coöperation. Next the paper contends that non-coöperation cannot end British rule in India, and says that the Muslim element is exceedingly small in every Government department, and that this is why most of the Muhammadans are poor. They have just begun to aspire to the honour and position which Hindus have been enjoying for the past two generations. Again, they are very poor and most backward in education. A community which is not patronised by Government cannot rise in these days. It is, therefore, very harmful for a people like the Muhammadans to rise against Government, and that also at the present time when Islamic fraternity is at its last gasp. Their leaders are engaged in serving their selfish ends by inciting their co-religionists in the name of Islam. The Muhammadans are practising non-coöperation with a people of the book only over the Khilafat question, but are giving *fatwas* for coöperation with those whom they have been calling infidels and polytheists for the past 800 years. Have the verses which formerly called the Hindus infidels disappeared from the Quran? The Muhammadans have already lost their kingdom. Is it now wise on their part to lose their existence and religion [also] and to set fire to their own house in order to destroy that of their enemy?

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the recent conference of *ulemas* at Delhi, the *Sadaqat* of the 25th November says that it is now the duty of all Muhammadans, not only to accept the resolutions passed at it, but also to carry them into practice. After remarking that the life and strength of the community depend on this, the paper writes that the *ulemas* of India have declared that, in the existing circumstances, it is unlawful [for the Muhammadans] to coöperate and maintain friendly relations with Government. For the manner in which Government has offended eight crores of Muhammadans over the Caliphate affair and has sprinkled salt on their wounds they can retaliate only by deciding to have nothing to do with it. This is the last weapon in our possession for bringing strong pressure to bear on Government. Since it has been guilty of running counter to the sacred principle of fulfilling one's promises, it cannot, morally and on principle, expect that the people should stick to their promises. It can make them conform to law with the aid of the sword and cannon but can in no case win their good will and approbation, upon which its tability depends.

KASHMIRI MAGAZINE (Lahore); Muhammad Din, editor.

(c) The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 28th November says that the country will resound with lamentations if it acts on the resolutions adopted by the *ulemas*, while Government will have to practise still greater repression. We cannot refrain from adding, however, that the policy of imprisoning servants of Islam and the nation and treating the latter's demands with contempt will never do at the present time. The country has begun to feel its degradation, and Government should make allowances for this.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

SIKH SIPAHI (Ferozepore City); Tek Singh, editor.

8. In its combined issue dated the 12th and the 19th [received 30th] November the *Sikh Sipahi* says that a study of the Sikh history shows that the Dogras brought about the destruction of the Sikh rule, and thereby obtained Jammu for themselves. Now Lala Lajpat Rai is trying to create dissensions among the Sikhs with the aid of the non-coöperation movement. He is making efforts to drive them out of their houses by giving them this toy of non-coöperation. He has caused a split among them and has set brother against brother.

Officials and non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 3rd December :— "High officials in India have tried various and variegated methods to kill the non-coöperation movement. To start with, an appeal was made to the good sense and sanity of judgment of the people; and these officials proclaimed to the world their hope that the wisdom of India would spurn Mr. Gandhi's propaganda. But this hope was falsified, and, rightly or wrongly, the vast majority of politically-minded Indians approved of the principle and a large proportion also of the programme of non-coöperation as laid down in the Congress resolution. The next step was to hold out the threat to crush the movement by a campaign of repression, which was foreshadowed by the arrest, prosecution and conviction of a number of Khilafat and other non-coöperation workers and by again calling in the aid of the Press Act, which, in some cases, had been kept in abeyance for a short while. This also failed to have the desired effect, and non-coöperationists actually started congratulating the objects of official disfavour. It appears that what has not been accomplished by cajolery and threats is now sought to be achieved by ridicule. [For instance, . . . Lord Ronaldshay, while speaking at S. Andrew's dinner on the 30th November, likened non-coöperation to a patent medicine. . . . Whatever else non-coöperation may be, it is not mere moonshine or delusion, and the sooner the Government recognises this fact and removes the causes that have brought the movement into being the better will it be for all concerned."

Government and the rural population.

SADAQAT; (Lahore) Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

10. The *Sadaqat* of the 1st December writes that both Government and the "agitators" are trying to carry the rural population with them. The talk of the "agitators," however, goes straight to the heart of the populace. The martial law atrocities have left a deep impression on the latter's mind, and this has blotted out all the favours and concessions shown by Government in the past. The people do not now regard Government in the light of *mai-bap*. No father in the world would fire at his sons, nor would he compel them to crawl on their bellies or venture to insult his daughters and daughters-in-law. He would not, moreover, so distinguish between his white and black sons as to allow Rs. 50 a month, electric fans and barracks to the former, but only Rs. 11 and ordinary *kothris* to the latter. Government should change its disposition if it wishes to become the *mai-bap* of the rural population. Is it prepared to do this?

Sir Edward Maclagan on the situation in the Punjab.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

11. Commenting on Sir Edward Maclagan's speech on the situation in the Punjab, the *Loyal Gazette* says in its combined issue dated the 14th and 21st November that the present agitation is meant only to ensure such changes in the administration as may make O'Dwyerism an impossibility for the future. It seems difficult to stop it unless the people are convinced that the days of O'Dwyerian rule and martial law can never return. We thank Sir Edward Maclagan, adds the paper, for the concessions granted by him to the Sikh community. We wish, how-

ever, that they had been made before the Sikhs started an agitation for them. Besides, the greatest Sikh demand was for one-third of the seats on the Punjab Council, but Government still refuses to accede to it. It is wrong to say that the demand emanated from certain Sikhs and not from the whole community. The Sikhs got disappointed at Government's treatment of them and came to the conclusion that the authorities could be influenced, not by splendid loyalty and services, but by agitation. The agitation they are now carrying on can be allayed to a great extent if Government admits its mistake even now, grants them one-third of the Council seats and makes an announcement of its intention to release Sikh political prisoners.

Siyasat (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Mr. Montagu's policy.

12. The *Siyasat* of the 24th November says that Indians are so much tired of Lord Chelmsford that they have repeatedly asked for his recall. In any other country an unpopular Viceroy like His Excellency could not have retained office for a single day. But it is a pity that, instead of pacifying Indians by recalling him, Mr. Montagu has declared in the House of Commons that he has the most implicit faith in the Government of India and the local Governments. Continuing, the paper says that whatever unrest is to be found in India is due mainly to the policy pursued by Mr. Montagu. Had he reprimanded the Government of India, and the local Governments for their blunders and illegal severities, the situation in the country would not have been as bad as it now is. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Montagu does not use his commonsense even now and continues to commit blunder after blunder.

Vakil (Amitsar); Abdulla Mishas, editor

The Indian army.

13. The *Vakil* of the 29th November says that the new Commander-in-Chief has taken over charge at a time when great unrest prevails in India. The public is prepared to practise non-coöperation, while Government naturally disapproves of the movement. The remedy lies, not in suppressing the propaganda with the sword, but by removing the causes which have given birth to it. Some of these cause relate to the Indian army, and we hope that Lord Rawlinson will attend to them first of all. There causes are :—

(1) There are several defects in the Arms Act which require to be removed.

(2) The sepoys have several grievances which have to be looked into.

(3) Indians regard the recommendations of the Esher Committee as very harmful for them. It will be improper to carry them into effect. The recommendation to place the Indian forces under the Imperial General Staff is not only a dangerous one but also galling to Indians' sense of the self-respect.

(4) The Army department is being run on antique lines. Indians have lost all confidence in it, and there has risen a wide gulf between them and Europeans. His Lordship should look to this.

(5) This department is at present a puppet in the hands of the War Office, which dances to any tune that the Cabinet may choose to play. This is derogatory for it, and Lord Rawlinson should make a stand against it.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Indians and the Sandhurst College.

14. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd December states that in future Indian students also will be admitted to the military college in England. The number of such students will, however, be very limited and admission confined to members of high families. The proposal can, therefore, never commend itself to India. Members of noble families do not require as many high posts as well educated youths of the middle classes. So long as these youths, of whom there is no dearth in the country, are not admitted to the Sandhurst College in large numbers, the rerpesentation of Indians in higher military posts will continue to be wholly inadequate.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Hindus and Muhammadans.

15. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th November publishes a communication from **Maulvi Hakim Ali**, B.A., Professor, Islamia College, Lahore. The writer quotes a verse from the Quran and contends that it prohibits coöperation with the Hindus. God, he adds, forbids the Muhammadans to coöperate with the

Hindus as well as the English. He considers it permissible for them, however, to have [business] dealings with either. Muhammadans should, therefore, continue to work as servants and labourers for infidels. The writer then advises his co-religionists to raise shouts of *Jai* for no one, to continue cow-sacrifice, never to carry a Hindu's bier, nor to consign his ashes into the Ganges or attend his ***chautha*** or ***dusehra*** [fourth and tenth days, respectively, after death] ceremony, and never to observe ***hartal,*** which is a Hindu practice.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th November publishes a query from **Mulla Muhammad Bakhsh**, manager of the defunct *Hunter* of Lahore, who asks (*a*) whether any individual can declare lawful what is forbidden by the ***shara***, *e.g.*, whether any leader can assert cow-sacrifice to be forbidden by Muhammadan law, and (*b*) whether it is lawful under the ***shara*** to participate in Hindu festivals. As to (*a*), he adds, over thirteen theologions' reply in the negative. As regards (*b*), Mufti Abdul Qadir of the Peshawar district replies that it is an act of heresy to make special preparations for participating in the festivals of infidels and to send presents to them on festive occasions. It is a pity that, instead of warning the masses against committing acts of heresy, the leaders should egg them on to do so. Such leaders are undermining the foundations of Islam and know nothing of the teachings of their religion. Their support of the Hindu-Muslim unity is prompted only by their mistaken opinions. They wish to take away from the followers of Islam all that is left them of their religion.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

16. (*a*) "**Master**" **Muhammad Ali**, B.A., writing to *Al-Fazl* of the 22nd November says that we can give up killing kine for the sake of the Hindus, provided they respect our Prophet like their ***rishis*** and believe him to have been a messenger from God. If they agree to this, their heart-felt desire about the protection of cows will be realised in no time. After remarking that they can make an experiment, the writer says that if the Hindus and Muhammadans unite in all sincerity their hope of obtaining ***swaraj*** can soon be realised.

Al-Fazl (Qadian); Ghulam Nabi, editor.

(*b*) In the course of a lengthy article on the Prophet's nativity, the *Zamindar* of the 24th November says that his life at Medina should serve as a guide to the Indian Muhammadans. Some of his followers here hesitate to join hands with their Hindu fellow-countrymen. On his migration to Medina, however, the Prophet made friends with the Jews, who were in a majority there. This shows that when Muhammadans are in a minority and have to live among other peoples, they are allowed to form a political and national union with other communities and to respect it unless it is violated by the other side. Exactly the same is the case in India with regard to the Hindus, who are helping us in the Khilafat question. Both of us form part of a single nation and have no concern with each other's religion. A union of the Hindus and Muhammadans is not, therefore, opposed to the ***shariat.*** The Prophet effected a similar union with non-Muslim nations. Continuing, the paper discusses the question of Gandhi's dictatorship in regard to the Khilafat movement, and sees no reason why the Muhammadans should not obey him in political matters, seeing that he supports all their religious demands and, so far from transgressing the commandments of the Quran and the traditions in national and political matters, consults Muslim theologians before launching every movement. The Prophet trusted and accepted help from an infidel called Abdulla, but Mr. Gandhi has faith in God bases all his movements on spiritual forces and believes in rewards and punishments in the hereafter, and is thus far better than the infidel referred to. There is no reason why the Muhammadans should hesitate to follow him in political matters on the ground merely of his being a Hindu.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*c*) **Bhai Parmanand** writing to the *Partap* of the 29th November says in the course of his remarks that the Hindu-Muslim entente is a blessing. The people should not deceive themselves, however, that the two communities can ever become one. The Muhammadans will never consent to this, and there is a danger of the Hindus injuring themselves in their present state of forgetfulness. The former, while taking part in political agitation, aim at making themselves stronger from the Islamic point of view. The Hindu-Muslim unity can become a reality only when the Hindus also strengthen themselves as a community.

Partap (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

Kine-killing.

17. (*a*) "A BROKEN-HEARTED MUHAMMADAN OF LAHORE" writing to the *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 20th November states that a few days back he happened to hear a [Muslim] leader, who is a sincere follower of Mahatama Gandhi, say that if the Muhammadans gave up cow-killing there would be such a fight between the Hindus and English that the Khilafat wrong would be avenged. The remark would suggest, is his ironical comment, that those Muhammadans, who started the killing of cows in India, were mortal enemies of the Islamic kingdom here and that it was this practice which brought about the downfall of the Muslim rule in this country. After remarking that incidents like the one referred to are meant to please the Hindus in every possible way, the writer asks whether they are prepared to give up anything adopted by them in consequence of kine-slaughter. They continue to regard the Muhammadans as untouchables, and the foolish Muslim leaders tolerate this in order only to avenge the Khilafat wrong on the English. They are not firm of faith and hanker after worldly things. Why are they anxious to secure *swaraj*? The Khilafat is not tried up with the horns of the cow. This is mere hypocritical fraud. If the Muhammadans so change their religion that the diet and mode of living of other nations become antagonistic to it, bloodshed will be the result. Such mischievous things should be avoided. Vengeance is to be wreaked, not on the English, but on the Hindus.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) One ALI MUHAMMAD QADIR BAKHSH, of Lahore, writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th November states that some mischievous persons are obtaining signatures of Muhammadans on a printed petition requesting the municipal committee of Lahore to stop the killing of kine by law within its jurisdiction. After remarking that their object consists only in fomenting discord between the Hindus and Muhammadans, the writer says that the latter did a great thing in trying to stop cow-sacrifice as far as this was possible. Their religion does not, however, admit of their allowing this sacrifice to be stopped by law. The writer would, therefore, warn them against signing the petition referred to. The movement has been started by a class of persons who do not like to see the two communities united and wish to crush the movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi and other leaders by bringing in a religious question.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

Sikh grievances.

18. The *Panch* of the 17th [received on the 30th] November says that while the educational institutions of other communities enjoy freedom, those of the Sikhs are burdened with Government interference. Again, while other sections of the population manage their own religious places, the mangement of those of the Sikhs is interfered with by Government. Government interference in the management of the religious and educational institutions of a community is a great and terrible sign of the latter's degeneration. The Sikh community should now descend into the arena of sacrifice and completely remove this sign of its degeneration. The time for making appeals to Government has gone by. The community is now tired of indulging in appeals, while Government has paid no heed to them and remains as indifferent as ever. We have now to display courage and caution in order to place our religious places and educational institutions under the management of our own community.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The ecclesiastical expenditure.

19. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 2nd December :—" The Indian tax-payer pays about twenty lakhs of rupees (the figures are for 1915-16) annually for the maintenance of the Christian church establishment in India, which is . . . . unjust and against the declared policy of Government . . . . The Government is bound by its pledged word to refrain from assisting or financing any church in India. . . . . In addition to the objection that the Government has no justification for employing divines and preachers of a particular faith or subsidising the church establishment of any religion, the charge that it imposes on the revenues of the country is out of all proportion to the requirements or the numerical strength of the persons likely to benefit by it, and highly disproportionate in relation to the legitimate heads of expenditure in the Indian budget. . . . Thus the price that India has to pay for the upkeep of the ecclesiastical establishment is exorbitant in all conscience, in spite of which the demands for an increase of pay and allowances made by the Chaplains and other

ranks of the clergy have been largely accepted by the Government. . . . . This increase in an unwarranted expenditure will be resented by all who do not want the revenue of the country to be frittered away to the detriment of the educational and economic advance of the people who contribute towards them. . . . . The Europeans as well as the Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians are an influential, enlightened and wealthy community and are quite competent to maintain their own churches and clergymen. . . . . We, therefore, appeal . . . . to the Govenment to discontinue this improper charge on the Indian revenues."

V.—EDUCATION.

The national Muslim University.

VAKIL
Amritsar ;
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

20. DR. MIRZA YAKUB BEG, L.M.S., writing to the *Vakil* of the 2nd December says that now that a national Muslim university is being established in the country it is the duty of the Muhammadans to help it in every way. The real object of the University consists in making them staunch in their faith, which is the only way to regenerate the followers of Islam. The present university education has failed to create a religious spirit in the Muhammadans. Religious-minded Muslim parents should gladly welcome the scheme of the National University established at Aligarh. The writer believes that the day will come when Government will recognise the certificates granted by national universities.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Repression in Patiala.

SIYASAT
(Lahore) ;
Habib Shah,
editor.

21. The *Siyasat* of the 25th November writes that Patiala is one of the States which frequently come to public notice on account of their repressive doings. Only recently some innocent persons were arrested there, while during Sir Michael's time several returned emigrants had to suffer various hardships in the State. A correspondent of a contemporary reports now that in pursuance of an order by the Maharaja it has been proclaimed in Patiala by beat of drum that anyone holding a meeting in the State until further orders will be liable to severe punishment. Nor is this all ; a sort of Rowlatt Act has also been promulgated by the Ijlas-i-Khas, namely, that more than four persons shall not meet in any church, mosque or temple without that body's permission. This shows that the Patiala authorities have forgotten God, and regard rule, not as a means of serving the public, but of manifesting their arrogance. Several timid States have already prohibited the holding of public meetings in them in order to please the British Government. No meeting has as yet been held in Patiala, but the prohibition of public meetings there is not without significance. What right has the Maharaja, the paper asks, to rigorous and unjustifiable interference with the religion of the people ? The prohibition to parties of more than four persons to meet at any mosque or temple is clear interference with the religions of the Hindus and Muhammadans. The latter cannot but congregate in their mosques at times of prayers, especially evening prayers, and the prohibition is a base, improper and unjustifiable and probably the first incident of its kind in regard to Islam in the modern history of India. It is time that the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders took up the question and tried to have the unjust order in question withdrawn.

Alleged ill-treatment of convicts in the Andamans.

PARTAP
(Lahore) ;
Krishan,
editor.

22. The *Partap* of the 25th November reports that the Arya Kumar Sabha, Lahore, recently held a garden party at Jehangir's tomb, which was attended by about sixty students of different colleges. BHAI PARMANAND made a pathetic speech on the occasion on life in the Andamans, where he has passed five years. He stated in the course of his remarks that he saw one morning that a prisoner, who was confined in the cell adjacent to his own, had committed suicide. The speaker added that a large number of such deaths took place there, and that life in the Andamans being full of troubles convicts preferred to put an end to their lives. Commenting, the *Partap* says that the state of things in the Andamans, as described by Bhai Parmanand, should be made known throughout the length and breadth of the country. It cannot be ended, adds the paper, unless a strong agitation is carried on against it, and that also not by a particular class of the people but by the whole country.

Reorganization of the medical services.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore) ;
K. N. Roy,
editor.

23. Commenting on the recommendations of the Medical Services Reorganisation Committtee's report the *Tribune* of the 28th November writes :—" Out of nine persons who composed the Committee, no less than six were military medical men and two were civilians, one of them being the president, Sir Verney Lovett.

Not only were the civil medical interests almost wholly ignored in the composition of the Committee owing to the overwhelming preponderance of the military interests, but those responsible for the appointment of the Committee took particular care to ensure the representation of the European point of view alone, to the complete exclusion of Indian opinion. It is indeed surprising that the authorities did not consider it worth while appointing a *single Indian* to the Committee, although that body was designed to consider the question of the reorganisation of the medical services in *India*. . . . . There were 46 sittings of the Committee and all were *in camera*. . . . . Publicity. . . . is essential in the interests of a correct and impartial enquiry, and it is not in the least surprising if the Indian public regard the entire proceedings of a body like the Medical Services Reorganisation Committee as a farce enacted to benefit a particular set of vested interests. Its conclusions are vitiated by racial considerations and it is idle to expect that they will inspire any confidence among Indians. . . . The Esher Committee report aims at the transfer of the military in India to the 'home' authorities. If the recommendations of the Medical Services Reorganisation Committee are accepted the result would be the further militarisation of the medical services. The bureaucracy will then have certainly scored one more point against the people."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor,

The Lawrence and Nicholson statues.

24. MR. C. F. ANDREWS writes to the *Tribune* of the 27th November :—"I am thankful that Mr. Duni Chand has taken up at last the question of Lord Lawrence's statue in Lahore, with its insulting inscription and its equally insulting form of statuary. . . . It is not merely the inscription which needs to be abolished, but the whole statue, which is fashioned by the sculptor in an attitude and a pose deliberately meant to humiliate the Punjab. . . . . I wish to draw attention, at the same time, to a statue, equally insulting and humiliating, in Delhi,--the statue of Nicholson. He is there represented brandishing a naked sword against the walls of Delhi, and in an attitude of furious attack upon the Kashmire Gate. The moment of the assault is seized upon by the sculptor and Nicholson is portrayed in all the fury of passion and slaughter, threatening the city of Delhi with the sword. It needs to be understood as clearly and as quickly as possible that these kinds of things are racially offensive and humiliating and that they cannot do anything to-day except stir up greater and greater racial passion and hatred. The attitude of these statues is a challenge to every Indian. It tells Indians that India will be held by the British as conquered and as subject and as dependent; that even if India unitedly demands her independence, it will not be granted except by force; that just as in the time of the Mutiny force was ruthlessly applied, so force will be applied again. There can be no other meaning than this in such a stone perpetuation of naked physical power as the final arbiter. . . . . To show that this meaning of subjection by force is actually implied in the Nicholson statue at Delhi, I can well remember, in 1907, how this very statue had to be guarded night and day by police with bayonets and rifles, because it was feared that the statue might be defaced, so great was the resentment in the city of Delhi against it, after it had been erected. . . . . . There is nothing that the Government in India, from the Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor downwards, has deplored more in recent days than the growth of ratial hate. It is useless to deplore this on the one hand, and farcibly to perpetuate it on the other. If the question of these two statues were in the hands of the Indian public, they would not remain in their present positions for a single day. It is the Government itself, therefore, that is increasing the spread of racial hate by refusing to remove them."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 27th November says that Bolshevik successes in Crimea and the reverses sustained by General Wrangel, the advance of Mustafa Kamal Pasha into Armenia and Smyrna and the crushing defeat sustained by the Greeks have rendered it very likely that the fortunes of Asia and Islam may take a favourable turn. The English and French are to-day proving a source of trouble and calamity everywhere, and God alone knows how long the world will have to endure this, as also the sacrifice of His creatures at the altar of imperialism. Continuing, the paper says that with the evacuation of Crimea, the whole of the Russian empire, excepting only certain outlying districts, has passed under the red flag and the Soviet Government is being highly praised everywhere. On the other hand, Mustafa Kamal Pasha has defeated the Armenians and his victorious armies are advancing on Greece. The day is near when the Turkish nationalists and the Bolsheviks will unite to blot the Turkish peace treaty out of existence. The enemies of Islam are daily suffering defeats, and we pray to God to vouchsafe strength to the Turkish arms. May the glad news soon reach our ears that Mustafa Kamal Pasha has taken possession of Constantinople, and that the holy Khilafat has once more been established in all its glory.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the defeat of M. Venezelos, the *Siyasat* of the 2nd December says that now that this accursed man is gone there is a possibility of the English rectifying some of their mistakes. After remarking that they are likely to make over Thrace and Smyrna to the Turks, it writes that even if Constantine does not come back Greece cannot henceforth support the English. If the last-named act justly and redeem the Premier's promise that the Turks would not be deprived of Thrace and Asia Minor, the Indian supporters of the Caliphate will be very favourably impressed. It is to be hoped that British statesmen will profit by the rare opportunity that has presented itself. They should learn a lesson from the alliance between Mustafa Kamal Pasha and the Bolsheviks and the defeat sustained by General Wrangel.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd December says that the fall of Venezelos has revived the question of the future of Smyrna and Thrace. Great Britain is still trying, however, that they should remain in possession of Greece in any case. She realises that if they are taken back from the Greeks they will have to be returned to Turkey. She would allow Greece another chance; she agrees that on the fulfilment of the conditions, which she has offered for the reinstatement of Constantine, Greece should derive all the benefits she can from the Turkish peace treaty. This shows that, for some unknown reasons, Great Britain is opposed to the restoration of Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey. And even in offering to Greece the concession referred to she does not part with selfishness. In view of these facts, what credence can be attached to the Government of India's statement that England alone is not responsible for the partition of Turkey?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) The *Tribune* of the 10th November writes:—"England cannot afford to let the impression exist for one single day in the Moslem world generally and in India in particular that it is more unbending and less conciliatory in this matter [the matter of the revision of the Turkish peace treaty] than either France or Italy. Such an impression is bound to do incalculable harm to her moral prestige, and after all that is the only thing, apart from physical force, that matters in the government of one people by another."

SADAQAT (Lahore), Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(e) The *Sadaqat* of the 5th December asks Mr Lloyd George why he is deceiving himself. His dream regarding British prestige and supremacy in Central Asia can now hardly be realised, seeing that his high-handedness has opened the eyes of the Asiatics. He wishes to hold the sand of Mesopotamia in his hand, but, try as hard as he may, it will pour down through his fingers. Does he think that the establishment of British supremacy in the holy places of Islam will silence the Muhammadans? We swear by God that they will neither sit still themselves nor let others do so. If Mr. Lloyd George had kept in view the sentiments of Indians and abstained from oblitering the Caliphate and establishing British [*lit.* your] supremacy in the Arabian peninsula, the whole Muslim world would have sided with him to stem the advancing tide of Bolshevism. But greed and avarice struck him blind. If he had acceded to our request he would have placed us under a deep debt of gratitude. His friend France, now feels the necessity of amending the Turkish peace treaty, but he keeps silent. In the end, however, he will have to drink this cup of poison. The powerful hand of nature will compel him to do what is just and right according to the divine law. God does not at all wish that Mr. Lloyd George's nation should overspread the whole world. The black, the yellow and the white are all equal to Him. When He thinks that a nation would share His Godhead, He brings about such causes for its destruction and overthrow of which we cannot have the remotest idea. Will not Mr. Lloyd George feel convinced even now that the rod of God, the sound of which is inaudible to the haughty and arrogant, is more terrible and deadlier than British guns? This rod is now at work in Asia Minor and Armenia.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(f) The *Siyasat* of the 8th December says that the Turks and their Sultan are in possession of Constantinople only in name. The Sultan and Turkish officers are living there as prisoners of the Allies, who are the real masters of the city. In what wretched condition they are in their own home owing to harshness on the part of the Allies can be gathered from the fact that the heir-apparent of Turkey tried more than once to escape from Constantinople, and that when his attempts failed he ended his life by taking poison, because he could not tolerate the disgrace to which his nation was being subjected. Mr. Amir Ali writes that there are now in Constantinople thousands of Turkish women and children who have no houses to live in, no food to eat and no clothes to wear. What have the Allies got to say regarding the havoc which is being wrought in Constantinople and the terrible and unbearable sufferings to which Turkish women and children are subjected before their eyes, nay, in consequence of their acts. Do they think that the Muhammadans of the world will forgive them for the atrocities which they are now perpetrating on the Turks?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

England and Persia.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 8th December says that Britain has always cast greedy looks at Persia. She now wishes to have the Anglo-Persian agreement ratified, the only result of which will be the destruction of what freedom is still left to Persia.

She has not as yet succeeded in entangling the Persian nationalists in her net and the agreement has not, therefore, been ratified by the Majlis up to the present. We hope that the Persian nationalists, who have become fully aware of Britain's anti-Muhammadan policy, will never ratify the agreement. They will not be easily deceived by Britain and, in view of what she has done in Turkey, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Egypt and India, will always give her a wide berth.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The *swaraj* movement.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

3. A correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th December says that the *swaraj* movement recently started in India is without a precedent in the country's history. Indians should bear in mind, however, that Ireland has not as yet obtained self-government in spite of her sacrifices and strenuous efforts during the past fifty years. It is no easy thing, therefore, to obtain *swaraj* for this country. If there stands one Ulster in the way of Ireland obtaining freedom, there are hundreds of them in the case of India. The first obstacle is the bureaucracy, for which this country is nothing short of a paradise. Its members have comparatively little work to do, and draw handsome salaries. India is a home of luxury for them: they cannot enjoy in England comforts which they have here. If India obtains *swaraj*, who will give them the high posts which ought to go to her own sons? Next the writer contends that the people of this country are quite fit to rule themselves. Continuing, he says that Anglo-Indian traders, factory-owners and journalists also stand in the way of India getting freedom, and asks how there can be peace and amity between them and Indians. Then there are the betrayers of the nation, who are always ready to kill their conscience and to strangle truth for their personal benefit and in order to win favour with Government. There is also the secret police, which force has already achieved a name for itself. The employment of a large secret police is a sign of weakness in Governments. The French Government had become very weak before the Revolution, with the result that members of this force were to be seen everywhere in France. The writer then goes on to say that there are also religious bodies in India which follow too cautious a policy and are thereby greatly discouraging the people from aspiring after political freedom. The Arya Samaj holds a prominent place among them. The Arya leaders have more than once tried to prove, by sending deputations to wait on the authorities, that the Samaj is not a political body. Government's suspicion in regard to it has not, however, been removed. The secretaries of both the Samajes at Lahore were arrested during the martial law days. As Indians, it is the duty of the Aryas to take part in political movements. Religious bodies should give up their present policy of cowardice and act with great courage and broad-mindedness.

The Muhammadans and *swaraj*.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

4. *Al-Munir* of the 1st December says that the unrest prevailing in India is ascribable to the Khilafat question, and is not likely to abate unless Mr. Lloyd George fulfils his promises in regard to Turkey. Responsible persons like Mahatma Gandhi have undoubtedly declared that Indians should obtain *swaraj* in order to preserve the Khilafat, and that when self-government is obtained the Khilafat would automatically be restored. We, however, want the Khilafat question to be settled first, and *swaraj* can take care of itself. The storm now raging in the country burst only when this question was decided contrary to the wishes of the Muhammadans. They have identified themselves with the non-coöperation and *swaraj* movements simply because justice has not been done to them in the matter of the Khilafat. Only a couple of years back they did not, as a community, desire complete and immediate Home Rule, and their present efforts for its attainment are attributable to the Khilafat; otherwise, they have not even considered what *swaraj* means and what benefits would accrue to them from it. Their *ulema* and other religious leaders have given a *fatwa* in favour of non-coöperation, not because that *swaraj* has not been granted to Indians, but because of the Khilafat question having been treated with indifference. If the Premier continues to regard this question as an unimportant matter, the existing unrest is not likely to abate, in spite of what king-worshipers like [the editor of] *Al-Munir* may do or say.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore), Mahbub Alam, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5 (*a*) "A SINDHI" writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th December says that the question of non-coöperation was raised by Khilafat committees, and the Hindus are said to have joined the movement out of sympathy with the Muhammadans. At the special session of the Congress, however, Mr. Gandhi openly declared that non-coöperation, if fully practised, would get us Home Rule within a year. This shows that the movement is intended to obtain *swaraj* and has nothing to do with the Khilafat question. The grant of *swaraj* to India can prove of no use to the Khilafat or Turkey. Mr. Gandhi's sole object in making the Muhammadans lead the movement consists in obtaining *swaraj*. He is deceiving the latter: he can have no interest in the Khilafat. The followers of Islam in India should think over the matter. Our short-sighted youngmen are creating causes for the destruction of their community. May God bring them into the right path!

MUNICIPAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Din Muhammad, editor.

(*b*) The *Municipal Gazette* of the 5th December says that the supporters of non-coöperation are severely attacking the students of the Aligarh and Lahore Islamia Colleges, and the people who do not see eye to eye with them are being called apostates by the *Zamindar* and the *Siyasat*. These papers are also condemning Muhammadans as heretics on the strength of the recent *fatwa* by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. The Musalmans can, however, never act upon a *fatwa* which is in direct contravention of the injunctions of the Quran, inasmuch as it inculcates disobedience to one's parents.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd December says that the Punjabis are to be tested in the 8th of this month. It behoves them to show, like the nationalists of other provinces, that victory in the Waterloo of the Punjab Council elections goes to their leader Mahatma Gandhi and not to his opponents. They should remain uninfluenced by pressure or temptation of any kind and should abstain even from going to the polling-stations, so as to make it clear to the dwellers in a fool's paradise that whether they send Mahatama Gandi to jail or to a St. Helena, he will continue to rule over the hearts of Indians.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*d*) Writing about the Council elections in the Punjab, the *Liberal* of the 5th December says:—"There is no denying the fact that the elections have had little or no attraction for the average voter so far, and that the position of the majority of the elected members would be anything but complaint [*sic*]. . The member elected under such auspices may for all intents and purposes be regarded a practical nullity and the most honourable course for him would be to retire after election. If he fails to do so, he cannot in any sense of the term be regarded a true representative of the people, and will represent no body but himself. The majority of the elected members will no doubt belong to this class, but it is far better that the Council should remain without them than that they should be allowed to parade themselves as the spokesmen of the public, while they are not."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Viceroy on Indian leaders.

6. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 5th December states that in the course of his speech at Bikaner it was remarked by the Viceroy that while there was no lack of the champions of progress in India, not a single sensible leader was available to lead the country in the real sense of the term. His Excellency's words constitute an attack on the Indian leaders, the sanity of some of whom is admitted by the world, including British statesmen. They are an open insult to these leaders, which no fair-minded and sensible person can deny. Lord Chelmsford has called the Indian leaders fools, and has thus insulted, not only the latter, but the whole of India. On the one hand, His Excellency wishes Indians to coöperate with Government; but, on the other, he calls their leaders fools. In these circumstances, can any self-respecting Indian coöperate with his Government? There can be no doubt that Lord Chelmsford has proved a failure as Viceroy, and estrangement between the people and Government has increased during his term of office. The attack now hurled by him at the Indian leaders will widen the gulf still further and lend an impetus to the non-coöperation movement, which His Excellency is so anxious to suppress. The sooner the British Government is relieved of its foolish friends like Lord Chelmsford the better will it be for Britain and India. Our moderate leaders, who wish for coöperation, should calmly ponder over the above insulting remark by His Excellency. The Viceroy cannot be prevented from saying

what he may like, but his words have deeply wounded the hearts of Indians.

The Tilak School of Politics.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. (*a*) Writing about Lala Lajpat Rai's Tilak School of Politics, the *Tribune* of the 8th December says :—"The Tilak School of Politics is the one conscious attempt that has been or is in the process of being made to impart what for want of a better name we would call 'steadiness' to the present political movement in India, for steadiness can come only out of ideas, and belongs to the domain of thought rather than of enthusiasm. But if this School is to do its work, it is essential. . . . that it must be properly supported with both men and money. With the funds that the founder has at his disposal he can barely start the institution and keep it going for some time. The men who have promised him help in the woy of teaching can similarly do only a limited amount of good by imparting instruction for a time in the subjects of their choice. Much more than this is clearly necessary if the School is to serve its purpose and to become a permanent influence for good in our educational and political life. A much larger amount of money will be needed, and it will be necessary to have the continued services as teachers or lecturers of the best men not only in the province, but in the country. More. The idea must be generally taken up, and branches of the School established in other provinces, as time passes. India is too vast a country for its needs, whether in this or any other respect, to be supplied by a single school working in a single city in one single province. But this is perhaps best left to the future. The immediate need is to render all the support in our power to the one institution that has been actually started. That is why we have no hesitation in associating ourselves warmly and whole-heartedly with Lala Lajpat Rai's appeal for funds."

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"An institution on these lines has always been a real desideratum. There is, indeed, need for trained political theorisers and workers everywhere, but nowhere are they more needed than in a country in the position of India, where, just because of its abnormal political situation, there is almost equal danger of a lack of political intelligence and a lack of political enthusiasm, where, unlike in free and self-governing countries people do not imbibe political ideas with their mothers' milk and do not get habituated to their daily life. . . . Say what some of us may and think what the bureaucracy will it cannot be long before India will become her own master. . . . It is, therefore, a matter of paramount importance for us to see that when the hour strikes, the men may not be wanting. . . . How are we to do this unless we start work on the lines of the proposed School of Politics?"

(*c*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 5th December :—"We are informed that the Principal of the local Government College strongly disapproves of the students of his college joining the Tilak School of Politics, and that he has communicated his views to the students. We have no quarrel with the personal views of the Principal either on this subject or on any other, but we have no hesitation in expressing our own views that it would be extremely unforunate if the responsible head of a college banned the attendance of his students at the Tilak School of Politics under the mistaken notion that in doing so he was helping to create 'an atmosphere of pure study.' Opinion may differ as to the propriety of students taking an active part in politics, but mere attendance on the part of students at an institution, the avowed object of which is to impart education in politics, including history and economics on sound lines, obviously stands on a different footing. In the absence of provisions in the existing colleges for the teaching of politics we are of opinion that the educational authorities, the guardians of students and the students themselves ought to regard the establishment of the Tilak School of Politics as supplying a desideratum. We hope in the interests of the students themselves that no such restrictions will be placed in the way of such of them as may decide to profit by the lectures delivered at that institution."

Government servants and trade unions.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The *Tribune* of the 5th December writes :—"It is stated that an Indian professor of the local Government College has been informed that his conduct in attending a trade union meeting is officially regarded as objectionable. We are aware that in the case of Government servants there is restriction in regard to their active participation in political meetings. All the same, we consider the action of the authorities in the particular case as ill-advised, since it is

clearly based on a wrong interpretation of the rule contained in the Civil Service Regulations. In the first place, a trade union meeting is not a political meeting and, secondly, so far as we are aware, in the specific case, the ground of official displeasure is the mere attendance of the individual. We hope in the interests of all concerned Government will issue a *communiqué* clearly setting forth its views on the subject, with specific reference to the particular case and also generally."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The *Akali* case.

9. (*a*) Commenting upon the judgment in the *Akali* case, the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th December says that the world wonders what policy the Government of India, especially the Punjab Government, is pursuing. If a person can be held punishable for writing articles or expressing his views on non-coöperation, no inhabitant of India can now remain outside jail. Different speakers and writers are voicing their views in different ways, but all of them have the same aim and feelings. To arrest one or two and inflict horrible punishments on them is an act, not of justice, but done in a state of panic. Does it become a Government, which considers its stability to depend on justice, to commit such acts? The effect which Government wishes such punishments to produce will not probably be brought about. The men who bore the oppression practised at the Jallianwala Bagh will put up with these tyrannies also. The country is now prepared for such oppression. Instead of expressing grief and indignation over such punishments, the people now gladly welcome them. As to Government's attempt to cast a slur on the character of the *Akali's* editor, we can only say that it was a mean act. He denies the genuineness of the letters produced against him; but, whether they are genuine or forgeries, they had no bearing on the case against him. If the nationalists begin to reply to this mean act on the part of Government the situation will undergo a change. Its legal advisers made a great mistake in producing the letters referred to. So far as we can judge these letters have produced no impression against Mangal Singh. On the contrary, the people have been still more enraged by this act on the part of Government. We have to say with regret that Sir Edward Maclagan's weakness is lessening the moral influence exercised by His Honour. Again, although the Public Prosecutor stated that Government did not insist on a heavy punishment being inflicted on the accused, the District Magistrate passed a severe sentence on him. The case was perhaps the weakest of the sedition cases which have so far been tried in the Punjab.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is taken from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 7th November:—"We are afraid that having regard to the youth of the accused and the quick beating impulses of the growing nationhood, and to the promise of greater freedom of speech and action in the reformed Government, the sentences look very heavy. We think, in view of his meritorious war services and in view of the fact that this was the first offence of the accused, the ends of law would not have suffered if he had been let off with a mere warning, or if a nominal simple imprisonment had been awarded."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 10th December writes:—"The passages quoted by the convicting Magistrate from the articles alleged to have been written by Sardar Mangal Singh, which must be the strongest passages in those articles, clearly show that the writer did not do more than make a strong and reasoned plea for non-violent non-coöperation. There is not a word in those passages which may be taken by the widest stretch of imagination to directly or indirectly incite his readers to disobedience of law.... There was not the slightest suggestion either by the prosecution or the trying Magistrate that Sardar Mangal Singh did more than put the case for non-coöperation, as he understood it, before his readers.... The second objection to the prosecution is that it is based on a wrong policy. Others have said much stronger things for non-coöperation both on the platform and in the public press, without any interference from the Government.... Dealing with the strictly legal aspect of the case, we are surprised at the manner in which the Magistrate has disposed of the case. There is not an iota of legal evidence on the record to show that Sardar Mangal Singh was the editor of the *Akali* on the dates when the articles which formed the subject-matter of the charge were published, or that he was the author thereof.... We have carefully read the extracts quoted by the Magistrate in his judgment and can say without fear of contradiction that they are much milder than similar articles on the same subject which have been published times out of number in the press of every province of the country. In other words the articles complained of cannot be said to have brought the Government into contempt and hatred, when the people have been habituated to read and hear stronger things during the last six months or so."

N.-W. F. P. administration.

Siyasat (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

10. The *Siyasat* of the 4th December publishes a communication from certain aggrieved persons in the North-West Frontier Province setting forth the following grievences of the people in that part of the country:—

1. The legitimate freedom of the people of the Frontier Province is interfered with, and the bureaucracy there does not let them take part in any peaceful and constitutional movement.

2. Whenever a person musters courage enough to undertake any national work, the unsparing weapon of the Frontier Regulations is brought into play and people are compelled to remain silent.

3. The people desire the amalgamation of their province with the Punjab, but no regard is paid to their legitimate desire in this behalf.

4. It was stated that the separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab would decrease crime. The step has, however, had the effect of increasing it.

5. Section 6 of the Frontier Regulation aims at preventing acts of disorder on the part of Pathans, but it is indiscriminately used against non-Pathans also. The latter proceeding requires the special sanction of the Government of India, but no regard is paid to this provision, and the section is used to suppress political movements.

6. It was stated that the Frontier Regulations were necessary to strengthen the hands of the administration against independent tribes creating disturbance in British territory. This no longer holds good, seeing that the Frontier Government has now a [? separate] law to punish these tribes.

7. As the Legal Practitioners Act is not in force in the Province the local Government is empowered to cancel the license of any member of the bar. This is the reason why the local lawyers take no part in any political work.

8. As only a limited number of pleaders are allowed to practise clients experience great difficulty in egaging able lawyers and have also to pay exorbitant fees.

9. Although the *jirga* system is a good institution, its working in the Frontier Prrvince is very defective. It is often noticed that the members of the *jirga* base their decisions on hints from persons [*lit.* beloved] in the background.

10. Orders passed under the Frontier Regulations not being appealable, officials have things their own way and can punish anyone. Even the Rowlatt Act cannot compete with this law.

Continuing the writers make the following demands:—

1. That Sir Hamilton Grant should be recalled as early as possible, seeing that he has proved himself wholly unfit to rule the Province.

2. That the Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab.

3. That the Frontier Regulations should be repealed as soon as possible.

4. That all the nationalists in jail or internment or under security should be set free.

5. That there should be general permission to the people to keep arms, so that they may be able to defend themselves against [? tribal] dacoits.

Postal strike at Lahore.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

11. (*a*) Writing about the postmen's strike at Lahore the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th December says that the inconvenience which the public is experiencing in consequence of the strike is attributable to the postal authorities. They had better accept the demand of the strikers and give postmen an increase of pay. There has been an increase in the savings of the Postal Department owing to the enhanced rates of postage. It would, therefore, be unfair not to accept the demand of the strikers for an increase of pay.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 10th December says that the prevailing dearness is known to all, and that, in view of it, the postmen are justified in demanding an increase in their pay. After asking the public to hold a meeting to sympathise with them, the paper wonders why the postal authorities made no attempt to come to a settlement with the men, especially when no satisfactory arrangements could be made for the delivery of mails. A heap of torn letters has been found in the garden outside the Lohari Gate, while postmen [not on strike] leave heaps of letters in front of shops.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

Kine-killing.

12. (*a*) *Al-Munir* of the 1st December understands that a number of mischievous persons, who are opposed to the Hindu Muslim entente, are trying to persuade Muhammadans to sign a petition to the effect that kine-killing should be prohibited by law. But even the Prophet himself, let alone the Muhammadans, could not declare as unlawful what has been made lawful by God. It is useless, therefore, to ask the Muhammadans to give their assent to the prohibition of cow-killing by law. They cannot possibly do such a thing. They are giving up the killing of kine in order to please their Hindu brothers, and it is not proper for the latter to go beyond this.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 2nd December publishes an open letter to Mr. Gandhi from MAULVI SAID ISMAIL GHAZNAVI. The writer says that he considers a union between the Hindus and Muhammadans essential in order to rescue India from slavery. The union, however, that the latter have offered to the former is quite opposed to the faith of Islam. There has, besides, sprung up a class of persons who have begun to take advantage of the Hindu-Muslim unity to ask municipal committees to pass a law to prohibit cow-sacrifice. The proceeding is very disgraceful, as also subversive of this union. The Hindu majority in [the municipalities of] Lucknow and Sind has got the desired resolutions passed against the wishes of the Muslim members. Similar proposals are unde consideration in Lahore, Amritsar and other cities. The Muhammadans cannot, however, approve of the movement, and feel constrained to protest against it. They request Mr. Gandhi to ask his co-religionists to stop the movement. They desire a union with the Hindus only if they can freely follow their religion. The settlement of the question of kine-killing be left to their free will.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd December expresses its inability to understand why the Muhammadans should be compelled to give up cow-killing when such an amount of beef is consumed by Europeans and European soldiers as the former cannot even dream of. The Hindu fanatics, who wish and seek to put a stop, by fair means or foul, to the slaughter of cows and would force the Muhammadans to give up kine-killing, should also try to have the use of beef discarded by Europeans and European soldiers. As to cow-sacrifice, the Prophet's followers cannot abandon it: they can only perform it in such a way as to avoid injuring the feelings of the Hindus. They can also give up the use of beef as part of their food in order to please the latter and to consolidate the Hindu-Muslim entente; still they will not consent to being forced to do so. It behoves the Hindu leaders, therefore, immediately to discourage the unseemly attempts in question, which are likely to deal a blow to the present union between the two communities.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*d*) The *Siyasat* of the 3rd December says that kine-killing is practised by Christians and others also, and that the Hindus should turn their attention to them as well. But unfortunately some Hindus have begun to obtain signatures of Muhammadans for kine-killing being prohibited by law. The latter have resented this proceeding, and they are justified in doing so. If kine-killing is prohibited by law their religious right to perform cow sacrifice on the occasion of the Bakr 'Id will have been wrested from them, which they can never tolerate. Besides, when both the Hindus and Muhammadans have decided to practise non-coöperation, what meaning is there in petitioning for the law in question? It appears that the movement has been started by some mischief-makers: the most distinguished Hindu leaders of Lahore, on being questioned, avowed their total ignorance of it. The petition is increasing excitement among the Muhammadans, and we are afraid lest the success which the Muslim leaders had achieved in persuading their co-religionists to give up cow-sacrifice should come to naught.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(*e*) The *Sadaqat* of the 6th December remarks that the originators of the movement have not perhaps thought of consequences. The question of kine-slaughter is a religious one: what Islam has declared lawful food cannot be made unlawful by the Muhammadans. We are, nevertheless, opposed to the killing of cows, inasmuch as we wish to respect the feelings of our Hindu brothers and also because of economic considerations. Continuing, the paper says that if the Hindus use the weapon, not of love, but of law to prevent kine-slaughter great excitement would be caused among the Muhammadans. The first thing to be done is that the two communities should make united efforts to get an Act passed to prohibit Government from killing cows for the English army, as also foreign traders from buying cows and buffaloes in India. The Muhammadans are whole-heartedly prepared to join hands with the Hindus in the matter. The latter cannot deny that while hundreds of thousands of kine are killed daily in cantonments, the Muhammadans are steadily giving up the use of beef. We should pay greater attention to cantonments.

DHARM (Lahore); Karam Chand Bahal, editor.

(*f*) The *Dharm* of the 6th December states that it appears from a note recently published by the Director of Agriculture in the Punjab that the present dearness of milk and *ghi* is ascribable specially to the decrease in the number of cattle. After remarking that there was a decrease of 18 per cent. in this number during the past six years, the paper asks where lakhs of cows go to after all. No one can believe that so large a number of them is killed on the occasion of Muslim festivals or for the Muhammadans. The fact of the matter is that a very large number of kine is slaughtered in cantonments for European soldiers, a smaller number being killed for hides. The Hindus and Muhammadans have committed great riots and shed the blood of hundreds of human beings over the sacrifice of a few cows on the occasion of the Id-uz-zuha. Lakhs of cows have been and are still being slaughtered for European soldiers and for the sake of hides. Now that the Hindus and Muhammadans have become one it is their duty to make united efforts to have an end put to the slaughter of lakhs of cows in cantonments. It would be better if Mahatma Gandhi included the cow-killing question in his programme of non-coöperation.

V.—EDUCATION.

The present system of education.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

13. The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th December publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI, who says that generally speaking rulers the and the ruled cannot be friends. All conquered countries, he adds, are managed on the principles obtaining in the case of jails. He then goes on to say that the first object of the Education Department is to add to Government's strength and enhance its prestige, all other educational objects being subservient to this. The whole thing is, therefore, intended to inculcate in the students the habits of loyalty, subservience and obedience. The students reading at colleges, particularly Government and Mission colleges, have to suppress and conceal their views and opinions for the sake of their bread and degrees. They acquire even meaner habits—those of backbiting, spying, sycophancy, etc. Both English and Indian professors take a prominent part in the development of these habits. The prohibition to his students by the Principal of the Government College, Lahore, to abstain from attending lectures at the Tilak School of Politics is an order of this type. It is to be regretted that the parents of students should not care for such matters. Indeed, how many parents are there who wish that their sons should grow up independent, fearless and truthful nationlists? On the contrary, they advise their sons to obey, flatter and try to please the principals of their colleges. The present education is extremely demoralising and the only remedy lies in making every effort to obtain *swaraj*.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Tank affairs.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

14. The *Siyasat* of the 5th December states that some time back it received a communication on the subject of the tyrannies and oppression practised by the Tank Darbar. As, however, the letter was anonymous it was not published by the paper. The editor has since received several communications relating to the nonsensical and uncalled-for acts of oppression by the Darbar. He gives below the gist of one, and says that if plain-speaking is an offence Government would be perfectly justified in demanding from him the same price as it did

when he exposed the tyrannies practised in the Hyderabad State. In other words, Government might forfeit the security deposited by [the press printing] the paper. Continuing, he says that the communication referred to states that in Tank no one is allowed to preach or to make a speech. The holding of public meetings has also been prohibited, and no society is allowed to be formed in the State. No stranger is, besides, permitted to enter the city. Newspaper reading is also an offence, the people concerned being kept under police surveillance.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

Gwalior and the Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

15. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 8th December:—"In theory the Native States in India are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned; but in practice, either on account of the weakness of the Darbars or on account of the stunting and baneful influence of past convention and precedents, many of our States are not administered on independent lines. There being no enlightened, strong or organised public opinion in these States, their princes and administrators look up not to their subjects but to the British Government for approval of their politics and administration. Sometimes in their anxiety to please the British Government even the most advanced ruling princes display a greater respect for the feelings of British officials than for their own honour and good name or for the rights of their own subjects. The action taken by the Gwalior Darbar in the matter of collecting subscriptions for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial within the jurisdiction of the State is a case in point." Then follows a translation of a Hindi order finding fault with a Vakil of Khachroad for having collected money in aid of the Jallianwala Bagh memorial and requiring him to refund the money and abstain from making such collections in future. Continuing, the paper writes:—"As is well-known, in British India itself subscriptions were collected for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial as well as for the Dyer Fund without any direct interference from the authorities. It is, therefore, inexplicable why the Gwalior Darbar should have displayed a greater solicitude in the matter. It need hardly be said that the order is as unjust as it is uncalled for; and should be withdrawn. The Darbar was not entitled to restrict the act of its subjects in a matter which did not concern it in the least, especially when the Government whom it did concern did not interfere with its own subjects in that behalf."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

European insults to Indians.

16. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 10th November:—"In the course of his Introduction to his new book on Indian Dyarchy Mr. Curtis has something to say on the causes of bitterness in India. He does not think that Indian questions can be solved merely or primarily by granting a liberal constitution. No political reform, he says, has the least chance of success unless the Government deals decisively with the small class of Europeans who all unconsciously are undermining the only foundation upon which it can rest. . . But the remedy . . . is not only extreme, but bound to be inefficacious. The knowledge that the punishment for proved insult was expulsion from the country would make a Governor think more than twice before he found a European guilty of the offence, and the result would be that in most cases Europeans would go off scott-free as they do now. Mr. Curtis, indeed, says that the punishment would be heartily supported by the great body of European opinion in India. But in this he is only giving this 'great body' credit which only a small part of it can be said to deserve. Mr. Curtis cannot be unaware of the amount of sympathy and support which Dyer has received at the hands of this 'great body' in India, and it is not easy for any European to surpass Dyer in respect of the insult and humiliation he inflicted upon India."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Mr. Gandhi.

17. The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th December says that, on the one hand Government officials are appealing to Indians to coöperate with Government, but that, on the the other, some short-sighted English journals are adding fuel to the fire. It is to be regretted that misunderstanding still exists in the mind even of Englishmen who call themselves fair and independent-minded. The present political struggle does not owe its origin to Mahatma Gandhi and cannot be stopped by his arrest or internment. On the contrary, the movement will

daily gain in strength. It is ascribable to the mistakes which Government has been committing from time to time, while Indians are tired of the present system of administration. It will be of no avail to imprison Mahatma Gandhi or prevent him from carrying on his propaganda. The proceeding will only cause further unrest. It is fortunate for Government that a man like Mahatma Gandhi is carrying on the movement. But for this, there would be an apprehension of its leading to very dreadful results.

The Rajputs.

18. Commenting upon the Viceroy's speech at Bikanir, in which, it says, His Excellency extolled the Maharaja to the skies for his services during the war, the *Rajput Gazette* of the 4th December writes that a recognition of these services can do no good either to the Maharaja or his State and subjects or to his brother Rajputs. The days are gone by when the Rajputs could feel satisfied with mere words. They should now get the reward for their loyalty and devotion in the form of increased rights. They have rendered as much help and service to Government as any other community, but it is a pity that they have not been granted even the right of separate representation on the Councils. They have so far kept silent under the thought that Government would appreciate the services rendered by them, but the result has been that they have been kept out of most important rights. If suitable steps are not taken to grant them the rights they deserve, unrest and feelings of indignation will naturally be caused amongst them.

RAJPUT GAZETTE (Lahore); Sukhram Das, editor.

The Muhammadans and the Sandhurst College.

19. *Ar-Rai* of the 3rd December complains that there is not a single Muhammadan among the five Indians nominated by the Viceroy for training at the Sandhurst College.

AR-RAI (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 11th December 1920.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 4th December says that the Indian Mussalmans have begun to feel that although other allied powers also had undoubtedly a hand in the framing of the Turkish peace treaty, still it was at the instigation of the British Government that such hard terms were offered to Turkey as to reduce her to the position of a tributary state, nay, to that of a *jagir* whose holder's status is that of an internee. It is not wise to ignore the sentiments and religious susceptibilities of a community whose members consider it as nothing to sacrifice their lives and abandon their motherland for the sake of religion. The British Government should not, therefore, disregard their voice and should lose no time in redressing their grievances. It can revise the Turkish peace terms and can also ask its allies to do the same. The greatest enemy of Britain is Soviet Russia and not Turkey, and if she effects a reconciliation with the last-named Bolshevik danger can be set at naught. The Turks will never object to the Arabs becoming independent, and if such of their territories as have been handed over to Greece are returned to them and the Allies evacuate Constantinople, they will again become Britain's friends, while the Indian Muhammadans will feel easy once more It behoves the Indian Government plainly to tell the ministry that peace can be restored in India only if the Turkish treaty is revised. The whole matter can be settled if England tries this experiment.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) Commenting on Mr. Montagu's recent speech on Mesopotamia, the *Zamindar* of the 9th December says that there should be an independent and permanent Arab Government in Mesopotamia responsible to an Arab parliament for all its acts. Continuing, the paper says that it has greatly been distressed at the following words in the speech:—"He would rather do anything than scuttle from Mesopotamia, but he would rather go than ape the example of the Turks, which had brought the country to ruin." How long ago is it, it asks, that this ruin was wrought? There was then no vestige of the Ottoman Turks. The ruin took place centuries back, and the Tartars who wrought it were not even Muhammadans. The Europeans are past masters in the art of throwing dust in the world's eyes by thus distorting facts. They always prejudice the civilized world against the Ottoman Turks by narrating stories relating to the Tartar Turks. The only offence the latter (may God grant them victory over their enemies) have committed is that they did not establish a bureaucratic rule in Mesopotamia.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Sadaqat* of the 12th December says that the Sevres treaty is a valuable document in the eyes of England, France and Italy. But Lenin, Mustafa Kamal Pasha and the members of the present Government in Greece, who exercise very great influence and power in the east, regard it as so much waste paper. The defeat of M. Venezelos has made France and Italy realise which way the wind will now blow, and both of them have come fully to understand that if the treaty is not amended early the new state of things in the east will tear it to pieces [so to say]. Italy is wholly averse to Great Britain acquiring such naval strength as to jeopardise the former's interests. It is clear, however, that if the latter permanently occupies the Dardanelles and Constantinople, the key of the east will pass into her hands. Nevertheless, she cannot venture to swallow this rich morsel herself, and is anxious that France also should partake of it. But France regards it in the light of poison : she has not as yet been able to digest Syria to her satisfaction. Again, the new President of America has already notified Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon that the United States also should share the booty. British statesmen are just now in a state of suspense.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 13th December says that it would be advantageous for the Allies to revise the Turkish peace treaty and restore Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey. This would strengthen their position in the Middle and Near East and would also romove a serious grievance of the Indian Muhammadans. It is to be hoped that the Allied statesmen will not allow this golden opportunity of killing two birds with one stone to slip through their fingers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 15th December writes :—"We are sincerely pleased that His Majesty's Government have lost no time in emphatically and unequivocally repudiating the assertion that they are standing in the way of a satisfactory revision of the Turkish treaty. . . . But it is not enough to repudiate the assertion. What His Majesty's Ministers ought to do is not only not to lag behind France and Italy in this matter, but to be far in advance of them. It is they and not either of the other two powers who have the views and sympathies of seventy millions of Mussalman fellow-subjects to consider and to reckon with."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The Sherif of Mecca.

2. Commenting upon the Sherif of Mecca's recent proclamation, which was reproduced by the *Statesman* and in which the Sherif has threatened that if Britain does not stand by her promises to him he will join the Turks or Bolsheviks, the *Zamindar* of the 11th December remarks that all reports about his treachery to Turkey are now proved to have been well founded. The wretch now admits that he did try to wrest Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem from an Islamic Government and place them under the direct or indirect control of non-Muslim Governments. He also admits that it was with his help that the Allies gained victory in [? Irak-i-]Arab and Syria. He acknowledges further that he took Englishmen and Franehmen to places in Mecca to which no non-Muslim had been allowed access till then; and thus he insulted the Islamic traditions. In spite, however, of this despicable treachery to Islam on his part, the Allies have not fulfilled the promises which they made to him during the war, and he is now cursing the English and French. He has neither gained the approbation of God, His prophet or the Musalmans, nor has his dream of an independent Arabian kingdom been realised. He did not know that the European powers were quick to make promises but very slow to fulfil them. His threats will not perhaps frighten the Allies into leaving the Arabian peninsula, but it remains to be seen whether or not the Sherif will really enter into an alliance with the Turkish nationalists. It is to be wished that such a thing would come to pass, and that this fellow would return to the right path even now.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Indians abroad.

3. (*a*) The *Bande Matram* of the 11th December publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI, who states that thirty thousand Indians intend to leave Fiji and are selling off their goods and other property at a very cheap price. The even should show, he adds, what sort of harshness has been practised on Indians in

Fiji. After referring to the ill-treatment of his fellow-countrymen in some parts of the British empire, the writer says that when Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner were appointed to the Imperial Conference it was proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets that the British colonies had promised to accord a good treatment [to India], that all the grievances [of the last-named] would now be redressed, and that, in the other event, both sides would treat each other alike. No law, however, embodying this principle has as yet been enacted. The fact is that all these were false assurances So long as India does not obtain *swaraj* and equal rights with other parts of the Empire the latter will continue to ill-treat her children. The question ought to be considered at the next session of the National Congress.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 11th December has the following :—"The Government of India must revise the opinion which they expressed in reply to a question by Mr. Shastri [on the riots in Fiji]. In view of the very detailed account of the recent events given in the despatch of the Governor of Fiji, they then said, 'the Government of India do not think they would be justified in moving the Secretary of State for getting the Colonial Office to appoint a commission to enquire into the origin of the recent riots and the measures taken to quell them.' The answer was unsatisfactory enough at the time it was given, because the Government of India ought to have known from their own experience the sort of data on which official despatches are sometimes based. . . . But if the answer was unsatisfactory then, it is rendered incomparably more so by the letter received by Mr. Andrews from a 'thoroughly reliable' correspondent. This letter challenges the official version in almost every essential particular and gives a version of the affair which, if accepted, as every Indian must at this stage feel disposed to accept it, shows that the state of affairs in Fiji in regard to our countrymen is absolutely intolerable and calls for immediate ending or mending. It shows . . . . more than once that the predisposing cause, alike of the strikes and the riots, was the attitude of hostility of a large part of the European community to the Indians and especially their leaders, that in both cases it was Europeans, whether official or unofficial, who were the aggressors, that the firing was not justified, that while some Indian undoubtedly perpetrated excesses . . . it was almost invariably under provocation, and that all the unfortunate happenings could have been avoided, as the correspondent says, if the Government had been sane and had not played into the hands of others. In the circumstances, and having regard especially to the later news received by Mr. Andrews, that the situation in Fiji has become so bad that out of 60,000 Indians no less than 30,000 are selling off all their property at great sacrifice and are preparing to leave Fiji, we have no hesitation in associating ourselves whole-heartedly with Mr. Andrew's plea that the Government of India should immediately insist upon a thoroughly independent and impartial enquiry into the whole body of circumstances affecting Indians, at which India herself shall be properly and adequately represented. There is no question of interfering with the rights of a self-governing colony in this case, because Fiji is not a self-governing colony, and His Majesty's Government is ultimately responsible for the proper management of things in that part of the Empire. We do hope the Government of India will lose no time in taking this step."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 17th December has the following.—"We trust that the appeal which the Indian Congress at Mombassa has resolved to make to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the recognition, in principle and practice, of the equality of his Indian subjects, for the removal of disabilities arising from segregation and the racial bar, and for the grant of equal franchise on a common register, will receive that sympathetic and just consideration at the hands of His Majesty's Government which the Indian question in East Africa has so far failed to receive. There is no part of the Empire, outside India itself, where Indians have a better or more irresistible case than they have in East Africa ; and there is no part of the Empire where the treatment that has now for some time been accorded to them has been more entirely devoid of even the shadow of a plausibility. Nor are we surprised at the decision of the Congress that in the event of His Magisty's Government not doing to the Indian community the justice to which they are manifestly entitled, they will have no choice left but to resort to peaceful, effective non-co-operation. East Africa, like South Africa, has a more or less compact

Indian community, the grievances of the Indians are tangible and definite, and non-coöperation can with confidence be expected to be effective and to lead to the desired goal. The case, therefore, belongs exactly to the category of those in which we have always supported the policy of non-coöperation as an extreme measure, and we have no doubt that, as in the case of South Africa, the whole of patriotic and self-conscious India will be behind the struggle, should our countrymen in East Africa be forced to enter upon it in defence of their sacred interests and rights which are ours."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) Commenting upon the proceedings of a meeting recently held in New Zealand to protest against the influx of Asiatics into that country, the *Bande Mataram* of the 14th December says that the first offence of Indians is that they are very hard-working and of frugal habits. They can work better than Europeans, and that also on smaller wages; and this is the root cause of the whole mischief. Being unable to compete with them honestly Europeans want them to be expelled from their countries. After asking Europeans to consider for a moment how they killed the Indian trade and industries, the paper says that they neither wish honest and peaceful people to enter their lands nor would they let the latter live in peace in their own homes. We are asked not to raise racial questions, but the treatment accorded to us is such as would inflame even the most peace-loving temperament. The paper then goes on to say that another reason suggested by the meeting in question for prohibiting the entry of Indians into New Zealand was that they were a morally degraded people. The claim to moral superiority laid by Europeans, it comments, is another proof of European impudence. Indians do not know how to go back on their promises or to put to the sword people who seek refuge with them. They do not also know how to fire at unarmed and innocent people, regard every woman as deserving of respect and consider it ungentlemanly to raise their hands against her. They place moral laws above secular laws, although they are undoubtedly morally degraded in several ways. They are not to blame, however, for the latter event: the responsibility for it rests with those powers which have taken a mean advantage of their honesty and peacefulness to entangle them in evils.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Operations in Waziristan.

4. The *Tribune* of the 17th December writes:—"A *Gazette of India* Extraordinary .... contains an interesting dispatch from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief giving an account of the operations in Waziristan which were carried on in 1919-20." Next the paper summarises the dispatch and continues:—"It may be asked, what is the advantage of carrying out such a difficult and costly punitive campaign against the frontier tribes? Have the Waziris and Mahsuds been sufficiently humbled to prevent their further raids on India and looting Indians? There is no direct answer to these questions in the Commander-in-Chief's dispatch.... The operations must have cost many lakhs of rupees. They have laid a heavy burden on the Indian taxpayer. They have dispersed the enemy and broken their power for mischief. But how long these effects will last is problematical, and it is still a moot point whether our frontier policy, consisting of wearisome and costly punitive operations, will ever lead to long peace on our borders."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KHALSA ADVOCATE, (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The reforms.

5. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 14th December has the following:—"Whatever the defects and failures of the non-coöperation movement may be in all other directions, it cannot be denied that it has reduced the Council elections to nothing more than a mere farce... ...A study of figures shows that a very short percentage of voters dared to present themselves at polling stations. Not because all the voters holding back were non-coöperators or were under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, but because of the threatened social ostracism and excommunication and vigorous campaign of intimidation and hooliganism carried on by the non-coöperators throughout the length and breadth of the country. The scenes of rowdyism and incendiarism which were witnessed on the election day at Lahore . . have succeeded, at any rate in the Punjab, in demonstrating that the heart of the people is too lacerated by the wrongs inflicted upon them to allow them to indulge in the luxury of using franchise granted to them under the new reforms. Although members to the Councils have been elected, never mind if by one or two voters or by none at all, yet it is established beyond question that members thus elected have in most cases no public voice at their back. The credit of the success

of non-coöperation movement so far as the elections go, is not so much due to the inherent qualities of the movement itself and to the growth of impassioned longing for political freedom as to the sense of galling wrongs which the country has received at the hands of the Government and the hatred which has been engendered by the supreme contempt and indifference with which the bureaucracy has treated and trampled under foot the just demands of the people and their growing aspirations."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 14th December:—"A large body of prominent leaders of whose election to the new Council there could be no reasonable doubt, have kept aloof; and politicians, whose influence and sincerity are undeniable, have proclaimed from the housetops that the reforms are a snare and a delusion. The authorities have already thrown away several opportunities of disproving these allegations, and the last opportunity has now offered itself. Needless to say that their sincerity of purpose and the genuineness of their anxiety to save the reforms will alike be judged by the manner in which they discharge their statutory duty of appointing members of the Executive Council and Ministers. Take the Punjab, for example. In spite of the fact that most of the leaders of the province have boycotted the reforms, and the non-official parliament of India at its recent special session adopted the programme of non-coöperation, a few, very few, leading and enlightened Punjabis have in the teeth of bitter opposition retained their faith in the potentiality of the reforms and successfully fought their electioneering battles.... Obviously a wise Government would make the best of the presence in the Council of these solitary representives of the educated and independent middle class, so that the reforms may have at least some semblance of a fair trial in the matter of the actual working. We believe that Sir Edward Maclagan understands the situation and will do nothing to further aggravate it."

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 16th December writes:—"Any one can see for himself that a Legislative Council, composed as the new Legislative Council is, affords an opportunity to a Governor to exercise almost unlimited power if he likes, power even more unlimited than what he exercises now, because under the new system he will have no responsibility to the Secretary of State or Parliament with regard to the transferred subjects. The members, just because they do not belong to political parties in any recognised sense and are thus without any element of cohesion, instead of being able to control the executive, will themselves be amenable to pressure on their part, and may be so played against one another as in effect to strengthen any Government that the Governor may choose to form. Yet only a moment's reflection will show that this would be the best way to frustrate the true purpose of the reforms... The very first thing which this change involves is the appointment as ministers of persons who may be trusted to bring a will and judgment to bear on the discharge of their duties, which shall be independent of the will and judgment of the bureaucracy.... The next best and in fact the only possible course for the Governor would be to appoint men as ministers who enjoy a deservedly high reputation in the country for ability, integrity, independence and love of country, and who are also known to be endowed with the sovereign qualities of tact, judgment, prudence and courage... The appointment of such men irrespective of all extraneous considerations and with a single eye to the success of the reforms and the development of representative government, can, after all that has happened, alone impart some reality to the experiment on which we are about to embark. God grant that our rulers may not throw away this last opportunity, as they have already thrown away so many previous opportunities."

(*d*) Writing about the appointment of the members of the new Executive Councils, the *Tribune* of the 18th December says:—"Some of the appointments had already been foreshadowed in the Press, and several of them will be received with general satisfaction in the country.... In our own province, contrary to general anticipation, the official membership of the Council has been conferred upon the Hon'ble Sir John Maynard. We need scarcely say that no better choice could have been made from among the members of the Indian Civil Service in the province, and we have no hesitation in congratulating Sir Edward Maclagan on it. As regards the Indian membership, we were among the first to give publicity to the report that it would go to Sardar [Sundar Singh.]... The Sardar Sahib has never been known for progressive views and sympathies and is indeed in many ways the exact opposite of what the Indian member should be. His appointment is sure to be received with a feeling of profound disappointment in the province."

Non-coöperation.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Panch* of the 8th December says that, as is generally known, those who resort to courts have to pay bribes right and left. And while this entails considerable expenditure of money, justice is obtained only in a very few cases. If the people wish to prevent their money from being wasted they should establish *panchayats* to settle their disputes. They have now decided to promote their betterment and should lose no time in introducing the suggested reform.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 12th December congratutates the citizens of Lahore on the splendid success achieved by non-coöperation at the Council elections. After remarking that they have saved the honour of the capital of the Punjab, it says that the people should not think that the work of non-coöperation is now over. The men who have gone to the Councils against the wishes of the voters will be called upon to prove themselves to be civilised. In civilised countries no one, who cannot secure more than fifty per cent. of the votes, can become a representative of the people. The men elected know that ninety per cent. of the voters do not wish them to enter the Councils and should, therefore, resign their seats. If they do not accept the ultimatum the nation will decide what treatment should be accorded to them.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th December is sorry to report that about 35 per cent. of the Punjab graduates voted at the Council elections and thereby brought disgrace on their province. Can any one venture to assert, it asks, that the present official or semi-official education is in any way useful for Indians as a nation, or that it can rescue them out of slavery and secure them *swaraj*?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) One CHIRAGH DIN KAKEZAI of Gujranwala writes to the *Tribune* of the 11th December:—"The non-coöperation resolution has been passed by all the political bodies and efforts are being made to give it a practical shape.... But the pity of the matter is that the leaders themselves, except a few, have so far given little or no proof of their sympathy with the non coöperation movement. I shall confine myself only to one aspect of the problem. Many of our leaders are standing as candidates for the membership of municipal committees and many have already been elected as such. I ask, is this non-coöperation? The policy of the members of municipal committees is controlled by the local Government. Not a penny can be given without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner.... We fail to see how those leaders who profess to adopt the non-coöperation resolution justify their position by accepting the membership of municipal committees. It is no use boycotting the Councils when you are not boycotting municipal committees.... It is as it were beginning a thing from the wrong end."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor

(*e*) Writing about the educational non-coöperation, the *Vakil* of the 9th December enquires from the Muslim leaders (1) whether Muhammadans cannot succeed in any revolutionary movement without the participation of the Hindus in it, and (2) whether the former need a change more than the latter. Afer replying to (1) in the affirmative, the paper says that the question now arises why, unlike the Muhammadans, the Hindus are not breaking up their schools and colleges. Are they not, it further enquires, desirous of a change and are they satisfied with the present Government? The Muhammadans might say that they need a revolution more than the Hindus, seeing that gross injustice has been done to them in the matter of the Khilafat. But if the breaking up of the existing educational institutions before the establishment of independent national schools and colleges could have removed the injustice, the Hindu community would have been the first to close them down with a view to obtaining *swaraj*. In our opinion it is a gross misuse of our energies to engage ourselves in the attempt to destroy the existing institutions. It should, on the contrary, be our duty to try our hardest to found new national schools and colleges. In view of the backwardness of the Muhammadans in education, it is incumbent on them to make the existing institutions more useful and add to their number.

(*f*) Continuing in its issue dated the 11th December, the paper asks why the Muhammadans should not carefully watch the Hindus' attitude in regard to educational non-coöperation, and why they should not tell Mr. Gandhi that things should develop with an equal pace at the Aligarh and Benares Colleges and the Islamia and D. A.-V. Colleges of Lahore. While some of the Muslim newspapers, adds the editor, are most vigorously supporting educational non-coöperation, their Hindu contemporaries keep wholly silent. The latter are persuading the Muhammadans to break up their national schools and colleges, but do not publish a single word to induce the Hindu similarly to treat their educational institutions. Nay, they are openly or, if this be impossible, secretly advising these institutions firmly to stick to the course they have hitherto been following.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*g*) The *Liberal* of the 13th December writes :—" What is the remedy for the troublesome situation that has arisen in the country as a result of the non-co-öperation movement ? The feeling between the Government and the people is already acute, and it is time the Government thought of the proper means to pacify that feeling. Will the Seditious Meetings Act, the Defence of India Act, or the Press Act be of any help in the matter ? These measures have failed in time of peace to have the desired effect and they cannot succeed when the tension is already high. Any resort to any of these measures cannot fail to add fuel to the fire, and the Government will be well advised to put these Acts aside for all time to come. . . . Let the Government openly confess the wrong that has been wantonly done to the Punjab by a few official malefactors, English as well as Indian, and let them courageously mete out condign punishments to such officers. Nothing will restore popular confidence better than a practical deed to show that the Government abhors the Punjab atrocities as much as the people and is ready to punish its officials when they go wrong."

The next Viceroy.

KHALSA ADVOCATE, (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

7. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 14th December writes :—" The Viceroyalty of India still remains an unsettled affair. The guesses and conjectures so far made have turned out to be nothing more than mere conjectures and guesses. . . . Whoever may be selected it is one and the same thing for India. The Viceroy's personality and his personal opinion have very little in common with the Indian policy. Unless the Parliament chalks out a progressive and sympathetic line of policy to be vigorously pursued aiming at the conferment of full responsible government on India within a given time it matters little for India whether the new Viceroy is a Liberal or a Conservative, a Labourite or a Radical."

Recruitment for the Indian Civil Service.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy. editor.

8. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 14th December :— " At a time when the demand of the bulk of political India may be summed up in one word 'Swaraj', which implies, among other things, the practical cessation of recruitment for the Civil Service in England, the Government of India have had the supreme unwisdom to issue a notification in which they practically give effect to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission in repect of that Service. Those recommendations, as the *Servant of India* points out, had become out of date even before they were issued. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, one of the members of the Commission and himself a signatory to the report, described it as a pre-war document, and he has since pleaded earnestly for the institution of simultaneous examinations. Similarly, Indian members of the Viceroy's Council, in the course of a famous debate, urged that the proportion of Indian recruits for the Service should be fixed at least at fifty per cent. of the total . . . . . The Government of India have not listened to either Mr. Macdonald or to the Indian members, but have, in the blundering way so characteristic of them, proceeded to announce a policy which might have given some satisfaction two decades ago, but which to-day can only cause increased bitterness by its absolute insufficiency and its radical unsoundness. "

" India in 1919."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. Commenting upon "India in 1919" recently issued by the Government of India, the *Tribune* of the 18th December writes :– " Even a casual glance will reveal the fact that the book abounds in dangerous generalizations touching controversial matters. A document which purports to bear the authority of the Government of India and which is to be presented to Parliament with a view to keeping that body informed of the manner in which its delegated

authority has been exercised in the discharge of that 'sacred trust,' should scrupulously eschew all evidence of official bias. . . A book like 'India in 1919' is bound to serve more as a blind to the self-sufficient M. P. and the unsuspecting British public, whose ignorance regarding Indian affairs is notorious enough. One principal effect of it must be to mislead those who are the sole and ultimate arbiters between the Indian public on the one hand and the Government of India on the other." Next the paper takes exception to certain statements in the publication, and continues :—" To begin with, the treatment of the Punjab trouble is entirely one-sided and attempts are not wanting to justify some of the excesses on the part of martial law officials. . . But the Punjab affairs apart, even with regard to other matters, one notices the same anxiety on the author's part to justify official policy and to condemn and at times ignore the popular point of view. . . . If the publication of an annual report for presentation to Parliament is to serve its right purpose, the book should be written not in the spirit of a partisan but of a strictly impartial chronicler of facts and events. As it is, the familiar hand of the publicity officer is only too evident in the pages of 'India in 1919.' "

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

" Repression at Delhi."

10. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 12th December :—" The right of public meeting, the liberty of the press and the right of association are among the undisputed primary rights of every civilised man and specially every British subject. In India during the last decade and a half measures have been placed upon the Statute Book which have reduced all these rights to a matter of sufferance on the part of the Executive. For the first we have the Seditious Meetings Act, for the second the Press Act, and for the third the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. Nor have these measures been allowed to rust. . . . . The Press Act has already been in vigorous operation at Delhi, probably because of its contiguity to the Punjab. And now by a single stroke both the other measures have been brought into operation in the province. . . . . Thus when the Duke of Connaught arrives at the Imperial capital a few days hence to open the new legislature, which is to usher in a new era in India, an era of which freedom is to be the one distinguishing note, he will see little of that commodity in actual existence in his immediate neighbourhood. . . . . Nor do we see what justification the Government can claim for resorting to so extreme measure for some, at any rate, of the purposes which it professes to have in view. The preaching of class hatred, for instance, and intimidation, in its more extreme forms, whether of Government servants or others, as well as violent anti-Government propaganda are all punishable under the ordinary law, and surely there is no justification for resorting to any admittedly repressive weapon for the securing of objects which can be amply realised by resort to the ordinary law. Social boycott is no offence under the law, and we do not think it can be made an offence even by the proclamation of a province under the Seditious Meetings Act. Sympathy with revoluntionary movements elsewhere, except in so far as its bearing upon our own situation is direct or obvious, belongs to exactly the same category, and the exhibition of such sympathy, however undesirable and however condemnable in public opinion, cannot be penalised by Government without unduly interfering with the liberty of the public. We are constrained to say that none of these appears to us to be a sufficient, even a plausible, ground for the proclamation of the province under the Seditious Meetings Act."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Seditions Meetings Act in Lahore.

11. Writing about the enforcement of the Seditions Meetings Act in Lahore city, the *Tribune* of the 14th December says :—" We do not believe in the suppression of liberty, because it is notoriously liable to abuse in individual cases or in punishing a whole city or a whole district because of the alleged shortcomings of an infinitesimally small section of the population, any more than we believe in the suppression of Government, because Governments sometimes do wrong, or in maligning the whole British Government and the whole British nation because of the misdeeds of an individual British official. If there are men who abuse their liberty of speech, do get hold of them if you like and if you think it expedient, and have them tried according to law. **But under no circumstances should you take away the liberty of the innocent**

majority for the faults, whether supposed or real, of a small or insignificant minority . . . . The mass of the people are law-abiding and have not only no sympathy with, but are strongly opposed to, any interference with individual liberty, whether by the hurling of abuse at one's opponents or by intimidation and the threat of social boycott, or by actual physical violence. We are, indeed, convinced that the recent happenings [at Lahore on the 8th] had already created a sort of reaction, of revulsion or feeling against the persons responsible for them, and this feeling would have been stronger still if it had not been for the extremely unfortunate incident that took place towards the close of the day. What one would expect from a wise Government in the circumstances is that it would allow the forces of reaction time to assert themselves and to grow in strength and volume. This is precisely what the Punjab Government has not done."

The *Akali* case.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Mjaid Khan, editor.

12 (*a*). Writing about the conviction of the *Akali's* editor for sedition, the *Zamindar* of the 12th December says that the bureaucracy launched the prosecution in a spirit of vindictiveness. In the other event, it adds, there was nothing in the case requiring such a harsh application of the law. The bureaucracy may daily violate its pledges, but we should not say so. It may enforce repressive laws every now and then, but we should not call it high-handed. Nor should we cry over the humiliation of respectable Indians [at its hands.]

Panch (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Panch* of the 8th December says that, taking all the facts into consideration, no one ever imagined that a heavy and severe sentence would be passed on Mangal Singh What else can be expected, however, since it is desired rigorously to stem the wave of awakening [that is passing over the country] ? We would, nevertheless, tell Government officers that repression will rather deepen than lessen the awakening.

Securities under the Press Act.

Sikh (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

13. The *Sikh* of the 12th December writes:—"The Sikh papers from [the presses of] which security has recently been demanded under the Press Act are *Satyuga*. . . . and the *Panth Sewak*. . . . We wonder what good do the authorities see in thus handicapping the only suitable media of public opinion and gagging the mouth of those whose duty it is to point out where they err. If any one of them goes beyond the bounds of constitution and law, he can be dealt with under the ordinary sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. When sufficiently strong and ulimited powers vest in Government under the ordinary law in force in the country, it does not behove them to make show of such a thing as had better remain a dead letter, for using it so frequently shows that Government cannot tolerate any expression of opinion about or criticism of its work and attitude. . . . . Our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edward Maclagan, has so far earned an universal popularity for his considerateness towards the popular feelings, but now his Government are reverting to the same policy as made the past regime unpopular."

The excise revenue.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th December is gratified to know that the Bhiwani public has called upon the local municipal committee to close all shops selling intoxicants. It believes, however, that the bureaucracy will never accede to the demand; for, otherwise, its revenues will be adversely affected. The growing use of intoxicants by the public results in a corresponding increase in the income of Government. Who can say that the increase will not continue unless the whole country bring pressure to bear upon the bureaucracy to close this dirty trade and give up this sinful income.

The postal strike.

Banade Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

15 (*a*). Writing about the postal strike at Lahore in the *Bande Mataram* of the 8th December, Lajpat Rai says that Government's present policy compels subordinate officials to go on strike. Why does not Government, it asks, grant them the necessary increase of pay to remove the unrest prevailing among them ? It has so enhanced the salaries of higher officers that sufficient funds are not available to increase the pay of subordinate Indian officials. The fact is that the British *raj* is proving very costly to the people of this country. It is impossible to remove all such complaints unless foreign rule is replaced by a national one. The work of administration rests on the shoulders, not of the

higher officers drawing handsome salaries, but of the subordinate officials who number lakhs and with whom the public has to deal every day. In conclusion, the paper says that postmen are humble servants of the public and the complaint about their low pay seems justifiable. It expresses the hope that the Punjab public will sympathise with them and compel Government to remove their complaints.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 10th December the paper says that the postal department is said to have secured the services of a large number of retired postmen and clerks by bringing pressure to bear on them Most of them had no sense of shame and succumbed to the pressure, although it was their duty to uphold the cause of the oppressed and starving postmen. The conduct of postal clerks also is very shameful. They have undertaken to deliver mails in addition to their legitimate work. Should this be the result of education ? What sympathy can uneducated people have for their educated countrymen ?

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 13th December says that neither the postal authorities try to conciliate the strikers nor do they make suitable arrangements for the delivery of mails. The strike is not now confined to one or two places and is becoming universal in character. It behoves the authorities concerned to end it by coming to a settlement with postmen or to arrange for the regular delivery of mails.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 15th December has the following :—"The Postmaster, Lahore, has issued a notice to postmen who have struck work saying that they would be dismissed from service if they did not return to duty by the 13th, and the latter have replied that they would not return unless their grievances in respect of pay, etc., were redressed. The position is, therefore, one of great unpleasantness to both the parties and of inconvenience to the general public, who have not been getting letters, etc , regularly for days together. Moreover, the official attitude in regard to strikes leaves a great deal to be desired. It is obvious that the post men have definite grievances and they have struck work because they could not get any redress at the hands of the local authorities. Under these circumstances, the most reasonable course is for the higher authorities to hold an impartial enquiry of an appellate character and come to a decision after giving the men a full opportunity to support their own case. No such step has, so far as we are aware, been taken. It is assumed that the strike on the part of the men practically amounts to desertion of, or unauthorised absence from, duty and technically what follows is either voluntary resignation or dismissal. . . We fail to see why a sympathetic and conciliatory attitude would not be taken up. . . It is certainly more advantageous to all concerned to call back the men and make it less inconvenient for them to work and live by redressing reasonable grievances."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

Sikh soldiers and united-up beards.

16. (*a*) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 12th December :—"The whole Sikh community has been staggered to learn. . . . . that four Sikh soldiers, ... who went back to Allahabad on the expiry of their leave after active service desired to leave service; but finding it not so easy they resumed their duties, but would not tie up their beards in the military fashion. Further, it is said that they wore *kirpans*—still it is said that the *kirpan* is now allowed for Sikh soldiers ! Their action being taken exception to by the ignorant officers they been have punished. . . . . There is also the news that other soldiers have asked that they may be discharged but their prayer is not granted. . . . . The tying or twisting of beard was never a Sikh fashion, and to be frank all those who do so are *tankhayas*—defaulters from the Sikh point of view. . . . . This shows how religious is the keeping of a long untied beard for a Singh and how unjust and grossly contravening the Royal Proclamation it is for the military officers to interfere in such matters. . . . . We have never heard of an officer interfering with a Hindu (Rajput) soldier's keeping a long or short, untied or tied *bodi* or with a Muhammadan keeping his beard according to his *sharah*. The Sikh soldiers above mentioned have set a good example of adherence to their religious injunctions, though this has caused them the greatest trouble to which they could be subjected by the foolish military officers. . . . . A Sikh would tolerate anything but not an insult to, or uncalled-for interference

with, his religion. . . . . The Central Sikh League, the District Leagues, the Singh Sabhas and other Panthic bodies should all unite at this moment and communicate with Government by urgent telegrams."

Khalsa Akhbar (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 10th December wonders why the authorities are injuring the feelings of the Sikhs without rhyme or reason. Is it an offence to keep one's beard untied, and was anyone punished for this ever before? The punishment of those who keep their beard untied should also be regarded as one of the blessings of British rule. It is to be wished that the authorities had displayed some wisdom in the matter. We pray that God may grant them sense, so that they may not trouble our co-religionists. They should remember that if the Sikhs continue to be subjected to trouble they will enlist in the army only after careful consideration.

Ranjit (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Ranjit* of the 9th December says that evidently the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Sikh League are dead Alas! [our] religious-minded brethren are suffering such troubles for the sake of religion, and we are locked up in sleep! This is the time when the Maharaja of Patiala should take the lead. It is difficult to see why military officers should interfere in such matters. Do they prevent the Muhammadans from keeping as long a beard as their *sharah* requires, or the Hindus from keeping a pigtail? We are deeply sorry to hear that rigours have begun to be practised on Sikh soldiers for not tying up their beard. If Government does not pay special attention to the matter, the trouble will assume large proportions.

Panch (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Panch* of the 8th December says that this sort of tyranny can never lead to good results in any circumstances. It is the duty of the Commander-in-Chief promptly to end the troubles of the Sikh soldiers in question and to inflict a severe punishment on military officers who have practised oppression on these innocent men.

The *kirpan*.

Khalsa Advocate, (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

17. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 14th December:—"The Government stand pledged to the oft-repeated policy of non-interference in the religious matters of the subject races. But how often some of the officious and intoxicated officers of the Government have violated its pledged word...and brought a bad name to their employer is a matter of history now. The experiences of the past have also failed to serve them the moral which they conveyed. They are perhaps impervious to it. Are they not? The following lines will furnish the reply. The *Akali* of Lahore says that on seeing a Sikh student of the Medical College, Lahore, wearing a *kirpan* a European Professor got enraged and said that without the permission of the Principal no students should attend the College with *kirpan* on their persons, and even if the Principal allowed the wearing of the *kirpan* he would see whether he could allow it or not. Now we ask what does this mean? The *kirpan* is one of the five religious essentials of a Sikh which he is bound to keep always and under all circumstances on his person. Fully convinced of the religious aspect of wearing of the *kirpan* by the Sikhs the Government has also exempted the wearing or the possession of the *kirpans* by the Sikhs. What authority then the English Professor had to take the law into his own hand and deal so peremptorily with a matter over which he had no jurisdiction . . . If the Professor did not mean wanton insult to Sikh tenets pray let us know what else it was? In our humble opinion the Government should make it a rule of their conduct to let no such idiosyncrasies of its European employers go unpunished. The disease has become almost chronic with the officers of the Government. It needs a radical treatment . . . . . . We wish the Government were alive to the dire necessity of the treatment suggested."

The Rikabganj *gurdwara*.

Akali (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

18. The *Akali* of the 9th December publishes a communication from SARDUL SINGH COVESSIUR. Writing about the Rikabganj *gurdwara* affair, he says that it has proved that Government officers are not prompt in giving up their obstinacy and that they are self willed and enemies of both the nation's leaders and the Government. The most important thing of which it has again furnished proof is that if you are true and stick to truth you will assuredly gain success, however powerful the enemy may be. It is, however, essential for you to make sacrifices, and if you are ready to do so for the sake of truth you can achieve success in everything. If the Sikhs wish to settle the rest of their affairs in this beautiful way, they should be prepared to make every sacrifice.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

Kine-killing.

19. The *Zamindar* of the 10th December states that on the occasion of the last Bakr 'Id the Muhammadans afforded commendable proof of their religious toleration by abstaining from cow-sacrifice, so much so that in big cities, where hundreds of kine used to be sacrificed formerly, the number was reduced to a negligible quantity. The Muhammadans suffered in pocket in substituting goats and sheep for kine, but they willingly put up with the loss in order to consolidate the foundations of a united nationality in India. It was incumbent on the Hindus to feel grateful for this and thereby strengthen the feelings of love and brotherhood between them and the followers of Islam. It is a pity, however, that the Hindus of certain places have tried to take an undue advantage of this spirit of religious toleration on the part of the Muhammadans. They have sought to impose or make others impose additional restrictions upon the latter in the matter of cow-sacrifice. They should understand once for all that beef is lawful food for the followers of Islam and will remain so. The Muhammadans have promised to the Hindus to abstain from kine-slaughter as far as possible, but that does not mean that they are authorised to pronounce as fordidden what the *shariat* has declared to be lawful. Next, the paper exhorts the Hindus to desist from their mischievous attempts and to abstain from throwing obstacles in the way of the Hindu-Muslim unity to enable the goal of liberty being reached quickly.

KASHMIRI MAGAZINE (Lahore); Muhammad Din, editor.

Rama Deva's lecture.

20. Commenting upon Professor Rama Deva's adverse criticism of Islam at the recent anniversary celebration of the Lahore Arya Samaj, the *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 7th December says that the Professor has delivered uncalled-for attacks upon Islam. Again his speech has been reported by all those Hindus newspapers which strongly support the Hindu-Muslim entente. All this, comments the paper, goes to reveal the real feelings of the Hindus towards the Muhammadans.

V.—EDUCATION.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Khalsa College.

21. The *Sikh* of the 12th December writes :—" The Government has completely withdrawn its control from the Khalsa College, leaving it entirely in the hands of the community. It has, therefore, faithfully fulfilled its promise, for which the Sikhs must feel ever grateful to Sir Edward Maclagan. There is no doubt the institution was ours, and what special kindness there is in returning to us a thing of our own ? But still the magnanimous way in which all this returning of the college has been effected speaks volumes for His Honour the present Lieutenant-Governor. . . . . Under the Government control the College has been maintaining its efficiency in every way—a feature which the Khalsa will do well to imitate, so that the world, particularly the people replaced, may not find opportunities to remark that the gallant Khalsa has failed to manage his own institution in the way it was managed by others. "

KASHMIRI MAGAZINE, (Lahore); Muhammad Din, editor.

National universities.

22. The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 7th December says that eight million students are studying at the various Indian universities. It is no easy thing to make such a large number of students relinquish their studies. The people should, therefore, not only think of founding national universities, colleges and schools, but should also carry the idea into effect. If the income yielded by *wakf* properties were to be set apart to found national universities several of them could be started in no time.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Lahore municipal elections.

23. The following is taken from the *Liberal* of the 12th December :—" It is made abundantly clear that the resolution of the Congress regarding non-co-operation does not cover municipal committees and district boards. The local Congress Committee may, therefore, be expected to turn its attention to the forthcoming election to the Lahore municipal committee and organise it on sound basis with a view to ensure the return to it of the best men among them. For the first time in the history of municipal administration in the Punjab all the seats on the Lahore municipal committee will be open to election, the Government having no longer the right to nomination. It rests with the people themselves therefore to make municipal administration in the capital

of the Province as they would like to make it, and if they fail to do so, the fault will be theirs and theirs alone. . . . The official President should also go, for his presence on the committee instead of being a source of strength to good administration is proving a bar in the way of efficient administration. Offices are distributed not according to merit of the persons concerned but on racial grounds. They are, again, created not in accordance with the needs of the committee, but in many cases with a view to provide for the candidates concerned. Education, sanitation and lighting are neglected, and trade and industry receive little encouragement at the hands of the present commissioners."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Societies in Patiala.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

24. The *Partap* of the 10th December states that the Maharaja of Patiala has issued an order to the effect that all societies, whether private or public, already in existence in his State or started in future should be formally registered and their aims and objects definitely specified. Commenting, the paper says that no condemnation can be strong enough for this arbitrary order in the present age of enlightenment and liberty. While Indians, it adds, aredemanding complete self-government, the ruler of a Native State considers his subjects unfit to do any work without the guidance of his State. The order means that in future no political, social or even religious movement, which does not commend itself to the local authorities, can be started in Patiala. It has curtailed the liberty of the people there to no small extent.

General Dyer.

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

25. The *Desh* of the 15th December says that the English have given General Dyer a reward of £26,317 for the general massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh. He could never have earned this sum of money by remaining in service. Can Indians easily forget the lesson taught them by this punishment of the General?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 14th December says that only the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna to the Turks cannot bring about an abatement in the excitement and unrest prevailing in the Muslim world. The Turkish nationalists will not feel satisfied at it, the Arab Muhammadans will continue their agitation, and their coreligianists in India will not abandon non-coöperation. The true solution of the difficulty lies in restoring the prestige of the Khilafat, making the Arabian peninsula free and ensuring respect for the sacred places of Islam. Unless this is done we cannot feel satisfied. The allied statesmen should effect a radical revision of the Turkish peace treaty: small mercies will prove of no avail. In the other event, they had better retain Thrace and Smyrna. The valour of Mustafa Kamal Pasha and his followers will culminate in victory, and the crescent flag will wave over the whole Islamic world.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th December refers to the official *communiqué* contradicting the statement that Lord Curzon was opposing, on behalf of the British Government, the efforts of Italy and France to secure a revision of the Turkish peace treaty. After remarking that mere contradiction will not do, the paper says that Government should do something more in the matter. Great Britain should not only agree with Italy and France, but should go ahead of them, seeing that the sentiments and wishes of the Muslim world are not bound up with the latter to the extent that they are with her. The present is a unique opportunity for her to revise the treaty, and she should lose no time in taking advantage of it, thereby safeguarding her best interests in the world and converting all Muhammadans into her well-wishers. In the other event, it will not be surprising if the Muhammadans of the world are led to believe that she has no sympathy with their interests, which can never prove beneficial for her.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Sadaqat* of the 18th December says that the contradiction has afforded satisfaction in a way. It is to be regretted, however, that facts drive us to the conclusion that it is the British nation which has taken a prominent part in the ruin and destruction of the Ottoman empire. If Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon and their colleagues had respected the sentiments of ten crore Muslim British subjects and allowed Turkey, like Germany, to live, could French and Italian statesmen have ever ventured to oppose them? Continuing, the paper says that the present Turkish peace treaty is so much waste paper, and a new one will have to be prepared. Armenia, for the sake of which the Turks have been deprived of their empire, has fallen into the hands of Mustafa Kamal Pasha. Besides, Venezelos, with whom most of England's hopes were bound up, has been turned out in disgrace, and Constantine is again about to ascend the Greek throne. Does not all this show that a mighty hand is at work in changing the face of the world? This is the hand the movements and power of which reduce soldiers and airships to insignificance.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

England and France in the Middle East.

2. The *Sadaqat* of the 18th December publishes a communication from one HUSAIN of Jerusalem, who says that England and France told their Muslim subjects that they had joined in the war to free smaller nations. What treatment, however, are these two civilised countries according to Islam in the Middle East? Great Britain is very cruelly fighting against the Arabs of Mesopotamia with her heavy guns. France also is treating the Arabs concerned in the same way. The behaviour of both is in this respect worse than that of the crusaders. England and France sent Muhammadans to fight against their own brethren, and even now these cruel countries have put African and Indian Muslims to the same work. The tyrannies which France is practising in Syria are most horrible, and England is supporting her under the thought that the number of the Arabs will thus decrease and there will be left no power to help the Turks. The writer then goes on to say that the Muhammadans of Jerusalem are involved in great troubles because of the Jews, who are daily arriving in Palestine in large numbers, and are being forced to leave their country. The writer concludes by expressing the hope that the Indian Muhammadans will do some thing to help them.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

England's foreign policy.

3. The *Zamindar* of the 16th December urges the withdrawal of British troops and control from Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, the Hedjaz and Constantinople. The Bolsheviks, it argues, are setting up independent kingdoms in middle Asia. There prevails a great unrest in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, and even the Sharif of Mecca is dissatisfied. The Bolsheviks are gaining supremacy in Persia, and Armenia is already in their possession. Lenin and Mustafa Kamal Pasha have joined hands, and the Allies are about to lose Thrace and Smyrna. The situation in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia is growing critical for the French and English. The Turkish nationalists are victorious everywhere and the Bolsheviks are extending their sway in Asia. Lenin's followers have reached China, Tibet, Java and the frontier of Assam. In these circumstances, India also cannot remain unaffected. The only way to meet the situation consists in a change in Britain's foreign policy and the removal of her usurping hold over Asia. The policy now pursued by the British Government is likely to lead to undesirable results and deepen unrest in this country. And in this eventuality it will be difficult to maintain order here, seeing that troops are absent out of India. This will expose Government's weakness, and all will be over when its hollowness is exposed. The result will be that some foreign invader will take advantage of internal unrest and excitement to deliver a strong attack on India and shake the foundations of the British Empire. We do not wish that such a time should come, and it is for this reason that we urge England to change her foreign policy in regard to Asiatic countries.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Irish situation.

4. The *Tribune* of the 24th December writes:—"The policy of repression is bound to produce the same results in the same circumstances; and if the policy be pursued for a sufficiently long time, the legitimate aspirations of the people be baulked and their elementary rights denied, the more excitable among the people may be driven to unconstitutional methods and practices. This is at the present moment the position in Ireland. However much one may deplore and condemn the terroristic outrages committed by the Sinn-Feiners, the reprisals by the police and the army are even more reprehensible. It is the duty of Government to protect the lives and property of its subjects, and no Government should under any circumstances be moved by a spirit of revenge or anger. We are prepared to believe that the reprisals that are being carried out in

Ireland by British soldiers are disapproved by the British Cabinet, but what effective measures have the latter taken so far to prevent or suppress these atrocities ? . . . It is, indeed, sad that the talk of peace with Ireland has melted into thin air, and the situation has, if possible, become worse. The present state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue for long ; and it is sincerely to be hoped that Mr. Lloyd George's Government will take effective and speedy steps to re-establish not only law and order in Ireland but also bring contentment and freedom to the Irish people."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore) ; Lajpat Rai, editor.

Indian soldiers in Mesopotamia.

5. The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th December states that it has received a complaint to the effect that Government does not abide by the agreement signed by the Indian soldiers serving in Mesopotamia. The agreement promised free quarters, rations and clothing to them. The clothes supplied are, however, very bad, while rations are being cut down daily and the sepoys have to spend Rs. 20 a month on vegetables. The quarters assigned to them are worse than stables. Again, the "subordinates" are treated in a most humiliating way. This year the followers have been supplied with second-hand clothes. The blankets given them contain several holes, while only one blanket has been supplied to each. The weather has been intensely cold since the 18th November last, which has added to disease, but there is no one to listen to the complaints [of the men]. The "subordinates" when returning [to India] are searched like thieves, no matter whether they draw Rs. 200 or Rs. 30. They are also required to carry their own luggage. Several other unbearable indignities, too, are heaped upon them. All winter clothing is taken back on their return, although this is opposed to the terms of the agreement. Continuing, the *Bande Mataram* says that a copy of a form [? an agreement] which has been issued by the Government of Mesopotamia and which people from India are made to sign has been received by it. If these statements—are true and there is no reason to disbelieve them—they are painful, not only for the whole of India, but also for Government from a military point of view. Who will henceforth enlist in the army if such treatment is meted out to those who went to Mesopotamia for military service ? It is still more objectionable to make them sign the new form, seeing that the Indians there are in a helpless condition. Justice demands that all these people should be sent back on the expiry of the stipulated period. It is then that the form should laid before them, leaving it to them to re-enlist or not.

SIYASAT (Lahore) ; Habib Shah, editor.

Indians in Fiji.

6. The *Siyasat* of the 15th December says that the reward which Indians have so far received for the good done by them to the whites of Fiji is shameful in the extreme. Poor Indians were kept there in a condition worse than that of slaves. Every Indian woman was officially compelled to have an illicit connection with several men. People from this country were lodged in the worst and smallest houses, and shameful punishments were inflicted on them over mere trifles. Again, when they said that they had been starving and asked for an increase in their wages, they were snubbed, flogged and spurned like slaves. In short, they were accorded the worst possible treatment by the whites in Fiji, so much so that Indian labourers no longer wish to remain there and are most anxious to return home even at the sacrifice of their all. Unfortunately, however, they are not allowed even to return to their country. What do the *goras* of Fiji want them to do ? If the latter wish that Indians should stay on in the island, they should change their policy and should, instead of regarding them as beasts, treat them like human beings.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore) ; K. N. Roy, editor.

The reforms.

7. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 21st December writes :—" In both Madras and Bengal the number of members of the Executive Council, instead of being reduced owing to the transfer of certain subjects to popular Ministers, has been actually raised from three to four. In other words, while three members have been considered sufficient for dealing with all provincial subjects so far, under the new arrangement four members are deemed necessary for dealing with the reserved subjects alone, which are roughly speaking only a little more than one half of the total number of provincial subjects, and do not include the most important subjects that are at present dealt with by the Indian members in the provinces where there are Executive Councils. A more utterly indefen-

sible arrangement or one involving a more scandalous waste of public money it is difficult to think of. One is constrained to observe that if the authorities concerned had set out to demonstrate their complete lack of faith in the reforms they could not have proceeded on a different plan. For, what does it really amount to ? Nothing more or less than this, that not only are not the Ministers regarded as a relief to the official Government, but they are actually regarded as a burden involving the creation of a new portfolio as a sort of set-off against them. Nor can the official reason for this addition be said to have any plausibility. . . . . To an unsophisticated mind the plain meaning of the Joint Committee's recommendation is, first, that usually and except when an increase is found absolutely necessary, the strength of an Executive Council should not exceed two members, and, secondly, that even if more than two members were deemed necessary, the more desirable course would be to have one Indian among the two Service members themselves, in which case the addition of only one unofficial Indian would serve the purpose. But in this case the Indian element would preponderate not merely in the Government as such, but in the Executive Council itself, and would not the heavens fall if such a thing were allowed at this stage ? . . . In Madras they are going to have four members of the Executive Council and three Ministers. The same example may, for aught one knows to be contrary, be followed in Bengal and Bombay. This would mean a complete duplication of the governmental machinery, for instead of four members, including the Governor, each of the Executive Councils would have eight members. In other words, the people of the Presidencies are to be told, in effect, that the first and immediate effect of their agitation for self-government is to double their financial burden, so far as the cost of the Government, as distinguished from the administration, goes. Of course it is not improbable that in some quarters a hope is entertained that as a result of the arrangement the legislatures might be induced to exercise their statutory power of reducing the salaries of the Ministers. If this were done, officials would be able to kill two birds with one stone. They would have their own two members intact and they would have the status of the Ministers reduced, a thing which they were not able to secure directly. . . . If by reason of the duplication of the machinery, the Ministers find it difficult to make two ends meet or are bound to starve the important departments committed to their charge, let India, England and the world know the fact, so that they may apportion the responsibility and the blame, and so that all the parties concerned may be able to realise the difficulties of Dyarchy, and the ground may be prepared for early, if not immediate, self-government. In any case we are firmly and decidedly against a reduction in the salary payable to Ministers, except for the constitutional purpose of turning out a particular minister or ministry, unless and until it is in the power of the people to effect similar reductions in the salaries of the members of the Executive Council and of Magistrates, Commissioners and other highly-placed Government servants. It is idle to say that the status of a Minister would not be affected by a reduced salary. It is bound to be affected to some extent at least. Nor is the important fact to be overlooked that the prospect of receiving a substantially smaller salary than what is paid to Executive Councillors is not likely to attract men of the right stamp. . . . As regards the decision to increase the strength of the Executive Council in Madras and Bengal, the country should, in our opinion, enter a strong, unmistakable and indignant protest against it, and we are pleased to find that at least one important public body in Bombay has already done so."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) In another place the paper writes:—"Who are going to be the President and the Secretary of our own Council ? Rumour has already connected the name of a member of the Civil Service with the Presidentship. That member is Mr. M. S. D. Butler. . . . . Mr. Butler has . . . . many friends among leading Indians both at Lahore and in the province who hold him in high esteem, and who have no doubt whatever that he is an officer of a wholly different type to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his satellites, of whom there are so many still in this province. For our own part, we have not a word to say against him personally . . . . . But when all this has been said, the fact remains that some experience of a legislative body is obviously essential to one who is to preside over the new Council, and Mr. Butler, as far as we are aware, is without any such experience. It will be remembered that the Joint Committee, in their report, distinctly laid down that 'wherever possible it would be a great advantage if some one could be found for this purpose who had Parliamentary experience.' Surely these words seem almost to exclude the idea of appointing any one who has not only had no Parliamentary experience but also no experience of a Legislative Council in India itself. Now that Sir John Maynard has been translated to the Executive Council, Mr. Butler is perhaps as good a member of Civil Service as it is possible to have for the post in this province and better than most others. But is there any valid reason why the Governor should confine his choice to the Civil Service, to Europeans or to this province ? Even if no one with sufficient experience of a Legislative Council and otherwise qualified for the appointment is available in this province, why cannot some one having all these qualifications be brought from outside the province ? "

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) In criticising the Government of India's recent notification under the Reforms Act, the *Tribune* of the 24th December writes:—" The devolution rules on the whole seem to delegate more of responsibility than of power to Local Governments and to Ministers in charge of transferred subjects. In regard to financial powers, for instance, the central Government keeps complete control over local finance and it is very doubtful if Local Governments can do much without reasonable financial independence. The sources of revenue are limited and provincial contributions are fixed at a high rate, especially in Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab. These contributions and the maintenance of a famine insurance fund as specified by the rules take away a good part of provincial resources and, in view of the large expenditure to be met in future, fresh taxation and borrowing seem to be inevitable. The position of the Ministers in charge of transferred subjects is hardly enviable under the rules. In most matters they have to obtain the approval of the Governor and the Governor-General or the Secretary of State. They cannot even create or abolish any post, increase or reduce the pay of the service under them or purchase stores or stationery except in accordance with rules in force without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State through the Governor-General. The powers of the Governor-General are rather enhanced than decreased by the devolution rules framed under the Reforms Act and the position of a Minister who attempts to secure additional funds for any development scheme in any department in his charge is made so difficult under the rules that none but the most patient and determined would venture to suggest any scheme of development involving increased expenditure."

Zulfiqar (Lahore); Ahmad Shah, editor.

Non-coöperation.

8. (*a*) The *Zulfiqar* of the 16th December says that it is now an admitted fact that non-coöperation is an extremely dangerous movement, under cover of which the agitators are spreading disorder with the help of irresponsible men and boys. If silence is maintained in the matter a little longer the *izzat* of no gentleman would be safe. A committee of peace-loving persons should be formed early in every city [to combat the evil], and the *reises* should descend into the arena. These committees should hold meetings to rescue misguided people out of the clutches of the agitators, who are using them as tools.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 13th December states that, in speaking to the students of the Benares Hindu University, Mr. Gandhi asked them to act according to the dictates of their conscience, with the result that they decided not to follow the policy of non-coöperation. Muslim students were, however, told by him that a boycott of the existing schools and colleges was a divine behest, and that even opposition from their parents in the matter ought not to count with them. On the other hand, is the *fatwa* by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. It is necessary to respect it, and the editor would be the last person to ask the Muslim public to go against it. It is equally incumbent on us, however, to think whether the *fatwa* has been issued after a consideration of the surrounding circumstances. The great change and the era of freedom which Indian statesmen are expecting demand very great sacrifices and strenuous efforts. The real goal of Mr. Gandhi and other politicians consists in the attainment of *swaraj*, all the present movements and schemes being only a means to that end. Our Hindu fellow-countrymen are preparing themselves for this goal, and their preparations include an educational programme of which we are totally ignorant. This is why we are, unlike them, wrecking our schools and colleges indiscriminately and without making special efforts to open independent national institutions in their place. The Muhammadans should open their eyes and watch the trend or the times. In this stormy state of excitement we should display caution at every step and act with wisdom and sagacity.

SIYASAT
(Lahore) ;
Habib Shah,
editor.

(c) The *Siyasat* of the 15th December condemns the existing system of education and asks whether or not the existing schools and colleges should be abandoned. The opponents of non-coöperation say that national institutions should be established before students are withdrawn from the present schools and colleges. The suggestion appears to them to be reasonable, because their heart and brains are dominated by ideas of slavery. Can a person rebuild a house without first pulling it down ? It is highly necessary for us in order to free our boys to break the chains of the education which teaches slavery. The opponents of the non-coöperation movement argue that this will prove harmful to the cause of education. But can we gain victory in the war for freedom without putting up with a loss ? Did not the European war affect the education of English boys ? Will not educational work be upset in case India is invaded to-day ? The history of the world bears testimony to the fact that nations have to make such sacrifices for the sake of high principles. The example set by Egypt by making sacrifices in educational matters for the sake of freedom is worth following. The students of the Azhar university relinquished their studies and undertook the duty of disseminating their national aims and objects. The authorities sent them to jail and shot some in connection with the disturbances which subsequently broke out in Egypt. Great calamities befell these students, but they stood firm and gained success in the end. The Indian students who have completed their education should be employed to disseminate the aims and objects of the non-coöperation movement. Some of them should also be entrusted with the work of teaching in national schools.

VIRAT
(Gujranwala) ;
Banke Dial,
editor.

(d) Writing about the Council elections, the *Virat* of the 13th December says that the men returned to the Councils cannot honestly claim to have been elected by a majority of votes, nor should they regard themselves as representatives of the people. It behoves them to resign their seats and join the public in boycotting the Councils. In the other event, they will be boycotted, the country being now determined to put into practice any resolution passed by the Congress.

SIKH
(Lahore) ;
Bakhshish Singh,
editor.

(e) The *Sikh* of the 19th December writes :—" The hooliganism that demonstrated itself in Lahore at the various polling stations, reflects the greatest discredit on the capital of the province. In fact they would not spare any one who dared go there and give his vote. Thus was vindicated non-coöperation, which, if it is desired to be followed by the people, ought to be preached and not forced. When in our present condition we cannot tolerate a difference of opinion, what shall we do in case we attain to the ideal—*swaraj*. . . . It [non-coöperation] should be absolutely free from the spirit of violence. But, as the Mahatmaji has himself pointed out with the deepest regret, the spirit of mobocracy is everywhere standing in the way of its being adopted and followed in the sense he desires. And the most glaring instance of this sort is furnished by the present ways of the Sikh non-coöperationists. Instead of abstaining from coöperation with Government, and that, too, as a matter of principle absolutely free from any sense of malice, we are indulging in non-coöperation with our own brothers in faith on account of mere differences of opinion. Well, this internecine conduct can never be conducive to true national progress. It will create factions in our small community and set back the hands of the clock, while others will go ahead."

SIYASAT
(Lahore) ;
Habib Shah,
editor.

(f) The *Siyasat* of the 13th December says that the amount of money spent in the Indian law courts and the inconvenience to which the litigants are put beggar description. In civil courts one cannot even get a decree for Rs. 100 by spending twice as much money. In cases filed in the criminal courts one has got to follow the magistrates when they are on tour. Fictitious statements prove efficacious in these courts, the guilty are let off owing to their being backed by influential people, and the poor innocent have to suffer imprisonment. There is no place for commonsense and human sympathy in the existing laws. The courts are nothing but markets for bribery, falsehood and deception. They do their dirty work in broad daylight, and it is surprising that the people should still resort to them. Continuing, the paper says that in these English courts not the least justice is done to politically-minded people trespassing the bounds of law, nay, even suspected of having done so, in serving their motherland. Can any one possessing a grain of sense say after reading the particulars of the case against M. Zafar Ali that the latter was guilty? He has, nevertheless, been awarded the heaviest punishment. Again, the oppression which has been practised upon Sardar Mangal Singh needs no description. Patriots like the late Mr. Tilak had to go to jail through the agency of these law courts, whose long arm cannot, however, touch criminals regarded with favour by Government. A certain wicked youngman [at Lahore] wounded four small children by firing at them from the house of Mr. Mathra Das Puri, but he has not as yet been placed under arrest. Nor is this all; these courts observe a distinction of colour. There are different laws for the whites, who are entitled to be tried by a judge and jury of their own nationality. Moreover, they are well treated in jail, where special facilities are provided for them. Again, an Indian happening to assault an Englishman is rigorously punished, but an Englishman murdering an Indian is let off on the plea that the death was due to a rupture of the spleen; and if he is convicted at all the punishment awarded is never adequate. In short, an Indian cannot obtain justice against a white. No heed is also paid to appeals against Government's orders under the Press Act. The *Siyasat* then goes on to say that Mahtama Gandhi has done well in including a boycott of courts in his programme of non-coöperation. In conclusion, it urges the establishment of *panchayats* throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The Shias and non-coöperation.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

9. The *Siyasat* of the 12th December states that Mr. Syed Ahmad Shamsi [, editor of the *Zulfiqar*,] has issued a manifesto to the effect that the Shias are loyal to Government and disapprove of non coöperation. Can they, asks the paper, tolerate the possession by infidels of Kerbela and other holy places? Is it not their religious duty to get back from unbelievers Najaf-i-Ashraf, Kerbela, etc., with which their best religious traditions are bound up? If Mr. Shamsi and his friends cannot support non-coöperation, will they tell us what the commandments of their religion are regarding the liberation of these places and how they will rescue these out of the hands of unbelievers?

Non-coöperation and political agitation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 19th December:—"One harmful effect of the non-coöperation agitation .... has been that public attention has been focussed on this one all-absorbing theme to the entire neglect of all other questions, some of them of far-reaching importance to the future of the country, the welfare of which is equally dear to the heart of every patroitic Indian, be he a so-called moderate or a so-called extremist, a 'coöperator' or a 'non-coöperator.' When during last summer the draft Rules under the Reform Bill were before Parliament, they did not receive that amount of attention in India which they otherwise would have received. The same phenomenon is being witnessed to-day. Questions like those of Indians in Fiji and the Esher Committee Report have been relegated to the category of comparatively unimportant subjects and, as a result of this attitude, public opinion both on the platform and in the press has found only a feeble and inadequate expression. It is true that public bodies like the Indian Associations of Calcutta and Lahore and the Liberal Association of Bombay have passed resolutions on the subjects, but the agitation has been nothing compared with the urgency and importance of the questions. We hope public bodies in India and the press will give to these subjects the importance they deserve. It is only by keeping these and other important topics in the forefront of our discussions that we can hope to secure a reversal of the policies responsible for the present state of affair."

Swaraj and time-limit

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. The *Tribune* of the 19th December writes in the course of its comments on the announcement of August 1917:—"The country wanted the Government to definitely state the period which the process of the 'progressive realisation of responsible government' was to take.... It was feared that the process of India's initiation into the mysteries of responsible government would be lengthened out indefinitely like Penelope's web by a bureaucracy whose interest it is to keep the present system of government unaltered for as long a period as it can. This fear cannot be said to be wholly imaginary. The history of British administration in India unfortunately justifies the suspicion and distrust on the part of the country of vague and indefinite promises, the carrying out of which depends not only on the goodwill of the British officials in India but also on the Imperial policy of the

political party that may be in power in England at any particular time . . . . . The policy of repression that was inaugurated in connection with the Home Rule movement, the Rowlatt Act, and the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, which culminated in martial law and the atrocities committed thereunder, the refusal of the Government adequately to punish the officers responsible for these terrible excesses of authority, and on the top of this all the breach of sacred pledges held out to the Muhammadans of India by prominent British statesmen, including the Premier, in the matter of Khilafat broke the heart of the people. . . . Rightly or wrongly, a vast body of public opinion in the country has taken enthusiastically to the non-coöperation movement. What is wanted now is an earnest of the bonâ fides of the Government, and a definite guarantee that responsible government is not to descend upon the country from the heaven of England in small dribblets, but that within a definite period, which must be fixed by statute, India will be a fully self-governing country. . . . . . If the Government adopts the suggestions embodied in these proposals, the situation will be materially eased and the tension will be removed. The fixing by statute of the period within which complete responsible government is to be established in India is the only guarantee of the sincerity of the Government in this matter and, provided the date be sufficiently early, can alone satisfy a people or the majority of them, who earnestly believe and have repeatedly said that they are immediately fit to govern themselves."

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Repression.

12. (*a*) Writing on the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in Lahore, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 14th December speaks of the proceeding as another step towards despotism. Most of the recent public meetings at Lahore were connected with the non-coöperation movement, while the efforts of the non-coöperators regarding educational institutions at Lahore and Amritsar are almost over. Again, the propaganda to boycott the Councils had ended before the enforcement of the Act in Lahore. This step on the part of Government is, therefore, untimely and wholly uncalled-for and is certain to make the public believe that Government wishes to gag all irrespective of their aims and intentions. The confiscation of the securities of newspapers, the prosecution of public workers and the infliction of severe punishments on them, and the prohibition of public meetings at a time like the present are certain naturally to make the people regard the intentions of Government with suspicion. The enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act will lead the public to think that Dyerian rule has again commenced in the Punjab. The proceeding constitutes an executive and political blunder on the part of the Local Government. There is no rebellion in any part of the country, although feelings of resentment do exist over certain repressive measures adopted by Government. There is also a political awakening among the people, and they are anxious to safeguard their rights. These things can in no way be called a rebellion or a disturbance. This being so, what else than a piece of despotism is it to enforce the Act in question? Government should pursue a policy of sympathy, which constitutes the right remedy for unrest and dissatisfaction. The cure which Government proposes to apply is the wrong one. The paper then goes on to say that facts show that it is Government which is responsible for all the unrest and dissatisfaction prevalent in the country. Its indifference to the legitimate demands of the people and the repression practised by it are responsible for the present situation. And if it continues to pursue a repressive policy unrest and discontent will go on increasing, which will prove most injurious for both Government and the country. The greatest need of the times is that Government should allow the people freely to express their views, which will enable it to know the public mind and devise means to meet the popular demands.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th December says that Sir Edward Maclagan's peaceful policy had raised the hope that henceforth no restrictions would be placed on constitutional agitation. And now that the new Councils are going to be inaugurated and the Duke of Connaught is coming to perform the opening ceremony, it was expected that a statesman of His Honour's calibre would continue to act with patience and perseverance, so that there might be no unpleasant incident during the Duke's visit. But this has not been so: a regime of repression has again set in. Continuing, the paper refers and takes exception to the recent action under the Press Act in the Punjab, and goes on to say that the Seditious Meetings Act has now been enforced in

Lahore. The leading newspapers are, moreover, being gagged one after another. The time is not far off when this province, which rendered such valuable services to the Empire during the war, will have been deprived of the liberty of speech and writing. What consequences, asks the paper, result from muzzling an aggrieved person? But here efforts are being made to gag a whole nation. Open agitation had killed secret crime, and if the present repression results in the commission of old Bengal crimes, the responsibility for it will rest with the repressive policy now in vogue.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(c) The *Zamindar* of the 15th December remarks that those who made inflammatory speeches should have been prosecuted and punished under the ordinary law in order to put an end to their activities. Are not meetings held, it asks, in the rest of the Punjab, nay, throughout India, in connection with non-coöperation and the Caliphate and are not speeches made at them? If this is so, the Seditious Meetings Act ought to be enforced, not only in other districts of the Punjab, but in the whole of the country as well. Only those men at Lahore should have been muzzled who have made violent speeches. The natural rights of three lakhs of people should not have been interfered with in such a bad way.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(d) The *Siyasat* of the 16th December regrets that Government should have wrested from three districts of the Punjab their natural right of the freedom of speech and meeting. The proceeding is oppressive and unjust, but the nations, which bear the yoke of slavery on their necks, are obliged to submit on such occasions. We request the citizens of Lahore to bear this repression with courage and to go on doing their work. They can express their views through national newspapers, and discuss the religious commandments regarding liberty in their mosques and temples.. And when their freedom in the latter respect is also taken away and restrictions are imposed upon their papers they, would still be able to dissemminate their aims and objects by means of letters and manifestoes. This repression is a blessing for us, inasmuch as it shows that the days of our victory are near at hand

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(e) The *Partap* of the 17th December opposes the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in Lahore. The Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor, it says, have admitted in their speeches that the people are loyal and peaceful, and that it is only a few mischievous persons "who are making all this noise." We ask Government, therefore, why restrictions are being imposed on the freedom of the whole country over the doings of these few persons. We consider it essential for India's advancement that the British Government should continue in this country. We do not wish, therefore, that it should do anything calculated to create feelings of estrangement among the people. The present state of affairs, however, makes us feel deeply grieved. The new reforms are to be introduced in January next; but the Seditious Meetings Act is in force in Delhi itself, where the Duke of Connaught is to perform the opening ceremony of the new Councils. The Act is in operation in the capital of the Punjab and in Amritsar, the city of the Gurus, and the relations between the rulers and the ruled are strained. In these circumstances, what benefit can the country derive from the reforms? There can be peace in the land only if Government abandons its old policy and turns over a new leaf. A strong and independent personality is needed for this purpose, and the British Government should appoint such a man as Viceroy of India.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(f) The *Vakil* of the 18th December says that the weapon of the Press Act has of late begun to be wielded with great vigour. The presses at which the *Zamindar* and the *Akali* used to be printed have had their securities forfeited. The Parkash Press, Lahore, which used to print the *Ittifaq*, has been called upon to deposit a security. Restrictions on the liberty of speech have already been imposed in certain important parts of this province. The liberty of writing is now being restricted, regardless of the fact that the liberty of speech and writing is the natural right of man. If certain persons in the Punjab made a little strong speeches or if any newspapers have published strong articles, Government should have regarded these as an integral part of the prevailing unrest. The punishment of these men or newspapers can lead to no useful results: the best policy to follow would be to remove the causes of the unrest. Government should also see whether the improper use of the liberty of speech or writing is not due merely to carelessness or verbosity. In such cases it should be sufficient only to draw the attention of the speaker or newspaper concerned to the matter.

LIBERAL (Lahore): Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*g*) The *Liberal* of the 19th December writes :—" The Punjab Government has, it seems, once again started on a policy of repression, much against the expectation of every right-thinking man in the province. During the last few weeks not only has the Press Act been freely made use of, but the Defence of India Act and the Seditious Meetings Act have also been called to aid by the bureaucracy, which smells sedition where there is none. It is time the authorities realised the true situation, and not hastened a crisis by resort to measures, which, instead of allaying the feeling, add to discontent. In cases where the ordinary laws of the land may be sufficient to meet the requirements of the times it is nothing but indiscretion and lack of judgment to take shelter under measures, which were meant by their framers to meet conditions arising out of war."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*h*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 23rd December :—" An Associated Press telegram states that a proclamation has been issued bringing the Seditious Meetings Act into operation in the districts of Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Gurdaspur and Sialkot. . . . How many such measures are to precede or accompany the enforcement of the reforms in this unhappy province, which, in the words of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, is specially endowed by nature with a 'sanity of judgment' and 'strong commonsense'."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

Section 216 of the Cantonment Code.

3. (*a*) The *Cantonment Advocate* for November writes :—" Under section 216 of the Cantonment Code any peaceful and law-abiding citizen, happening, by misfortune, to incur the displeasure of some cantonment underling, may find one day that his reputation as a citizen has been stabbed in the dark and that, as a result of this stabbing, he is under the orders to quit his hearth and home, his kith and kin in the cantoment, perhaps his settled business and many a dear scene sanctified to him by association with his life. The above is not an imaginary picture. The past application of the section furnishes instances showing that the picture is a real one. The very nature of the section is susceptible of such woeful contingencies. Under this section a cantonment resident is liable to be expelled from the cantonment without his being even told what his fault is. . . The history of the section is the same woeful story as that of every other repressive law. When this section was originally inserted in the Cantonment Code, it was distinctly stated in the Legislative Council that it was meant for bad characters and convicts, whose contact with the troops may not be desirable on moral and sanitary grounds. From bad characters to respectable citizens was not a difficult move from some bureaucrats. The section was used as a ready weapon to suppress every individual efforts at the assertion of civic rights of the cantonment civil population and to keep at convenient distance all those who had the misfortune to differ with cantonment officials on certain public questions and had the courage to give expression to such differences." Next the journal gives an account of the expulsion of Lala Narain Dass, B.A., LL.B., from Jullundur cantonment.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue for December the journal says :—" Notwithstanding the judgment of the highest judicial tribunal in the Punjab quashing the order of the then Cantonment Magistrate and completely exonerating Lala Narain Dass, the gentleman stands externed from Jullundur cantonment. Lala Narain Dass, however, is not the only victim of the obnoxious sections. Repressive legislation has a facile way of lending itself to unrestricted authority which, inebriated with the autocratic use of powers, generally takes recourse to the readiest and swiftest instruments of law. An esteemed correspondent sends us another glaring instance of the misuse of the black section. . . . [One] Ganesh Dutt [Sharma of Agar cantonment in Central India] was summoned by the then Officer Commanding and ordered (orally) that he should leave the cantonment without any reason being assigned. The order was executed through a Risaldar-Major, who accompanied by the cantoment Kotwal called upon Lala Ganesh Dutt Sharma and ordered him orally to leave the cantonment there and then. These worthies dressed in their brief little authority were literally begged by Lala Ganesh Dutt Sharma to allow him to go home, see his family members, take his food and put on an out-door dress. But the law, much more a repressive law, brooks no delay. The request was refused.

Thus Lala Ganesh Dutt Sharma was turned out of the cantonment immediately, bare-headed and hungry. . . . Lala Ganesh Dutt applied to the Officer Commanding to provide him with a written order of expulsion together with the reason therefor according to section 216 of the Cantonment Code. But like the jesting Pilate, the officer in question turned a deaf ear. No reply was vouchsafed. . . . Who among the civic residents of cantonments is safe in the presence of this section. Now that a new Commander in-Chief puts his hand to the plough, and there is a lively expectation of reform in the Cantonment Code, may we hope that such orders of expulsion as passed on Lala Narain Dass, and Lala Ganesh Dutt will be rescinded and a new chapter begun in the history of civic residents of Indian cantonment? We respectfully invite the attention of Lord Rawlinson to this glaring misuse of the black section."

Grievances of house-owners in cantonments.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

14. (*a*) The *Cantonment Advocate* for December writes:—"As if the disabilities suffered by house-owners in Indian cantonments were not already an intolerable burden, the Esher Committee recommends further stringent measures for the provision of suitable accommodation for military officers. These recommendations on the eve of the overhauling of the Cantonment House Accommodation Act come veritably as the last straw on the camel's back. We read in the report of the Esher Committee—'The legal machinary for obliging landlords to keep their houses in proper repair should also be rendered more speedy, effective and easy of application.' While the solicitude of the Committee to provide suitable accommodation for officers is intelligible, the fact cannot be overlooked that the procedure it recommends for the purpose will make the lot of the landlords still worse. . . . Instead of suggesting a scheme of equitable settlement between the landlord and the tenant, it has proposed to stiffen further the official hold on the house-owner. . . . We have no doubt that the Esher Committee's recommendations on this particular matter will evoke a strong protest from the civic residents of Indian cantonments and will be rejected in the coming Cantonment Reform Committee."

(*b*) The following is from the *Cantonment Advocate* for December:—"The Secretary, Cantonment Association, Jhelum, writes to us that the house-owners in Jhelum cantonment are made to pay full house-tax on registered rent of bungalows while they get less rents. The cantonment authorities should charge house-tax on the actual rent realised and not on the registered rent. The complaint was brought to the notice of cantonment authorities but no satisfactory action has so far been taken. It is great burden on the house-owners."

Security from the *Akali*.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

15. Referring to the demand of [enhanced] security from [the press printing] the *Akali*, the *Arya Gazette* of the 15th December asks whether Government wishes that there should be no awakening among the Sikhs, and that they should not display vigour in making their demands.

The postal strike.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

16. (*a*) Writing about the postal strike, the *Siyasat* of the 13th December says that, having been hard-pressed by hunger and high prices, the poor postmen made a demand for an increase of pay. The authorities concerned have not, however, even considered the demand. It is a downright lie on their part to say that the mails are being regularly delivered. The public is experiencing great inconvenience, and it would be best to end the strike as early as possible, the best way to bring about this result being that the representatives of the strikers, the people and the Postal Department should meet to consider the demands of postmen. The citizens of Lahore had better openly express their opinion on the situation by holding a public meeting. The Indian Association or the Punjab Congress Committee should also pay attention to the matter. We heartily sympathise with the strikers and would ask them to stand firm. Some of them may be dismissed, but this sacrifice on their part will prove a source of blessing for the coming generations.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 15th December says that the strike has spread to Amritsar also. The conduct of the strikers is justifiable, seeing that their demand for an increase of pay has not been accepted. The authorities concerned knew that the strike was coming, but they made no arrangements to meet it. This shows that the administration of the Postal Department is not in the hands of capable and far-sighted men. But for this, matters would not have come to the present pass. A compromise will have to be effected with the strikers in any case. The only way to arrive at it consists in granting their demand for an increased pay. The public is dissatisfied with the existing arrangements, and the authorities should settle the matter as soon as possible.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(c) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 19th December:—" The authorities took no notice of the feeling that was growing and refused to pay any heed to the life-time demands of the most hard-worked but poorly-paid section of the Postal Department.... Is the demand for an increase in rates unreasonable or unjust? Have not the strikers repeatedly said that the strike is not based on any political ground but is the outcome of economic necessity? The postal authorities are spending large sums of money in getting the work of the strikers done by others. Could they not allot a part of this expenditure for an increase in the salaries of their establishment, some of whom have been very old servants of the Government? We hope the authorities will take a dispassionate view of the matter and end the strike by arranging a conference with the chosen representatives of the men and coming to some understanding on the subject that may be just and equitable. We have no doubt the men and their leaders will bow to any fair adjustment of the present scale of pay and help in bringing the strike to an early end."

V.—EDUCATION.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

The Khalsa College.

17. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 17th December says that so long as the members of the Council of the Khalsa College are not appointed by election and the European Principal is not replaced by a Sikh, the Sikhs will neither keep quiet nor feel satisfied. If a European Principal had been useful for the College where was the necessity for " Master " Chatar Singh undergoing sufferings in a dark cell in the Andamans.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Hyderabad.

18. The *Siyasat* of the 18th December learns from the daily *Sahifa*, Hyderabad, that the meeting which was to have been held at the Mecca *masjid* in connection with the demise of M. Mahmud-ul-Hasan had to be postponed for want of permission from the Sadr-ul-Sadr. Commenting, the paper says that it is simply shameful that the people's natural right of liberty should be so suppressed in a Muslim State that they cannot even hold a meeting to mourn the death of a religious leader without official permission.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

The *Zamindar*.

19. Writing about the forfeiture of the security of the press printing the *Zamindar*, the *Sadaqat* of the 15th December says that the former newspaper will remain alive so long as there is life in the Muhammadans. Its life and death are bound up with those of the Muslim community. The Muhammadans in general and the readers of the *Zamindar* in particular should remember that it is a trust which Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, who loves his country, has placed in their hands.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated · what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 25th December 1920.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Muhammadans of Jerusalem.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

1. The *Sadaqat* of the 18th December 1920 published a letter from "AN ARAB OF JERUSALEM." The writer wonders that Indians should not as yet have seen through the tactics of the British Government. Only two years' dealings with British officers have, however, enabled the Arabs fully to understand Great Britain's attitude towards Islam during 150 years past. The writer adds that the Arabs of Irak and Syria have committed an unpardonable offence in fighting against the Turks. The unfortunate result of this has been that not only the Turks but the Arabs also are threatened with ruin and destruction. There is not an Arab in the Near East who does not curse himself and deplore Turkey's lot a hundred times a day and who does not offer prayers for the Turks. The Muhammadans of Palestine, particularly of Jerusalem, are certainly the most unfortunate people in the world. Simultaneously with the entry of British forces in Jerusalem was published Balfour's manifesto that that place was the national home of the Jews. The Muhammadans of Jerusalem number from ten to fifteen thousand, and most of them are poor and live on the income from mosques. The object of the Jews consists in taking back their temple, *i. e.*, the Umar mosque. They have already intefered with the mosque by preventing the religious endowments department from repairing its walls. The Muhammadans protested against this, and memorials also were submitted on their behalf and that of the Christians of Jerusalem. The writer believes that if the present state of affairs continues for another five years not a single Muhammadan will be left in Jerusalem: it is practically impossible for them to live with the Jews. If no change takes place in Palestine some Muhammadans from India had better be sent to protect the Umar mosque.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Non-coöperation.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

2. (*a*) The following is from the December (1920) number of the *Vedic Magazine*:—"The non-coöperation movement is marching forward by leaps and bounds. Almost all the prominent nationalists and congressmen have stood

aloof. The voting was very meagre—especially in the Punjab. At Lahore less than 5 per cent. of the total number of voters recorded their votes. At Amritsar the percentage was still lower. Similar reports have been received from various urban and rural centres. Non-coöperation holds the field. The almost complete boycott of the Councils by the country, the withdrawal of thousands of boys from state-controlled schools and colleges, the increased demand for *swadeshi* cloth and the almost complete disappearance of lawyers from public life—before non-coöperation was started, their influence was supreme—all point to the permanent success of the movement. You may attribute this result to bitterness against the bureaucracy on account of Khilafat wrongs and Punjab atrocities, you may ascribe it to the hypnotic influence of a mighty personality or you may hold the world-movement for self-determination and liberty responsible for this supreme bid for freedom at all costs ; but you cannot honestly deny that the movement has captured the heart and fired the imagination of the classes and the masses—perhaps of the masses more than of the classes—of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—of the proletariat more than of the bourgeoisie. . . . It is an awful pity that the uniform success of non-coöperation has at places and on occasions been marred by disgraceful exhibitions of intolerance and shameful demonstrations of rowdyism and hooliganism on the part of desperadoes that manage to gain the upper hand as soon as a crowd degenerates into a mob. At Lahore this hooliganism led to tragic results. . . . The non-coöperation movement is the outward expression of a great moral upheaval and cultural self-assertion. It is the revolt of an eastern people, that has regained its lost soul, against the domination of a soul-less civilization, which scorns the power of the spirit and believes merely in brute force. Intimidation and abuse ill-become those who are out to meet violence with love, insolence with calm majesty, and hauteur with undaunted dignity. . . . We must make the humiliating confession that the Punjab masses least understand this aspect of the question. The Punjab is inhabited by warlike and impulsive people whose naturally impatient disposition leads them to adopt short-cuts and to translate thought into action at once. We are afraid the vessel of Mahatma Gandhi's non-coöperation will split on the rock of Punjab impulsiveness, just as the *satyagraha* movement did last year, if speedy measures are not taken by the great leader to control the situation. The Punjabis are a very reverent people and are excellent followers. They are not at all restive under masterful handling, only they will not be led by pussilanimous leaders who cannot risk temporary unpopularity and give the right lead at the psychological moment. What Punjab needs is courageous leadership. There is no towering personality in the political field in our province. . . . It pains us to have to say that Lala Lajpat Rai—though he is a man of lofty character, generous impulses and high resolves—has neither the nerve nor the resourcefulness nor the equanimity of temper and the balance of judgment to save the non-coöperation movement from disaster in the hand of Jats, Sikhs and Muslims. As regards the lesser leaders, we are afraid many of them lack the personal magnetism and the forcefulness of character which exact prompt obedience, and a very few others are much more in sympathy with the riotous temper of the mob than with the *satyagraha* spirit of the Mahatma. They take the Mahatma's holy name all in vain and invoke his holy authority to rouse unholy passions. In the name of *satyagraha* they raise the Frankenstein of *duragraha*. The situation in the Punjab is, indeed, perilous as regards the future of the non-coöperation movement. . . . If we look a little deeper into this hooliganism and try to probe its psychoology we find that it is inspired as much by bitter memories of the past as by perverted notions of proofs of the success of a popular movement imported from the West. Some half-educated people think that unless slight disturbances are created, the opponents of non-coöperation will never acknowledge that the movement has succeeded. This false notion of checkmating one's opponents is also at the basis of the disgraceful scenes."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the adoption by the Nagpur Congress of a resolution on non-coöperation the *Tribune* of the 1st January says :—"The non-coöperation resolution over which the Congress was expected to finally break up like a house of cards was adopted unanimously. . . . amid unprecedented enthusiasm. . . . No one who loves India as she ought to be loved can have any feeling except that of profound thankfulness at the averting of what would have been nothing less than a dire national calamity at this moment, a split in the Congress camp. Non-coöperation or no non-coöperation, a Congress united in its aspiration and in its resolve to make the country free at the earlist possible opportunity is the one thing that we want at this time. So far from assenting to the proposition that there is something higher at this time than unity, we are decidedly of opinion that there never was a stage in our history when unity was so absolutely the highest of all essential things as it is at this moment, not the formal and more or less arithmetical aggregation of men, but men united together in their passionate love of country and in their sacred and unalterable determination to make India a safe and desirable land to live in, to raise the people of India without a moment's avoidable delay to that position of eminence among the members of a free and reconstituted Commonwealth and among the free nations of the world which she has from the beginning of her history and of all history been pre-destined to occupy. The Moderate abstention has, indeed, already partially weakened the national cause, but no fair-minded person can deny that what the Congress has lost in political wisdom, capacity and experience by this abstention she has gained in the accession of great dynamic energy from the heart of the people which is now represented at the Congress as it never was before..... It would have been a blunder verging on a crime to have allowed this new and decisive advantage to be lost or neutralised by another and much graver dissension in the national camp. Not only a Nationalist absentation, which would have been nothing short of a terrible disaster, but even the continuance of acute differences making united action impossible, would have been a catastrophe."

The Congress creed.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

3. (*a*) Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's resolution on the Congress creed, the *Tribune* of the 31st December 1920 writes :—" Mr. Gandhi was undoubtedly on unassailable ground and expressed the view of all honest, patriotic and self-respecting Indians when he said that ' it is derogatory to national dignity to think of the permanency of the British connection at any cost. ' But he will allow us to point out that the question of ' the permanency of the British connection at any cost ' does not arise at all. The object of the Congress, as defined in its constitution, is not, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, unalterable and irrevocable. It may be one thing to-day and quite another thing to-morrow, if circumstances necessitate the change. The only question is whether circumstances have already necessitated the change from ' within ' to ' outside ' the British Empire, from ' responsible government as a member of the Empire ' to ' complete independence. ' If they have, do declare your new resolve clearly and explicitly in the face of God and man. If they have not, do continue the present creed with such minor alterations as are necessary. But for God's sake do not adopt a creed which, just because it may mean one thing or the other, will mean neither in particular, and which, just because it will mean nothing in particular, will at every step be an obstacle in the path of your adopting and carrying out a practical programme, instead of facilitating it, as it is the business of every well-defined and well understood creed to do. If we may be permitted to say so without offence, Mr. Gandhi and his supporters simply confounded the ' object ' of the Congress with the fundamental ' ideal ' of every patriotic and self-respecting Indian. The ideal undoubtedly is to evolve a condition of things in India, whether within or without the British Empire, such as may be consistent with and conducive to the fullest and freest development India's manhood, both individually and collectively. It is that only which is eternal. The ' object ' of a political body like the Congress stands on a wholly different footing, and belongs not to the domain of ultimate ideals, but of immediately desired ends. Had they looked at the matter from this point of view, they would, while making their position and that of the Congress perfectly clear in their speeches and while warning England in the plainest possible language that if she did not even yet fulfil her part of the compact a time would soon come when the Congress would no longer work for responsible government but for complete independence, have, for the present and pending the arrival of the time, left the creed of the Congress where it was. In our opinion this would have been a more reasonable and more helpful thing to do than the thing that has been actually done."

(*b*) Commenting on the resolution on the new creed of the Congress, the *Tribune* of the 1st January writes :—"[Mr. Jinnah says] that we can never get our independence without bloodshed. In our opinion there is a way of obtaining independence without bloodshed, if at some future time India does find that it is to her interest to be separated from the Empire. And this way is for India first, and as a preliminary measure, to work for and obtain complete responsible government. To an India which is completely free in her internal affairs, Great Britain will no more be able to say 'Thus far and no farther', if and when she is convinced that she must set up her separate establishment on her own account, than she can say it to Canada and Australia to-day. . . . . The only question, therefore, is whether it is possible for India to attain full responsible government within the Empire either at once or at a date sufficiently early to satisfy her legitimate aspirations and needs. If that question can be answered in the affirmative, as we hope and believe it can, then for all of us, both those who want independence ultimately and those who would be satisfied with complete political freedom and equality within the Empire, this is the one peaceful way and there is no other."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The reforms.

4. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th December 1920 says that the new Punjab Council does not command popular approval and confidence. Of the 58 of its elected members, 21 are title-holders and honorary officials, while there are among them men to whom the public attaches no importance whatever. The chief defect in the Council's *personnel* is that men well known for their interest in public affairs have not sought election to it. The Council cannot be popular without leaders like Lajpat Rai, Duni Chand, Rambhaj Dat and others. The only remedy now left is that the elected members should display a spirit of independence, self-respect and patriotism. They should try to make the Council useful, so that the public may have no complaint to make against them. Men like Lala Harkishan Lal, Mr. Ganpat Rai, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, etc., can accomplish a great deal. After remarking that the Council has taken its birth under unfavourable conditions, the paper says that it behoves the official members to encourage their elected colleagues in what the latter propose to do in the Council. The greatest need of the times is that their attitude towards public interests should be one of sympathy, so that the Council may prove a success. They will have to make some sacrifice and afford practical proof of their desire to coöperate with the people.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 24th December 1920 says that the work before the non-coöperators has not ended with the Council elections. After remarking that strictly speaking it has commenced now, the paper asks voters to notify the elected members to resign their seats. Meetings for this purpose should be held, and letters signed by a majority of voters should be sent to the men returned to the Councils. If they do not tender their resignations further steps should be taken against them.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) KHARAK SINGH, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Lahore, says in the course of a letter contributed by him to the *Tribune* of the 25th December 1920:—"From my practical experience of the recent election I am driven to the conclusion that the voters, illiterate masses as they are, are easily brought under undue influence and readily yield to worldly temptations without understanding the value of their right to vote, and are, therefore, unable to exercise their right to the best interests of the country. I venture to suggest that, in the interest of all concerned, some minimum educational qualifications both for the voters and the candidates should be fixed in order to make the reform scheme a success. Unless and until that is done, circumstanced as we are, it is a standing disgrace to seek election to the Council.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th December 1920 expresses disappointment at the elevation of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia to the Punjab Executive Council. The Sardar, it says, has never taken a practical part in public affairs, nor is he credited with holding advanced views. His apppointment is also a mistake on principle. Muhammadans prepondrate in the Punjab and a member of that community should have been appointed to the Executive Council. But even if a non-Muslim was to be appointed the choice should have fallen on some one else than Sardar Sundar Singh.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*e*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 21st December 1920 writes:—"We whole-heartedly congratulate the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, C.I.E., on his being appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor to be the first Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council. We have not the least doubt that the Hon'ble Sardar will acquit himself in his new office in a manner which will not only give entire satisfaction to his countrymen but will also be conducive to the best interests of the motherland. There lies a great opportunity of vindicating his position as a patriot and a progressive and independent Punjabi."

RANJIT (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(f) The *Ranjit* of the 22nd December 1920 expresses pleasure at the appointment of Sardar Sundar Singh as a member of the Punjab Executive Council. It is necessary, adds the paper, that there should be a Sikh Minister also. The educational and other requirements of the Sikhs entitle them to this.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(g) Writing about the constitution of the new Executive Councils the *Sikh* of the 26th December 1920 says :—" Of the Indian members appointed to these various Councils there are four Hindus, four Muhammadans and one Sikh. Further, of these nine Indians only two are without any title or honour being added to their names, while all others have each a long tale of titles or honours. This shows how in making selections in this connection, Government has had its own point of view in preference to that of the public. It being a general belief that there is little difference of views between the officials and such non-officials as have always been the recipients of the choicest blessings that are in store with the Government to bestow upon those who always march with it, is not this the very negation of the object with which the reforms are going to be effected in India ? We doubt if any one of the Indians so elevated has, with one or two exceptions, ever prominently belonged even to the moderate party of the Congress, whom the Government people are never tired of extolling to the skies whenever they find an opportunity of saying anything against the extremists. Moreover, we have reasons to believe that past services to Government and not experience in administration has been the criterion in selecting members. . . . Government has not been wrong in selecting the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadar Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia for the Punjab Executive Council. It has killed two birds with one stone, *viz.*, first, it has appointed a Sikh for the province which, only seventy years ago, was itself independently ruled by the Sikhs ; secondly, it has selected, from among the Sikhs, a person whom only a week or so before the community themselves elected as president of such a responsible body as the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Now the interests of *jathebandi* demand that we should heartily welcome his appointment to the Executive Council, for it affords him the best and also the last opportunity of doing what service he can to the *Panth* and the Motherland. For our part we congratulate him warmly and wish him every success and popularity in his new career."

The employment of Indian troops abroad.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

5. The *Vakil* of the 22nd December 1920 states that the sepoys now in Mesopotamia, Arabiaand Persia number 86,400. After saying that there are several thousands of Indians in Palestine, Egypt and Constantinople also, it asks whether the Indians in all these countries are there for their country's good. No one, adds the paper, will answer the question in the affirmative. They are there certainly for the larger interests of the British Empire. But why do not the British colonies—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, etc.,—render help to the mother country ? All of them have derived the fullest advantage from the great European war. Evidently they would share the booty, but are not prepared to bear hardships and troubles. Cannot the Cabinet demand help from these colonies in the matter or is there a fear of their refusing this help ?

India's military expenditure.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

6. The *Banda Mataram* of the 22nd December 1920 says that Mesopotamia was invaded in order to establish British supremacy there. Indian troops fought in it at the expense of this country's exchequer. It is said in order to satisfy Indians that Mesopotamia is a colony of India, which, however, needs no such colony. Indians have been accorded a barbarous treatment in Africa, Canada and Fiji, and this has been a sufficient lesson for them. They shed their blood in conquering Mesopotamia and the Indian exchequer bore the necessary expenses. All this was meant only to secure all high posts in Mesopotamia for British officers and to enrich English traders by working oil wells. The paper then goes on to say that it was stated by Mr. Churchill in reply to a question in the Commons that although three crores of rupees had been sanctioned for the expenses of the Indian troops sent to Persia, a further sum of four and a half crore had to be spent owing to their having remained there for a

longer period. The military expenditure incurred in connection with the Frontier Province, Mesopotamia and other places, it adds, is in addition to this. The average monthly income of poor Indians is under Rs. 2-8-0 per head, but their hard-earned money is most heartlessly spent on the army.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

England and India.

7. The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th December 1920 says that the manner in which Mr. Montagu is being rebuked by his countrymen goes to show that even if there is any well-intentioned man in the British cabinet he can do nothing [for this country]. England needed India's help during the war, and all its inhabitants were, therefore, full of praises of Indians. It was also in those days that the question of reforms was taken up to please Indians. Their credulity rendered them beside themselves with joy, while the English felt proud of their 'cuteness. Both gild were in a highly pleased mood from their respective points of view. But gild cannot last long. The new Council rules and regulations and the general tendency of the English people made it quite clear that however staunch a lover of truth an Englishman might claim to be he was averse to making Indians free in the true sense of the term. Indians have now awakened from sleep and unless they are sincerely assured of the grant of complete *swaraj* to them after a specified period they cannot be satisfied with the new Councils, which are no better than toys. They have no faith in Mr. Montagu, which is due mainly to the fact that some of them have come to think that he can do whatever he likes. In our opinion, however, his failure to take notice of the doings of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford argues weakness on his part. Continuing, the paper refers to an article which recently appeared in the *Morning Post* under the heading "Mr. Montagu's Bolshevism," and in which Mr. Gandhi has been called a firebrand. Commenting, it says that the *Morning Post* is wrong in thinking that the present unrest in India owes its origin to Mr. Montagu. The Secretary of State wished, not to awaken India, but to lull her to sleep. It was not the originator of the reform scheme but the author of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy who brought about this awakening.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The situation in India.

8. (*a*) Writing about the Nagpur Congress, the *Liberal* of the 26th December 1920 says :—"The whole country, from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from the Gulf of Cutch to the land of the Burmese, seems to have been reduced to a state of helplessness and despair and is putting up a vigorous and honourable fight for freedom from serfdom and for equality of race. She had adapted herself, more or less, to habits of slavery as a result of long subjection under foreign rule, but till the April of 1919 the large mass of humanity inhabiting this ancient land had not lost complete faith in the British sense of justice and had hoped for restoration, sooner or later, to its original greatness once again. The Jallianwala Bagh, however, proved the last straw which broke the camel's back and the events that have followed since have strengthened the belief that the salvation of India must come from within, if it must ever at all."

TRIBUNE (Lahore) K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 29th December 1920 writes :—"The situation in India is . . . such that so impartial, so disinterested and so competent an observer as Mr. Spoor has, within a fortnight of his arrival in this country, come to the conclusion that only by a bold stroke of imaginative statesmanship can it be saved. Mr. Lloyd George, to whom Mr. Spoor has appealed for intervention, is the one man in England who is capable of this stroke. . . . Let him and all others disabuse their minds once for all of all interested cant about responsible government being alien to Indian soil. . . . Nor can the plea of India having ever been conquered by England and thus lost her sovereignty hold good for one single moment. In the first place the plea is only a figment of the imagination, as India never was conquered by England, and even up to this day she has not been formally annexed to her. Secondly, even assuming that she was conquered, England herself . . . . is a more conquered country than India. And if this fact did not rob England of her original sovereignty, no more can India be said to have lost it on the field of Plassey. The fact is that the sovereignty of the people is an inalienable attribute and cannot be taken away by mere conquest or by any number of conquests. The people have only to become conscious of this right for all external and extraneous authority to either disappear from the scene or assume its rightful place as the agent and instrument of the sovereign body."

The officials and the people.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

9. The following is from the *Liberal* of the 26th December 1920 :—" How to prevent insults to non-official members of the public on the part of offending officials ? There is only one remedy that has been tried and never found to have failed to produce the desired effect. Let there be a dead stop immediately of useless and unnecessary worrying of the officials by the non-officials. In our dealings among relations and friends, we exchange interviews on an equal footing. We seldom repeat our visits to a friend if he does not care to return our visits. How many officials, European particularly, are in the habit of returning visits to those non-official Indians who, in seasons and out of season, are in the habit of dancing attendance on them. And still the shameless Indian never finds his sense of dignity aroused at the insult that is conveyed to him under the refusal to return his visit. To be a self-respecting people we have not to seek any outside aid. We do not require a resolution of the Congress or of the Khilafat to arouse us to that sense of duty we owe to ourselves . . . . What is required is a firm resolution to be a self-respecting people ; true to our past and faithful to our future. No body on this earth, however powerful, can stand in the way of our realisation of our lost dignity and lost honour, which is so much responsible for the wretched condition of our country to-day."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Seditious Meetings Act in Lahore.

RANJIT (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

10. (*a*) Writing about the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in Lahore, the *Ranjit* of the 17th December 1920 says that sometimes irresponsible persons are certainly so carried away by excitement as to overstep all bounds. Since, however writers and speakers can be arrested under the ordinary law why should restrictions like the operation of the Act be imposed ? Such measures will only accentuate feelings of distrust between the rulers and the ruled and thus widen the gulf between the two. Many a meeting was recently held at Lahore and many speeches were made at them, but this did not lead even once to a breach of the peace. If it be said that the Act has been enforced owing to the election troubles, we will point out that such troubles arose in other places also, particularly at Agra and Madras. Why has not the Act been enforced in those places also ? Truly speaking, the Punjab Government has of late been growing more and more whimsical.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 18th December says that the agitators had been warned beforehand and are themselves responsible for the restrictions imposed on their activities. After remarking that they did not heed the warning, the paper says that all peaceful and law-abiding people will welcome the enforcement of the Act, seeing that the public will no longer be able to tyrannise over them.

The use of intoxicants in the Punjab.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

11. Commenting on the report on the excise administration in the Punjab during 1919-20, the *Vedic Magazine* for December 1920 writes :—" The Government may well be proud of having increased the excise revenue by 25 lakhs of rupees in the year under review. But if it is also the work of a civilized Government to check the growing use of intoxicating liquors and drugs, the Government in this province seem to have absolutely failed. The report shows an increase of consumption practically all round."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Mr. Gandhi and the Muhammadans.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

12. The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 18th December 1920 says that Mr. Gandhi is bent upon working the ruin, not only of the British Government, but also of Islam. Every move made by him is generally intended to defeat the Muhammadans. He is preaching to his co-religionists to give up the caste system with a view to pleasing the Muhammadans. He wishes to weld the two communities into a nation, but this object cannot be gained only by abandoning the caste system. After remarking that he does not favour interdining, the paper advises the Muhammadans to avoid the trap laid by him for them.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

Professor Rama Deva's criticism of Islam.

13. Commenting on Professor Rama Deva's criticism of Islam at the recent anniversary celebrations of the Lahore Arya Samaj, the *Vedic Magazine* for December 1920 writes:—"There is a tempest in the tea pot and some Muslim papers, unable to meet the arguments and quotations of the speaker, are indulging in filthy abuse. . . . We are told that the Hindu-Muslim unity will vanish if the doctrines of Islam are even criticised or if extracts from Syad Amir Ali's *Spirit of Islam* are read out in public lectures. The price of the Hindu Muslim unity, it seems, is a complete blockade of thought and a rigid taboo on all lectures on comparative religion and philosophy. . . . Why is Islam sacrosanct as no other religion is sacrosanct? Why cannot Muslim divines defend their faith by meeting argument with argument? Why are coercion, intimidation and social boycott necessary to maintain its hold upon the minds of its followers? . . . In any case the incident is not without its moral. The Hindu-Muslim unity, in order to be permanent, must be based on community of interests and mutual tolerance and good will and not on the throttling of the voice of philosophic criticism. Surely Islam can survive many an argumentative onslaught and will become stronger and not weaker if it is purged of doctrines like polygamy which, however excusable they might have been in the semi-savage Arab at a particular time, are clearly repellant to the developed moral sense of civilized man."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Official salaries in India.

14. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 29th December 1920:—"The report of the select committee on ministers' salaries in England recommends that the Prime Minister should receive £ 8,000, and that ministers be graded into five classes with salaries from £5,000 to £1,000. Compared with this scale, the scale of salaries in India is almost princely, and yet India is one of the poorest countries in the world, and England one of the richest. That is what the government of one nation by another means."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Government and its low-paid officials.

15. A correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd December 1920 refers to Mr. Montagu's statement in the Commons regarding an increase in the pensions of the British military officers drawing from the Indian exchequer an annual pension below £ 200. Commenting, he says that the Secretary of State and the Government of India increase the pensions of British officers residing in Great Britain on the ground that they are feeling the pinch of high prices. They do not move at all, however, when low-paid Indian clerks, poor workshop labourers and postmen submit memorials for an increase of pay. And when the latter are forced to go on strike high Government officials and the bureaucracy make use of most crooked and cowardly weapons to defeat the strike. The education department of the Government of India has revised the grades of the provincial service men and enhanced their salaries. As regards the members of the subordinate service, however, schemes are still under preparation, and it is not known how long they will take to materialise. The right course to follow was that Government should have taken steps regarding them first of all. Strange, however, are the ways of the Government of India. All its departments are top-heavy. The exchequer is being emptied to pay highly-placed officers and military expenses. Officials drawing Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 a month are being fed upon the hard-earned money of Indians. But when the question of village sanitation or the improvement of Indian industries is raised Government employs a sanitary commissioner on Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 or imports a director of agriculture from England on three or four thousand rupees to sit in his office, sign papers and draw up schemes. It is a most ruinous policy on the part of Government to humour its highly-paid officers, but to cold-shoulder its low-paid servants. Its welfare and strength lie in paying attention to the grievances and requirements of its latter officials. Strikes are becoming frequent and will tell heavily upon what credit has still been left to Government.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Increase in rents.

16. A correspondent writing to the *Siyasat* of the 17th December 1920 states that for some time past the rent of houses and shops has been going up at an awful pace. After quoting some specific instances—relating to Amritsar—in support of his assertion, he says that the increase in the rent of shops leads

shopkeepers to sell articles at high prices. They pay rent to the greedy landlords at the expense of the poor, who are now wholly unable to withstand any further increase in the prevailing dearness. The throwing of any additional burden on them will add to the spirit of discontent prevalent among them. And it is discontent among the poor on which the germs of Bolshevism thrive. The awful increase that has taken place in the rents of houses and shops will cause unrest and discontent, which will, in their turn, develop a Bolshevist spirit in the country. Those who wish to keep India free from the Bolshevik danger should look to her internal affairs. The danger of the spread of Bolshevism in this country is becoming greater and greater every day.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 1st January 1921.

184 SD—187—5-1-21—SGPP Lahore.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1920.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. B. Hardy	*Civil & Military Gazette* Press, Lahore; 3,499.
2	**Tribune**	Do.	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 6,276.
	WEEKLY.			
3	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh, B.A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 883.
4	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	*Liberal* Press, Lahore; 1,000.
5	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 600.
6	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
7	**Sikh**	Lahore	Bakhshish Singh	Caxton Printing Press, Lahore; 500.
8	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
9	Cantonment Advocate	Ambala	Dwarka Parshad	Model Press, Ambala Cantonment.
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. R. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,350.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine†	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 700.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 462.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 300.
14	**Vedic Magazine**	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 465.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Aftab** †	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
17	**Bande Mataram**	Do.	Lajpat Rai	*Bande Mataram* Press, Lahore; 5,000.
18	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,270.
19	**Dard***	Amritsar	Dina Nath Sharma	Nath Press, Amritsar;
20	**Imam***	Lahore	Taj-ud-Din Ahmad, *Taj*	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore;
21	**Ittifaq**†	Do.	Ghulam Muhammad Khan	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore;
22	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,289.
23	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,500.
24	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 650.
25	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishen Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 400.
26	**Sidaqat**	Lahore	Ghulam Haidar Khan	Sadhu Press, Lahore; 500.
27	**Siyasat**	Do.	Habib Shah	*Siyasat* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
28	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 700.
29	**Zamindar**	Lahore	Abdul Majid Khan	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
30	**Akhbar-i-Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 1,475.
31	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 917.
32	Paigham-i-Sulah	Lahore	Murtza Khan	Muslim Ahmadia Printing Press, Lahore; 327.
33	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,695.

* Ceased.
†Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1920—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing ; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—continued.			
	Weekly.			
34	Ahl-i-Halis	Amritsar	Sana Ulla	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,225.
35	Akhbar-i-'Am*	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,475.
36	Al-Hakam	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	S. Yakub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian ; 500.
37	Al-Munir	Jhang	Ghulam Hussain	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang ; 1,525.
38	Ar-Rai	Lahore	Fateh Muhammad	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
39	Arorbans Gazette*	Amritsar	Narain Das	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 500.
40	Arorbans Sudharak	Lahore	Salig Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 750.
41	Arya Gazette	Do.	Dr. Dharm Dev	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,225.
42	Brahman Samachar	Do.	Vidya Rattan	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 877.
43	Desh Upkarak	Do.	Thakar Dat Sharma	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500.
44	Dharm	Do.	Karam Chand Bahl	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
45	Faruq	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Qasim Ali	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 450.
46	Gulzar-i-Hind	Lahore	Ahmad Ali, Chishti	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,200.
47	Himala	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 6,200.
48	India	Gujranwala	Shamsher Singh, Khanjar, B.A.	People's Press, Lahore ; 500.
49	Intikhab-i-Lajawab	Lahore	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,156.
50	Ittihad	Amritsar	Muhammad Sardar Khan, Nashat.	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar ; 300.
51	Jat Gazette	Rohtak	Molar Singh	Hariana Press, Rohtak ; 691.
52	Jiwan Tat	Lahore	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore ; 549.
53	Kapurthala Akhbar	Kapurthala	Zahid Hussain	Jagatjit Press, Kapurthala ; 300.
54	Kashmiri Magazine	Lahore	Muhammad Din, Fauq	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 763.
55	Khalsa Akhbar	Do.	Sardar Singh	Sadhu Press, Lahore ; 1,300.
56	Loyal Gazette	Do.	Amar Singh	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 3,000.
57	Municipal Gazette	Do.	Din Muhammad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 410.
58	Nur Afshan	Ludhiana	Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry	Mission Steam Press, Ludhiana ; 500.
59	Paisa Akhbar	Lahore	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 3,533.
60	Parkash	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,545.
61	Phul	Do.	Mumtaz Ali	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
62	Punjab Samachar*	Do.	Hira Lal, Kapur	George Steam Press, Lahore ;
63	Rajput Gazette	Do.	Sukhram Das	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,128.
64	Sadiq-ul-Akhbar	Bahawalpur	Muhammad Bashir	Sadiq-ul-Anwar Steam Press, Bahawalpur ; 440.
65	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar	Ralla Ram	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 630.
66	Sanatan Dharm Patrika	Lahore	Diwan Chand	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
67	Sharif Bibi	Do.	Fatima	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
68	Sidaqat*	Do.	Ghulam Haidar Khan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
69	Tahsib-i-Niswan	Do.	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,400.
70	Union Gazette	Do.	Shamas-ul-Din	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ;
71	Victoria Paper	Sialkot	Brij Lal	*Victoria* Press, Sialkot ; 1,000.
72	Virat	Gujranwala	Banke Dial	*Virat* Press, Gujranwala ; 650.
73	Watan	Lahore	Akbar Shah Khan	Rafa-i-'Am Press, Lahore ; 780.

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1920—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
74	Zulfiqar	Lahore	Ahmad Shah Shamshi	Shamshi Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
75	**Zamindar**	Do.	Abdul Majid	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore;
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
76	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Abu Turab Muhammad Abdul Haq.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 500.
77	**Intikhab***	Gujranwala	Wali Ullah	Gulzar-i-Muhammadi Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
78	Mukhbir	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar; 200.
79	**Sialkot Paper***	Sialkot	Todar Mal	Indar Press, Sialkot; 125.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
80	Aijaz-ul-Quran*	Amritsar	Zia Ullah	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 300.
81	Al-Faqih	Do.	Hakim Miraj Din	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 300.
82	Al-Quraish	Do.	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 300.
83	Mister Gazette	Lahore	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 200.
84	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 417.
85	Paigham-i-Sarin	Lahore	Dogar Mal	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
86	Rajput Hitkari	Do.	Waswandhi Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 375.
	MONTHLY.			
87	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra	Amritsar	Moti Ram	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 200.
88	Al Aziz	Batala	Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar; 500.
89	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore; 325.
90	Anwar-us-Sufia	Do.	Hafiz Zafar Ali	Gulzar-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore; 800.
91	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Mukand Lal	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 550.
92	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai, Bishwasi	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
93	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
94	Masihi	Do.	...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore;
95	Mehra Sudhar	Do.	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A.	Gulzar-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
96	Makhzan	Do.	Ahsan Ullah, Tajwar	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 750.
97	Martand	Do.	Ram Lal	*Martand* Printing Press, Lahore; 1,065.
98	Mastana Jogi	Do.	Sufi Lachhman Parshad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
99	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mittar Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala; 800.
100	Qasid	Montgomery	James William	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
101	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Lahore	Pir Bakhsh	Gulzar-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
102	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore City	Manohar Lal	Muir Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore Cantonment; 500.
103	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 800.
104	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	George Steam Press, Lahore; 570.
105	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 7,500.
106	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore; 226.
107	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Zahur Din	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 700.

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1920—concluded.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI.			
	Daily.			
108	**Akali**	Lahore	Partab Singh, B.A., B.T. ...	Sadhu Press, Lahore; 2,700.
109	**Ranjit**	Do.	Sohan Singh ...	Caxton Printing Works, Lahore;
	Weekly.			
110	**Bir** ...	Amritsar ...	Mehtab Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 500.
111	**Khalsa Samachar** ...	Do. ...	Vir Singh ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,500.
112	**Panch** ...	Lahore ...	Ram Singh ...	People's Press, Lahore; 1,000.
113	**Panth Sewak** ...	Amritsar ...	Chanda Singh ...	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,000.
114	**Punjab Darpan** ...	Do. ...	Sucha Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 950.
115	**Satjug** ...	Lahore ...	Nidhan Singh ...	Partap Hari Press, Lahore;
116	**Sikh Sepoy** ...	Ferozepore City ...	Tek Singh ...	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepor City; 1,000.
117	**Sri Guru Nanak Darshan.**	Amritsar ...	Sant Sumer Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,000.
	Fortnightly.			
118	Nirgunisra ...	Amritsar ...	Khalsa Tract Society ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 1,200.
	Monthly.			
119	Punjabi Bhain* ...	Ferozepore ...	Takht Singh ...	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepor City; 500.
	HINDI.			
	Monthly.			
120	Jat Sepoy	Rohtak ...	Kesari Devi, B.A. (Hindi) ...	Star Press, Delhi; 150.
121	Jyoti	Lahore ...	Vidyavati Seth, B.A. ...	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore;
122	Sewak ...	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 250.

* Ceased.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Persia.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

1 (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 5th January says that according to a Reuter's telegram, the Bolsheviks have announced that they will withdraw their forces from Persia, provided Great Britain sets the example. If the last-named and Russia, adds the paper, do so and make no political moves in Persia that unfortunate Islamic country, which has long been a prey to the machinations of European powers, can recover herself. Political moves on the part of England and Russia have so greatly injured and degraded Persia that her former greatness has departed for ever. We cannot say how far the promises of the Bolsheviks can be relied upon, but we can assert from personal experience that British promises can satisfy no Indian Muhammadan until they have been fulfilled. If Great Britain wishes that the Muhammadans should no longer distrust her she should leave Turkey and Persia alone and take no hand in their ruin and destruction.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper says that Russia and England regard each other with suspicion and jealousy, and that Persia is falling a victim to their military forces and political moves. While Russian soldiers are encamped in the north, British forces have spread their net in the south and east. Poor Persia has not the strength to turn both out, nor is she prepared to make friends with one and show hostility towards the other. She doubts the honesty of both these powers. An agreement was concluded between her and England some time ago, but the Persian natianalists do not approve of it. So far as we have thought over the relations between England and Persia we can honestly say that the former is, to a great extent, responsible for the present weakness of the latter. The condition of Persia can be much improved if Great Britain recalls her troops and leaves the Persians alone.

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India and Afghanistan.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. The *Tribune* of the 8th January quotes the resolution passed at the recent session of the Muslim League advising His Majesty the Amir to reject any advance on the part of the Government of India for a treaty of alliance with Great Britain and expressing the hope that the Afghans and Indians will cultivate

friendly relations between themselves and learn to rely upon each other's good will. Commenting the paper says:—"As regards the latter part of the resolution, we have nothing to say. We are in favour of relations of the friendliest character being cultivated between India and other nations, and it follows that we are even more anxious to cultivate such relations with our immediate neighbours than with those at a distance. But we do not know what useful purpose the first part of the resolution is expected to serve. It is open to doubt whether it is any part of the duty of citizens of one country to address the head of the State in another, and in the present case the fact that the State in question represents a form and system of government which India is striving resolutely to outgrow does not make the proceeding more intelligible. Secondly, it is not at all likely that the Amir will be guided in a matter of such importance to himself by any consideration except that of his own interest and the interest of the State of which he is the head. Whether he accepts any advance on the part of the Government of India for a treaty of alliance with Great Britain or rejects it, he is scarcely likely to look at the matter from the point of view of Indian *swaraj*."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The reforms.

3. (*a*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 26th December 1920 says that, by appointing Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia to the Punjab Executive Council, Sir Edward Maclagan has proved that he acknowledges the Sikhs to be entitled to one third share in the administration of the province. We sincerely thank him for his fair-mindedness in this respect, as also for his recent kindness to the Sikhs.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 28th December 1920 remarks that even moderate, not to speak of nationalist, newspapers are not pleased with the appointment. During his membership of the Imperial Legislative Council the Sardar never once won the gratitude of the country. He always associated himself with the authorities, and if a plebescite were taken in the Punjab, ninety-nine per cent. of the people would vote against him. The paper adds that while Indians have been appointed presidents of the Legislative Councils in Madras and Bengal, in the Punjab the selection has fallen on Mr. Butler, a Deputy Commissioner. It does not matter whether he is a good or a bad man: we raise the objection on the score of principle. Since the object in view consists in imparting practical training to Indians in administrative matters through the new Councils, why has not an Indian been appointed as president of the Punjab Council? As it is, while the old Council was presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor, the president of the new assembly will be a Deputy Commissioner. What surprising progress! We must admire those who believe even now that Indians will obtain *swaraj* through these reformed councils.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*c*) "FRANKHEART" writes to the *Sikh* of the 2nd January:—"Gratified as we certainly feel at the appointment of Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh to the Executive Council, we cannot help looking at the matter from a second point of view. Hindu and Muslims elected members will have their Hindu and Muslim Ministers from amongst them and responsible to them for their conduct. On the contrary, the Sikh elected members will have no one from amongst them with a portfolio and will have to look up to an official who is neither responsible to them nor need he look to them for support or confidence. Under the Government of India Act the Governor has to appoint Council Secretaries and the Council has to elect a Deputy Chairman. In the Sikh party there are some prominent men who are in no way behind the foremost men of the other communities. With the numerical strength that we possess in the Councils, however, it is hoping against hope that any Sikh, however brilliant and proficient, will ever obtain a chance of fairplay."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) Commenting on the appointment of Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Lala Harkishan Lal as Ministers for the administration of transferred subjects in the Punjab, the *Tribune* of the 4th January writes:—"Sir Edward Maclagan deserves to be warmly congratulated on his choice of the first ministers under the Reform Act, for a better choice it would have been impossible to make..... We have no doubt both ministers will give an excellent account of themselves."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*e*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th January says that His Excellency has displayed remarkable wisdom and sagacity in the matter. Those sensible people, it adds, who realise that the country's welfare lies in working the reforms and making them the foundation stone of all future progress view the appointment of Messrs. Fazl-i-Husain and Harkishan Lal as Ministers with approval.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*f*) The *Partap* of the 5th January says that while Sir Edward Maclagan made the worst selection in the case of his Executive Council, His Excellency has selected the best men as Ministers. It need not be pointed out what sort of a Council the Punjab would have got if men of the type of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia had been appointed Ministers. Lala Harkishan Lal has, by becoming a Minister, lessened the unpopularity of the Council to some extent. Continuing, the paper says that in December 1919 the Lala was in the Lahore Central Jail under a sentence of 20 years' imprisonment, but that now he has become a part of the machinery of the Punjab Government. This shows what importance Government itself attaches to the judgments of the martial law courts. The event also proves the historical truth that, in national struggles, individuals once classed as rebels are at another time elevated to the presidency of a democracy.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*g*) The *Desh* of the 6th January sincerely congratulates Sir Edward Maclagan on the selection made by His Excellency. A better selection was simply impossible—a fact which will be admitted even by those who advocated a boycott of the Councils and wanted to make them a failure. Lala Harkishan Lal, adds the paper, can gain nothing by his appointment as a Minister On the contrary, he has had to sacrifice a great deal in accepting the appointment, for which he deserves the thanks of his countrymen.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*h*) The *Vakil* of the 7th January says that Sir Edward Maclagan has opened the new era with an act of remarkable sagacity. No one could even think a year back that Lala Harkishan Lal, who occupied a conspicuous place among the victims of martial law, would be appointed a Minister to the Punjab Government. His Excellency being a good judge of men has not let this idea stand in his way of selecting the Lala. We feel confident that the Punjab Ministers will perform the duties of their office in a very efficient manner.

PANTH SEWA (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

(*i*) Writing under the heading "Notice to members," the *Panth Sewak* of the 29th December 920 says that the persons returned to the Council cannot be unaware of the popular attitude towards them. It behoves them, therefore, to resign their seats of their own accord. In case they do not do so, the voters should hold meetings and notify them to tender their resignations. Such meetings should continue to be held till the desired end has been gained.

The Nagpur Congress.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

4. The *Tribune* of the 5th January writes:—"The Nagpur Congress will live in history as the greatest Congress since Lucknow, and perhaps, as Mr. Ben Spoor, no mean judge, said . . . the most epoch-making Congress ever held. Nagpur, indeed, made an epoch in more senses than one. Never before had there been a Congress attended by over twenty-five thousand persons, of whom no less than fifteen thousand were delegates, and never before had so large a proportion of the delegates belonged to what the President described as ordinary, as distinguished probably from what are called professional, classes. That is one important point to its credit. Secondly, it was the first Congress for many years in which unity in the truest of all senses, in the sense of harmonised differences, had been exhibited in so conspicuous a manner and degree . . . The service it has thus rendered by harmonising the differences between the two wings of the nationalist party inside the Congress is, indeed, greater than it knows. It has proved for all time that the days of splits are now definitely gone, and that we have arrived at a stage in our growth when differences are no longer a sign of weakness but of strength, when differences can appear only that they may be overcome and being overcome contribute to the greatness of the whole. Thirdly and lastly, it is the first Congress since 1917 in which the creed of that body has been altered, and it has definitely and unanimously adopted a new programme for the attainment of its goal of *swarajya*. . . But it must be obvious to all unprejudiced minds that for all practical purposes the *swarajya*, the attainment of which the Congress has placed before itself as its end and aim, is for the present *swarajya* within the Empire, for none of the methods it has recommended so far can lead to any other goal. It has been said that by the change it has made in its creed the Congress has only

declared that its allegiance to the British connection is not unconditional. We do not think India's allegiance to the British connection was ever unconditional, that at any stage in its history the Congress committed itself to the unmanly and utterly unpatriotic proposition that come what might, whether India could attain to the full height of her stature as a member of the Empire or not, she would always remain within and never think of going outside the Empire Indeed, the very language in which the old creed was expressed, that the aim of the Congress was the attainment of self-government like that of Great Britain, could only mean that India's remaining voluntarily within the Empire would depend absolutely and exclusively upon the possibility of her attaining full and complete freedom as a member of the Empire. . . . As regards the new non-coöperation programme, . . . there is not the smallest doubt that the nationalist party, the most potent party in the country, being once more united and this programme having been unanimously adopted by it, it will be employed in an increasingly larger measure and with increasingly greater weight in our struggle for freedom."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

The Congress and non-coöperation.

5. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd January has the following :—" We have no hesitation in saying that in several essential respects, the resolution on non-coöperation, which has just been adopted at the Nagpur Congress . . . . is a decided improvement upon the resolution adopted at the special Congress in Calcutta. To begin with, the preamble to the present resolution is shorter and more appropriately worded, and, what is more important, the emphasis is definitely shifted from the individual wrongs connected with the Khilafat settlement and the Punjab atrocities to *swaraj*, the one true and all-sufficing end of all political activities in India. It is true that the wording even of the present resolution leaves room for improvement. We should, for instance, have liked greater stress to have been laid on India's natural and inalienable right to complete self-government than on the fact that the present form of government has forfeited the confidence of the country. What, if it had not ? What if there had been no Khilafat trouble and no Punjab wrong ? What if the Rowlatt Bill had never been passed and the Esher Committee had never been appointed and had never made its report ? It is possible that the national awakening would not then have come so soon or, at any rate, would not have been so widespread, but while the value of these measures for the purpose of this awakening must be fully and frankly acknowledged, the awakening having come, the nation must rest its case preeminently on its God-given right. This aspect of the matter is unhappily not brought out in the preamble at all, and the impression is left on the mind of the average reader of the resolution that the Congress is still thinking more in terms of its grievances than of its supreme and indefeasible right. Still the change is clearly a change for the better, and at least the determination to establish *swaraj* is put on record quite unmistakably and quite independently of the individual wrongs for which it is supposed to be the remedy."

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper writes :—" In one respect [the resolution] is open to an objection from which the Calcutta resolution was free. That resolution it will be remembered only approved of and adopted the *policy* of progressive non-violent non-coöperation, which could only mean the application of the principle in practice. . . . The Nagpur Congress has done precisely that which the Calcutta Congress omitted to do. ' This Congress,' says the resolution, ' while re-affirming the resolution on non-violent non-coöperation passed at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part of the scheme of non-violent non-coöperation with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee.' Now if the words the ' scheme ' refer to Mahatama Gandhi's scheme, and they can refer to nothing else, for there is no other scheme before the country, surely we have a right to enquire *when* the whole of this scheme was ever put either before the Congress or by the Executive of the Congress itself before the country. The only part of the scheme which the Congress has considered is the part that is already operative. The rest has yet to be considered. It may have been discussed in the Subjects Committee, but the Subjects Committee is not the Congress, and we do not think it is at all right for the executive and its spokesmen to commit the Congress to a programme large parts of which it has never had any opportunity of considering. To say that the passing of the resolution with the words referred to was itself tantamount to the consideration of those words would be a vicious circle in reasoning and no valid argument. The position is rendered worse by the fact that the All-India Congress Committee is now authorised to bring into operation the whole or any part of the scheme. This is giving too large and too wide a power to the executive of the Congress, and can only mean that the Congress is to have no opportunity, unless the executive itself so desires, of considering the whole of the scheme."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 4th January the paper writes :—"That the present resolution is fuller than the Calcutta resolution even a superficial comparison of the two would abundantly show..... It [the latter] created new differences in the country instead of harmonising old ones, the present resolution largely removes this defect by trying to equalise the burden and the sacrifice." Next the paper refers to some parts of the resolution and continues :—" If these parts of the resolution as well the other are properly carried out, every man in the country will find that he has his own part to play in the national movement, and hence the energy that now too often exhausts itself only in praising or blaming others will find an active and useful outlet.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Sikh* of the 2nd January writes :—" The Nagpur Congress has passed the non-coöperation resolution revised and worded in such a way as to make up the differences that existed between Mahatama Gandhi and his followers on the one hand and Mr. Dass and others on the other. That the resolution was moved by no less prominent a leader of the dissenting party than Mr. Dass, and seconded and supported by such universally acknowledged leaders of the nationalists as Messrs. Lajpat Rai, Bepinchandar Pal and others is the evident proof of the Congress determination to stand by the special Congress verdict."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th January expresses the hope that its readers will carefully read every part of the resolution and try fully to carry it into effect, so that the individual efforts of all may assume a collective form and thereby lead the country and the nation to the goal of complete freedom and independence.

(*f*) Elsewhere the paper says that there is no reason why old Congressmen like Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Ganpat Rai, Mian Fazal-i-Husain and Mr. Muharram Ali Chishti should not respect the united voice of the country and resign their seats on the Punjab Council.

Boycott of British goods.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 4th January says that the boycott of foreign goods occupies a prominent place among the ways of obtaining *swaraj* suggested by the Indian leaders, especially because the proposal is perfectly peaceful in character. Besides, even if we had no cause of complaint against the present Government, it would have been our religious duty to demand economic liberty to enable us to promote the industries of our sacred land. If the country were thoroughly to boycott imported goods, Mr. Gandhi's prophecy regarding the attainment of *swaraj* within one year would be fulfilled. The English are a commercial people, a nation of traders ; and it is their constant effort to capture the markets of the world. It was because of commercial interests that the British huntsman entrapped the " golden sparrow " of India and does not let it breathe in the atmosphere of liberty. It is far from truth to assert that India is being ruled for her own benefit. The English came here to feed themselves, and this is what they have so far been doing. Their political predominance and sovereignty here are only the means for the attainment of this end. They hold Canada, because it produces wheat in abundance ; Australia, because it supplies flesh ; South Africa, because it yields gold ; and India, because grain worth crores of rupees is obtained from it. England manufactures trade articles and sells them to all these countries, from which she buys her requirements in turn. She will come to her senses in no time if her trade is injured in any way.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 6th January the paper says that if we were to sever our commercial relations with England and firmly to adhere to the decision for a year, a quarter of the English labourers and capitalists would be reduced to a state of utter helplessness and the immense capital invested in their mills would be lost. The commercial ascendency of Great Britain would then become a thing of the past, which would be no trifling matter. After remarking that she could not stand this commercial catastrophy, the paper says that the time has approached when traders in particular and the public in general should shake off their sleep. Their motherland asks them to become practical. They should gird up their loins to serve her and should vow to boycott British goods. It behoves every child of India to carry into effect the resolution on non-coöperation passed by the Congress. Another resolution adopted by the Congress must have fully brought home to Indians the ruinous character of the fiscal policy of Government. To buy any goods from Britain at the current rate of exchange is to bring destruction upon oneself. Continuing, the *Zamindar* says that the lead given by India in the matter of the suggested boycott will serve as an incentive to other countries also. Who can say that the nationlists in Egypt and Turkey or the ardent patriots of Irak will not follow the example? Non-coöperation committees should be established throughout the length and breadth of the country to explain to the people the advantages and disadvantages of a boycott of British goods, to acquaint Indian merchants and shopkeepers with their duties and point out to them the paths leading to economic emancipation, and to induce capitalists to start factories to manufacture articles needed by the country. Such British goods as we cannot help using should be secured from sources other than British.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Boycott of foreign goods.

7. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 26th December 1920 says that the price of English-made cloth has not fallen in spite of cotton having become very cheap. This means that British traders will take from India in one year the money earned by her through trade during the war. The European firms in India have monopolised trade and are charging exorbitant prices for imported articles. Foreign goods should now be boycotted on a large scale and joint-stock companies should be started everywhere. Advantage should be taken of the present opportunity to promote the *swadeshi* movement.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The Muhammadans and *swaraj*.

8. The *Zamindar* of the 28th December 1920 publishes an article from the pen of AGHA SAFDAR. After explaining what *swaraj* means, the writer says that it remains to be seen how the attainment of self-government will effect the Khilafat, the holy places of Islam and Jazirat-ul-Arab, as also the condition of the Indian Muhammadans. Before his co-religionists think of saving the Khilafat from ruin, he adds, they have to consider how this ruin has been wrought, what power has weakened the Ottoman empire, with the help of what power the Arabian Peninsula was occupied [by whom the writer does not say] and what power secured the holy places for the English. No one, he replies, will deny that this power was India's. Indian soldiers, Indian money and Indian-made war-material ruined the Ottoman empire and lent strength to the English. After remarking that all the communities of India are equally responsible for thus adding to the strength of the British, the writer says that if the Muhammadans wish to protect the Khilafat they should have the same political ideal and should regard the enemy of their brethren as their personal enemy and abstain from rendering him any help. They should, besides, end their mutual dissensions and cultivate a spirit of toleration towards other communities. If the Indian Muhammadans make the attainment of self-government their ideal, consider it their duty to exercise toleration in dealing with other communities and regard their foreign co-religionists as their brothers, the fallen Khilafat can acquire strength again and the whole Islamic world, which is now at its last gasps, can be reinvigorated. If we wish to see the Turks retain their own home there is no reason why Indians should not have theirs under their own control. The followers of Islam are enjoined by the Prophet to protect their country from the encroachment of strangers. How can then *swaraj* be a bad thing for them? *Swaraj* only signifies that one should save one's country from subordination to strangers. In the days of the Prophet, Muhammadans and Jews united to fight the Quraish. Why do not then the Muhammadans join with other Indians to save this country from destruction? A fallen nation should always abstain from breaking divine laws. It should rise again and control its own home after having it vacated by strangers. The Muhammadans should remember that *swaraj* is no bad thing. They are entitled to it. If they agree to live in peace and friend-

ship with the Hindus and Sikhs and regard the welfare of India as their goal, neither will their money go into the pockets of strangers nor will the Islamic world be overtaken by ruin.

Political prisoners.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The *Tribune* of the 7th January has the following :—"In commemoration of the inauguration of a new form of government in Bengal under the Reform Act His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay has ordered the release of all State prisoners who were detained under regulation 3 of 1818. While warmly congratulating the Bengal Government upon its action in this matter, we may be permitted to ask why no such action has been taken in any other province, and specially in our own province, where there are so many political prisoners still rotting in jails. Bengal is not the only province where a new form of government has been inaugurated under the Reform Act, and surely we have every right to expect Sir Edward Maclagan, who has always been noted for his sympathy with the people and his desire to remove all sources of misunderstanding between them and the Government, to be as liberal-minded in this respect as Lord Ronaldshay has proved himself. The fact that the Bengal prisoners were never tried and were detained only under executive order is no argument against our proposal, because in our case, too, most of the prisoners were tried by martial law courts and no one will deny that those courts did not mete out justice according to the forms of the ordinary law. But we do not wish to press this aspect of the matter to-day. We only appeal to Sir Edward to exercise that magnanimity which in politics is not seldom the truest policy. Need we remind His Excellency that there is no better or more effective way either of conciliating the people or of impressing upon the popular imagination the significance of the present change in the form of government than by a wholesale release of all political prisoners, old and new. Sir Edward Maclagan has already done much in this direction, and the country is truly grateful to him for it. But His Excellency knows as well as we do that the effect of his action has not been as marked or as wholesome as it might have been, because it has come in driblets and has partaken so much of the character of the weighing of pros and cons, of the points that might be pressed for the prisoners and the points that might be urged against them. That is not the way of magnanimity. Its essential characteristic is that it makes no distinctions and knows no artificial limits to its operation. We do hope Sir Edward Maclagan, who has given such a signal proof of courageous statesmanship by appointing as one of his first ministers a great leader of the people, who was only a year and a half ago officially maligned as the brain of a conspiracy against the King, will be equally courageous and equally statesmanlike in his treatment of humbler persons"

The Sikh Liberal Party.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

10. "FRANKHEART" writes to the *Sikh* of the 2nd January :—"Let it be said to the credit of the Sikh parliamentary party that they have not allowed the grass to grow under their feet. By at once taking up the cudgels on behalf of their very much ill-used community they have demonstrated beyond doubt that Sikh hearts are beating in their breasts, and we may place entire confidence in their good intentions. The report of the Sikh Liberal Party's first meeting is replete with great possibilities for the good of the community. Let us hope that the Party will show as much perseverence in carrying out its programme as it has shown alacrity in sketching it."

Repressive laws.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

11. The *Vakil* of the 2nd January states that according to the *Daily Mail* of London, the Duke of Connaught will announce the repeal of the Rowlatt Act in the course of his visit to India. Commenting, the paper says that the suitable time for the repeal of the Act was when the fire of agitation against this law was ablaze in the country. The only thing which can now prove efficacious is that the latest grievances of Indians should be redressed and that all the laws framed to impose restrictions on the freedom of speech and writing should be repealed. The repeal only of the Rowlatt Act will be of absolutely no avail.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

"Repression in the Punjab."

TRIBUNE (Lahore) K. N. Roy, editor.

12. **DEVI DYAL KHANNA**, a Vakil at Kasur, writes to the *Tribune* of the 8th January :—"Those who believed that Sir Edward Maclagan's sympathetic adminis-

tration would prove a soothing balm to the cruelly lacerated hearts of the Punjabis are beginning to realise that policy and system of rule are all in all, and personalities nothing or not much. During the last several weeks a policy of ruthless repression has been pushed on rapidly and while, on the one hand, sections 124-A. and 153-A of the I. P. Code have deprived several Punjabis of light and leading of their liberty, on the other hand, the people's most elementary rights of free citizenship have been taken away on the very eve of the introduction and working of the so-called reformed Legislative Councils. Look at the Seditious Meetings Act, which is being gradually extended to more and more districts of the province and is snatching away the people's rights of free association and speech. Look, again, at the arbitrary orders of the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, disbanding various national volunteer corps. Then again the Defence of India Act and the Press Act, too, are being utilised pretty freely. In view of all this, ... bold will be the man who can say that much reliance can be placed upon the personnel in the administration for the protection of our rights, and that the whole machinery of Government does not require modification, overhauling and change, and the citadel of despotism does not stand in need of being completely pulverised, and to be substituted by a system of government boardbased upon the will of the people and fully responsible to them. Passing in review our bitterly painful experience of the past, can we deny for one minute the stern reality that there has never been much to choose between Liberal and Conservative Parliaments, between Lords and Commons, between this or that Secretary of State, Viceroy, provincial strap, minister, this or that, down to the District and Sub-Divisional stiff-necked huzoors, who have incessantly been working a policy with the one object of guiding the people into abject submission and keeping them in leading strings. To my mind Indians should strictly follow the advice of their great and saintly leader Mahatama Gandhi and of such sincere friends as Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor, who are repeatedly and emphatically warning them entirely to depend upon themselves in evolving their destiny as a free nation, which can only be done, as Pandit Malaviya has recently more than once emphasized, by carrying the gospel of the utter need of working in uniformity and unison for all classes and creeds of Indians. God willing, Indians will thus be able at no distant date to walk in the wide world with heads erect and in no fear of O'Dwyers and Dyers to humiliate and dishonour them with impunity."

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haidar Khan, editor.

Sale of liqour in India.

13. The *Sadaqat* of the 27th December 1920 states that it was remarked by Mr Harcourt, Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, in the course of a speech at a temperance meeting that some people were labouring under the wrong impression that Government wanted the public to consume liquor in increasing quantities. Commenting, the paper says that India can undoubtedly produce no documentary evidence to prove that Government wishes to convert a large number of them into drunkards. But can Mr. Harcourt deny that the Government of India is averse to stopping the liquour trade, simply because it will thereby lose one of its sources of income? Mr. Harcourt can stop public meetings in his district, issue arrest warrants against political lecturers, gag enthusiastic advocates of *swaraj* and non-coöperation, and do every other similar thing; but he cannot stop the sale of English liquor, because it comes from England.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The *Tribune* case.

14. The *Tribune* of the 6th January publishes a report in which it is stated that Sir Erle Richards informed the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that the fine imposed on K. N. Roy had been refunded. Commenting the paper writes:—"Assuming that this report . . . . is substantially correct, and we have no reason to think otherwise, it would be interesting to know when precisely the fine was refunded and to whom. Neither the editor of the *Tribune*, on whose behalf the fine was paid, nor his counsel, through whom it was paid, nor finally the trustees of the *Tribune*, who did pay the fine, know anything about the matter. And yet the respondent's counsel gravely assured the court with all the weight of authority belonging to his eminent position that not only had orders been issued for the refund of the fine but it had actually been refunded. Will some one who is in the know explain this curious phenomenon?"

The Delhi burial case.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

15. (*a*) Writing about the Delhi burial case, the *Siyasat* of the 30th December 1920 says that to allow or refuse burial to a dead body in their graveyards is a purely religious affair of the Muhammadans. Why should Government, asks the paper, interfere in it, in spite of its promise to Indians never to interfere in their religious matters? Again, in the present case, it is doing so quite against the wishes of the relations of the deceased. The Muhammadans should start a strong agitation to safeguard their religious rights and bring moral pressure to bear upon Government to abstain from interfering in their religious matters.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The weekly *Zamindar* of the 24th December 1920 states that some time back a wounded sepoy returned from Basra and died at Bombay. The Muhammadans refused him funeral rites on the ground that he had gone to fight in Muslim countries. Again, they refused to take part in the funeral of another man, who also died at Bombay, owing to his having never said prayers. The matter is purely a religious one and interference in such matters is opposed to Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858 and the declared policy of the British Government.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Christian missionaries and untouchables in the United Provinces.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

16. The *Arya Gazette* of the 23rd December 1920 states that the Government [of the United Provinces] has made over the Doms of the Gorakhpur district to the Salvation Army. These people have been baptised with the aid of flogging and their pigtails have been cut off. The children are not allowed to live with the parents and will, on attaining youth, grow into staunch Christians. The British Government is dealing blows to the Hindu religion by heartlessly and carelessly trampling on its old promises [of non-interference in religious matters]. There would have been nothing objectionable in Government taking steps to educate these children and promote their advancement while keeping them within the pale of Hinduism. As it is, Nats, Kanjars, Sasias, Haores, Bahrias, and Bhatus, who number nearly nine lakh, are being made over to Christian missionaries. It behoves Government to give to the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha the money it is giving to Christian missionaries for educating these criminal tribes and to promote their welfare through the Arya Samajists. The measures which are being adopted at present are highly injurious for the Hindu community. Can the Salvation Army alone promote works of public utility and educational progress? The Sanatan Dharm associations should wake now and muster courage enough to ask Government why it is spending their money to spoil their religion. The Arya Samajes also should awake and see that Christian wolves do not swallow up the Hindus easily and with impunity. All should insist that their money should not be so openly and heartlessly used to bring about their ruin. Can Government say that it has ever asked any section of the Hindus to reform the untouchables referred to, and that it was on their refusal to undertake the task that it rendered generous pecuniary help to Christians?

V.—EDUCATION.

Muslim national schools.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Mjaid Khan, editor.

17. The weekly *Zamindar* of the 24th December 1920 suggests the establishment of Muslim national schools, and says that the decline of Islam and the misfortunes of the Muhammadan are to a great extent connected with western civilization. Official universities in India, it adds, form a potent factor in preventing the Muhammadans to attend to their faith and religion. It now behoves them to abandon all idea of taking up service in Government offices, not because the *ulema* have adopted a resolution on non-coöperation, but because service is no honourable profession and no people can pass a happy life in it.

A national university for the Punjab.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

18. The *Siyasat* of the 26th December 1920 urges the establishment of a national university in this province and appeals to the Punjab leaders to strive hard to make the idea an accomplished fact.

Native States.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

19. The *Siyasat* of the 3rd January writes that although the Khilafat movement is in full swing in British India, the Nizam of Hyderabad has, in spite of his being a

Muhammadan, rigorously prohibited his subjects from taking any part in it. After remarking that the Begum of Bhopal has done the same thing, the paper says that when things have come to such a pass that two leading Muslim States let their subjects take no part in an important religious matter, the less said about other Native States the better. The States have now exceeded all bounds in the matter of hypocrisy and sycophancy, and no Indian can help viewing them with abhorrence. It is not known what has come over their Chiefs. They live upon the grain and water of India, breathe in Indian atmosphere, and eat India's salt. Why then do they not, on finding their country and religion in danger, side with Indians? If they have no courage to do so, why are they thus disgracefully prohibiting their poor and helpless subjects from taking part in national and religious movements?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Duke of Connaught's visit.

20. (*a*) Referring to S. R. Bomanji's resolution at the Nagpur Congress asking the people to take no part in festivites in connection with the Duke of Connaught's visit to India, the *Bande Mataram* of the 4th January expresses the hope that Indians will fully act up to the resolution and thereby show to the world that they regard it a disgrace to extend their approval to the new reforms, and that they do not look upon the reformed Councils as being worthy the nam or the members thereof as their representatives.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 5th January writes that the Punjab and Khilafat questions have deeply wounded the hearts of Indians, and the wounds shoulde be displayed to, and not concealed from, those who can heal them. The Duke of Connaught is certainly bringing some message from His Majesty the King-Emperor for the people of this country. The last-named should clearly say to His Royal Highness that they have no confidence in the Government of India, the British Ministers and Parliament, the Privy Council, etc., and are not prepared to coöperate with them unless amends are made for the rigours and tyrannies practised on Indians. Continuing, the paper says that non-coöperation is the best means [to have these wrongs righted], and Indians should take no part in the official ceremonies observed on the Duke's arrival.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

New Year's honours.

21. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd January writes:—"At a time when the bulk of the educated community is definitely in favour of the renunciation of titles and honours, an honours list, whether associated with the New Year or the Birth Day, falls more than unusually flat. . . . . Our distinguished countryman, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea . . . gets a Knighthood, an honour which the Government, if it really valued independence and public service, would have conferred on him fifteen years ago, when he was at the height of his popularity and his influence, but which they have, as a matter of fact, conferred on him at a time when it will only accentuate the misunderstanding, we might almost say, the breach between him and the majority of the great party of which only recently he was one of the few uncrowned kings."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 2nd January writes:—"The Sikh list is rendered by far the most interesting by Sir Bawa Gurbakhsh Singh and *ex*-Sarbarah S. Arur Singh becoming Raja and K.C.I.E., respectively. Government honours those whom people condemn. . . . Poor Surendranath Banerjea, some time back the uncrowned king of Bengal, is a gallant knight now that he has passed the biblical age of three scores and ten. But this will only help him to die 'unhonoured, unwept and unsung.'"

AKALI (Lahore); Partab Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 3rd January publishes the names of the Sikh gentlemen honoured, and says that the Sikh community now regards a title as a mark of disgrace. It then expresses the hope that the gentlemen referred to will return their title badges by the first mail.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 5th January says that the list gives one an idea of Government's point of view. There are very few instances in which Government has conferred a title on a person when he was at the zenith of popularity. On the other hand, there are several instances in which it has honoured a person only when he fell in the estimation of the public. The case of Babu Surendranath Banerjea is an instance in point. Government conferred no title upon him when he was extremely popular with the people. It has, however, bestowed one on him when this can only add to his unpopularity. In the Punjab, Sardar Arur Singh, C.I.E., has been knighted. It need not be said how unpoplar he is with his co-religionists. Government takes pleasure in honouring people who have fallen in popular estimation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. J. P. Thompson.

22. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 5th January :—" It is stated that Mr. J. P. Thompson has relinquished the office of Chief Secretary and has proceeded or is about to proceed to Delhi to take over the office of President of a committee which has just been appointed by the Government of India to report on certain matters regarding the administration of the railway police in India. It may be merely an accident that Mr. Thompson's relinquishment of the office of Chief Secretary synchronises with the inauguration of the new era and the taking over of their portfolios by the new ministers, but there can be no two opinions that it removes an initial and, in our opinion, a not inconsiderable obstacle in the way of the successful working of the reforms in this province. We do hope that whatever other office may eventually be found for Mr. Thompson, he will never again return to the Chief Secretaryship or, indeed, to any other office connected with the reformed Government, unless and until he has been able to completely divest himself of the O'Dwyerian traditions."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AL-MUNIR (Jhang); Ghulam Husain, editor.

Turkey.

1. (*a*) *Al-Munir* of the 8th January states that a proposal was recently put forward in the Commons for the restoration of Smyrna to Turkey, but that Mr. Lloyd George declined to open negotiations on the subject with the Angora Government. After remarking that the arguments advanced by him are a combination of obstinacy and injustice, the paper says that as regards Thrace, the Premier observed that its restoration would mean handing over the local Christians, who formed the bulk of its population, to the Turks. This amounts to an admission of the fact that the reason why Thrace cannot be restored to Turkey consists in the majority of its inhabitants being Christians. The allied statesmen, including the prime minister of England, have declared several times, however, that the war against Turkey was not a religious one. But the excuse put forward against the restoration of Thrace to the Turks shows that the war was of a religious character. Similarly, a lame excuse has been advanced by Mr. Lloyd George against the rendition of Smyrna. He says that it cannot be handed back to Kamal Pasha in return for the establishment of peace in Anatolia, and that, in the other event, "we" shall incur the displeasure of Greece. This shows that he cares more for offence to the Greeks than for justice, and that the allied statesmen have been bereft of all sense of justice. Were the hand of friendship extended to Turkey the event would not only benefit the Turks, but would also remove the feelings of anger which the Muhammadans of the world now entertain against Great Britain and her allies.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the appeal of Lord Lamington and others to the League of Nations to revise the Turkish peace treaty, the *Vakil* of the 12th January says that similar memorials have been sent to that body in the past also, but that the British premier continues of opinion that the treaty cannot be amended, while he is doing his utmost to get his dangerous policy acted upon. By thus ignoring the opinion of the world and the dictates of civilization and morality, Mr. Lloyd George is not only undermining the foundations of the British Empire, but is also still further disturbing the peace of the world.

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BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Egyptian independence.

2. The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th January writes that a wave of non-coöperation is passing over the whole of the Briitsh Empire. India has not accepted the toy of reforms, and has openly refused to send her representatives to the new Councils. Accordingly, these bodies contain no representative of the Indian public. A Bill giving Home Rule to Ireland also has been passed by Parliament, but the Irish, too, are unwilling to help in making the law a success. The reason for this is that Great Britain is averse to giving anything [substantial] to any nation under her. She merely wishes to silence it for some time by practising "diplomatic" deception on it. Continuing, the paper says that the promises made to Zaghlul Pasha by Lord Milner regarding Egyptian independence were very fascinating, and that when they appeared in the press, surprise began to be expressed on all sides as to what had come over England that she was, contrary to her nature, granting independence to a nation under her. This spell of surprise did not, however, last long; for when Britain published the details of the promises they proved to be only so much moonshine There is, therefore, nothing surprising in Zaghlul Pasha having rejected the proposed conditions and having announced that they are unacceptable to the people of Egypt. Lord Milner and his coadjutors have signed the draft [agreement], and it will now be laid before the Egyptian Legislative Council. But all the members of the Council put together are as nothing in comparison with Zaghlul Pasha, and if they accept the conditions referred to, their decision will only be that of the British Government announced by the Council under compulsion.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance.

3. The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th January states that the question of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance is to be discussed at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. It is an admitted fact that the alliance enables Great Britain to have her own way in Asia in several matters. It is apprehended, however, that a renewal of it will not only offend Australia, but will also lead to an alliance between China and America, who regard the Anglo-Japanese entente with suspicion. But if the alliance is abandoned out of regard for them, another difficulty will confront England, *viz.*, Japan will then have no hesitation in joining hands with the Bolsheviks, seeing that she must safeguard her rights in China. This would be highly injurious for the interests of Great Britain in Asia. In short, she is on the horns of a dilemma and does not know what to do. This is the result of her desire to form alliances with the neighbouring powers in order to keep India in the chains of slavery for ever.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Ireland.

4. The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th January writes that the British Government takes no practical step to restore peace in Ireland, although it claims to be desirous of doing so. The latest reports say that Mr. DeValera has issued a manifesto to the effect that it will be possible to talk of peace only when the representatives of the English nation are prepared to meet those of the Irish on terms of equality. The condition laid down by him is very reasonable and will be supported by every reasonable person. It would appear, however, that Britain, who claims to have established the principles of democracy, equality and equity in her colonies, is not prepared to allow the Irish, like Indians, a status of equality. The reports received up till yesterday stated that the British Government was prepared to open negotiations with DeValera direct. But with the announcement of his first condition regarding a discussion about the restoration of peace in Ireland has come the report that imperial troops are making a strenuous search to arrest him. Another report states that in the opinion of Government there are signs to show that even if the Sinn-Feinners hold themselves aloof a Parliament will be established in south Ireland in the next cold weather. Apparently Government wants to deceive the world by forming an Irish Parliament with men like those that have been returned to the new Councils in India. British statesmen should know, however, that they cannot keep the world in the dark for a long time, and that such moves cannot help in the restoration of peace in Ireland.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians in Nairobi and Kenya.

5. One ABDUL RAHMAN writes to the *Tribune* of the 9th January:—"By adopting a segregation policy the local Government has made clear its inten-

tion of depriving the Indians of their rights as human beings (leave aside the rights of being British subjects) and degrading them to a very inferior status, which a community, even with the slightest touch of modern civilisation, would not tolerate.... The proportion of the European population to that of Indians is one to four. Having such a vast, majority, paying the heavy municipal taxes, the Indians have been asked to elect only three members for the Municipal Corporation, while the Europeans being in such a minority can elect as many as they think proper, in addition to the nominated members, who constitute the worst possible anti-Indian element. The interests of the Indian community being not safeguarded and looked after, the Corporation spends its time in arranging how well to distribute its funds for European areas, sacrificing the Indian-paid money for the sake of a few Europeans. Worse still is the case of the Legislative Council, on which only two seats have been allotted to Indians..... On railways also the segregation policy is applied..... The apparent intention of the authorities to degrade the Indians to an inferior status is made clear by the fact that the Africans are not segregated from Indians as far as railway travelling is concerned." Continuing the writer says:—" Colour and racial prejudice prevail in every corner of the colony of Kenya. An Indian cannot bid at a sale of lands situate in the highlands, because the same have been strictly reserved for the whites, [the authorities] declaring that the whites cannot live and labour under the same conditions as Indians..., .. Lowlands near the coast .... with their swamp, etc., are offered to Indians, and it is definitely announced that they are kept for Indians only. Alas, they have almost forgotten that the present stage of prosperity, in which the colony of Kenya finds itself now, is due mainly to Indians and Indian capital only."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Viceroy-designate.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. (*a*) Writing about the appointment of Lord Reading to succeed Lord Chelmsford, the *Tribune* of the 12th January says:—" Lord Reading is undoubtely a brilliant man, and he has held some very high offices..... He is also reputed to be a strong man and a man of liberal views and sympathies..... But when all this has been said, the fact remains that so far as Indian politics are concerned, Lord Reading is no better than a dark horse. Not only this. He is not known at any time in his life to have expressed active sympathy with a people fighting for freedom as India is fighting to-day. Mere liberality of sentiment or the fact that a man is a strong Liberal in British politics, which are so wholly unlike ours, means nothing, for the simple reason that experience has shown again and again that neither is in any way inconsistent with hide-bound conservatism in Indian politics. In the present case we can well believe that Lord Reading is a believer in the reforms: otherwise he would not have been selected or approved by Mr. Montagu. But this in itself is a small thing at best. .... In any case the situation that has arisen in India requires for its successful handling qualities of statesmanship of which faith in the reforms is but a small part and by no means the most important part. We cannot, indeed, think of any man being able materially to help in the solution of the present Indian problem who does not combine in the fullest measure the four cardinal qualities of a burning love of freedom, both in one's own case and in that of others, a truely sympathetic imagination, a dauntless courage which would do the right in absolute disregard of personal consequences, and a strong sense of justice not only as between man and man but as between nation and nation. We do not know that Lord Reading has had any opportunity of exhibiting any of these qualities in a marked degree..... There is only this to be said for Lord Reading, and it is no small thing, that is we know little that is definitely for him, as far as the present appointment goes, unless it be his general equipment, we know nothing against him, except, of course, his connection with the Marconi incident of 1913, and that in itself can be no decisive factor in our judgment in this case."

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 13th January says that it is the first time that the reins of the Indian administration are going to be wielded by a Jewish Viceroy. The paper hopes that just as Lord Reading's appointment is an unprecedented one, his policy will open in the Indian history a chapter for more splendid than the events of the times of former Viceroys.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th January states that according to the *Morning Post*, the selection of Lord Reading will be unpalatable to the Muhammadans from the religious point of view. If, however, the appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretay of State was not disliked by them on the score of his being a Jew, that of Lord Reading also cannot displease them on the ground of his religious convictions. Of course if his Lordship adopts an unsympathetic attitude towards the feelings of the Muhammadans or other Indians, our Muslim brothers would not feel satisfied even if he were a *ji-huzur* Muhammadan, not to speak of his being a Jew. The paper then goes on to say that the opposition offered to his appointment by the autocratic newspapers of England as well as the Anglo-Indian press creates the hope that Lord Reading's attitude towards Indians will not be very unsympathetic.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(d) The *Vakil* of the 13th January writes that Lord Reading possesses no special qualifications in view of which the rule of India has been entrusted to him. The chief reason for his appointment seems to be that no one else has agreed to place this "crown of thorns" on his head. His Lordship is undoubtedly a very able lawyer, but experience alone will show what administrative capacity is possessed by him.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(e) The *Partap* of the 13th January remarks that the conditions under which Lord Reading is coming out to govern India are such that it cannot be said whether his tenure of office will prove a success or otherwise. Thanks to the policy pursued by Lord Chelmsford and certain other officers, as also to the Khilafat and Punjab questions, things in this province have already come to a very deplorable pass. Besides, a national awakening is taking place in the country with surprising rapidity, while the most important national society in the land has finally decided to practise non-coöperation with Government. It has also been declared in clear language that the movement will stop only when *swaraj* has been obtained. This shows that his exalted office will not prove a bed of roses for the Viceroy-designate. Continuing the paper says that so long as the present system of administration exists even the most good-natured and statesmanlike Viceroy can do nothing for Indians. The latter can, therefore, neither feel pleased at the arrival of one Viceroy nor grieve over the departure of another. They do not, indeed, desire now that such and such person should be appointed as Viceroy. They wish to secure the right of making such appointments themselves. The appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy can, neither please nor grieve them His policy will, however, make it clear whether he should be bracketed with Lord Hardinge, Lord Curzon or Lord Chelmsford. Certain English newspapers have objected to his appointment, saying that his Jewish descent will make him unacceptable to the Indian Muhammadans. The fact is that these journals are themselves opposed to his Lordship's selection on the score of his being a Jew. The Muhammadans and other Indians do not dislike any one simply because of his religious convictions. They judge officers by their views, and the same test will be applied in the case of Lord Reading also.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The reforms.

7. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th January says that Indians have been getting reforms after reforms since the commencement of the present century. Let us consider for a while, however, how far the policy of benefiting oneself at the expense of others has been, or is expected to be, modified. If the poverty and starvation obtaining in India had appeared in any other country its Government would never have hesitated to curtail the cost of the administration. It would have made full use of local men and articles and tried to utilise the savings for supplying bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, education for the illiterate and medicine for the sick. It would also have tried to provide the people with healthy surroundings. Indians naturally expect such things from the reforms that have just been introduced in the administration of their country. Let us see whether their expectations will be realised. As it is, they are likely to be burdened with still further expenses. Only a few years back Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam were administered by a Lieutenant-Governor and three secretaries. The first result of the reforms was that the Lieutenant-Governor's place was taken by a more highly paid Governor, three [Executive] Councillers were entertained on a salary each of Rs. 64,000 a year, and an extra secretary on Rs. 32,000 per annum was employed to keep an eye on "the daily-expanding *swaraj* (self-government)

department." But what did the poor starving tax-payer get in return for this additional burden? The question had better be left unanswered: everyone is aware of the present condition of India as compared with the state of things ten or twelve years back. The paper then goes on to say that the Seditious Meeting Act is in force in three districts of the Punjab, and the local Government can extend it any time to several more districts named by the Government of India. This means that in seven or eight big districts of this province the servants of the public have been deprived of their liberty of speech. Again, several men devoted to the country and the nation have been so muzzled that they cannot point out to their misled fellow-countrymen the path to national and political freedom even outside the proclaimed districts. As to the newspapers, they are being dealt with after O'Dwyerian fashion even in the Maclagan regimé. Their old securities are being confiscated and new ones are being demanded from them. Several editors and servants of the nation have been sent to jail, while several are still rotting in the lock-up. These are the prominent signs that herald the advent of "the auspicious new era" in the Punjab. It is because of this auspicious era that our Lieutenant-Governor has been made a Governor and has also received a so-called Executive Council. Sir John Maynard, formerly Financial Commissioner, and Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, the well-known worshipper of officialdom, have been appointed members of this Council. The latter has been given a post on Rs. 64,000 a year as a reward apparently for his honorary services in the past. Besides, two other posts, which will carry the same salary, have been conferred on two old and well-known Congressmen, namely, Lala Harkishan Lal and Mian Fazl-i-Husain, by way of reward probably for their opposition to the non-coöperation movement. We wonder, however, what these poor men will be able to accomplish against a Council of sycophants and the strong bureaucracy of the O'Dwyerian regimé, before which even an independent-minded and sympathetic Governor like Sir Edward Maclagan appears to be helpless. We think, therefore, that the sacrifice which both have made in taking up their offices will, under the existing adverse circumstances, bear no fruit, and all their efforts and energies will go in vain.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Writing under the heading "Our New Governments," the *Tribune* of the 9th January says:—"In the Government of India, the character of which remains substantially unaltered, we have now three members where a few months ago we had but one, and both the new members are tried men, men distinguished for their ability, patriotism, and independence as well as for the general soundness of their political views. There is now no question of the Indian point of view not being properly represented, though the representation will obviously be still inadequate and ineffective." As to the Presidency Governments, the paper writes:—"Instead of four persons who have hitherto conducted the administration of each of [the Presidencies] we are now to have eight, an exact duplication of expenditure..... As regards the personnel of the new Councils, it so happens that in each there is at least one capable Indian whose appointment would have given complete satisfaction to the country two years ago and will give satisfaction even now to all who are not committed to a policy of extreme non-coöperation........ One cannot unfortunately say the same thing of the first batch of ministers in the Presidencies........ Of the five other provinces, the United Provinces alone are fortunate in having both an Executive Council and a ministry of the right order .... The Punjab, though very fortunate in its ministry, both ministers being men whose appointment would under different circumstances have been acclaimed by the province with unanimity and enthusiasm, is unfortunate in its Executive Councillor. One can only hope that Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia will yet turn over a new leaf. It ought to be the easier for him to do so, because no other member of the Government has the reputation of being a reactionary..... Unhappily by the virtual boycott of the Council by the nationalist party, every one of the Legislative Councils in the country, whether central or provincial, is without the dynamic element on which alone we could have relied confidently for effecting the speediest transformation of the present form and system of government .... [The Councillors] are there to devise means and adopt methods by which that machinery may *soonest* give place to a machinery entirely controlled by the people and entirely amenable to their will. That is not merely the demand of the nation, which ought to be decisive with them, but also the decree of their Sovereign and of the British Parliament itself. From the first, therefore, they must set up a standard of conduct for themselves wholly in harmony with this ideal. They must strenuously oppose every measure which they consider to be opposed to freedom or inconsistent with national progress on sound lines, and must force their ministers and also the Government generally to adopt a policy by which the present conditions in the country may be rapidly transformed and the government itself completely democratised. . . . . In the Punjab, for instance, one of the first things to which the legislature should put its hand is to obtain the cancellation of the proclamations under the Seditious Meetings Act, the suspension of the operation of the Press Act, and the release of the remaining political prisoners generally and the martial law prisoners in particular. Interpellations and resolutions as well as individual and collective pressure in recognised constitutional ways are weapons which ought to be fully utilised for these and other like purposes. Similarly, as regards local self-government, education and sanitation, all of which are transferred subjects, they ought from the very beginning to assume the position of supreme masters. "

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) The *Tribune* of the 11th January quotes a passage from the speech made by Sir Edward Maclagan in opening the Legislative Council, in the course of which His Excellency remarked : 'We have every right to look on this Council as representing in as complete a manner as is possible the various interests, communities and types of thought that prevail among the people of this province.' Commenting, the paper says :—" However flattering this statement may be to the new members of the Council and to those who have sent them there, His Excellency will permit us to point out that it leaves a very great deal to be desired both on the score of correctness and of justice. To begin with, His Excellency has before him the actual figures both as regards the number of persons who participated in the elections and as regards the proportion they bear to the total number of voters, and he must be either too easily satisfied or must have a very poor idea of the public spirit of the classes who have been enfranchised by the Government of India Act if he imagines that this small number and this small percentage are all that would have participated in the elections even if Mahatma Gandhi had not issued his injunction and the Congress had not passed its resolution to the contrary . . . Secondly, in a good many cases at least the results would have been materially different had it not been for the deliberate abstention of a large number of persons who would otherwise have participated in the elections. His Excellency does scant justice both to the abstaining candidates and to the province when he says that the number of men who in the absence of deliberate abstention would have been in the Councils is 'exceedingly small.' Undoubtedly the residential clause and other similar absurdities had narrowed down the limits for the election of men of the proper stamp, but in spite of this it is easy to name several persons, confining ourselves only to the urban areas, for whom election to the Council would have been a simple walk over, and a much larger number whose election was all but certain. Thirdly and lastly, Sir Edward Maclagan puts forward an impossible claim on behalf of the new Council when he says that it represents in as complete a manner as is possible the various types of thought in the province. Does His Excellency consider that the type of thought associated with the Congress is a negligible thing in the Punjab or does he believe that that type is represented in the Council 'in as complete a manner as is possible' ? "

(d) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 13th January :—" Pandit Radhakanta Malaviya, son of our distinguished countryman, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has given notice of his intention of moving at the very first meeting of the reformed U. P. Legislative Council a resolution to the effect that 'the salary of the ministers should be fixed at not above Rs 3,000 per month.' For our part we do hope the resolution will either not be pressed to a division or will not be accepted. We do not for a moment mean that Rs. 3,000 is not just as good a salary as ministers can hope or ought to get in a poor country like India, but we are decidedly of opinion that for as long a time as it is not given to the Council, by its resolution or otherwise, to reduce the salary of members of the Executive Council, for so long a time the Councils should not interfere in any manner or degree with the salary of its ministers, except for the constitutional purpose of getting rid of an unpopular ministry. We are entirely opposed to a differentiation in this respect between the ministers and members of the Executive Council, because such differentiation will necessarily entail a differentiation in the matter of status and position, both in the eyes of the Civil Service and other cognate Services and of the public generally."

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(e) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 5th January congratulates Sir Edward Maclagan on his selection of Messrs. Harkisan Lal and Fazl-i-Husain as Ministers, and says that by making these appointments His Excellency has justified the hopes the people had from him. We feel confident that our other expectations also will be realised through His Excellency, and that he will prove an ideal Governor for our province. The appointments referred to are auspicious in every respect: a very unusual and blessed change has taken place in Government's point of view. The paper then praises Sir John Maynard for his sympathetic treatment of the people, and says that Sardar Sundar Singh's appointment to the Executive Council is also suitable.

Political prisoners.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

8. (a) The *Vakil* of the 8th January says that the introduction of the new system of administration had inspired in some minds the hope that political prisoners would not now remain in jail for a long time. The expectation has been fulfilled in Bengal, but other provincial Governments have not as yet announced their intentions in the matter. It would have been better if the royal prerogative of mercy had been exercised with the inauguration of the new era and all political prisoners and internees had been set free. It is not yet too late to do so and the Government of India can, if it so desires, display statesmenship even now.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

(b) The *Liberal* of the 10th January writes:—"The new era that has .... dawned has not, in spite of all its attractions, still caught the imagination of the people. For the successful working of the reforms, it is absolutely essential that the inauguration of the new Government should be marked with a full spirit of generosity that has furnished indications before. We gratefully acknowledge that some of the greatest sufferers in the last catastrophe have been compensated in one form or another. But what about the humble folk, who are nursing their lot in confinement in the Punjab jails. Is it desirable or advisable to keep the bitter memories of the past alive? The Government of Bengal has released all State prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818 in honour of the new era. Cannot our own Government, which has been fairly liberal in the selection of Ministers to the new Council, rise to the full height of the occasion, and set at liberty all those who, rightly or wrongly, are still rotting in jails. We assure the Government that the liberality shown in the above respect will go a long way in obliterating all feelings of bitterness from the minds of the people, and will strengthen the hands of those who in the face of heavy odds are determined to make the best use of the reforms. Sir Edward Maclagan can not do better than follow the example set by Lord Ronaldshay in this respect."

The Congress creed.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

9. (a) The *Shanti* of the 6th January says that the whole country supports Mr. Gandhi's resolution on the Congress creed. In the opinion of the British newspapers, however, the Congress has committed a seditious act by adopting the resolution. The new era in the life of the Congress has assuredly created a sensation in England. The paper also refers to the resolution on non-coöperation adopted at Nagpur, and says that it is couched in weightier words than the one passed at Calcutta. Government will now soon do what it intends doing, because the time for which it had been waiting has come. Let us see what now takes place in the country.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(b) Writing about the change in the Congress creed, the *Partap* of the 9th January refers to the speech made by Mr. Gandhi in moving the resolution on the subject and remarks that there have arisen people in India who openly avow that their loyalty to the British Government has been shaken, and that they will not remain in the Congress if it does not change its creed. Continuing, it says that no body need worry over the change that has been effected in the creed of the Congress. The Indian point of view has certainly changed, but the English themselves are responsible for this. The ideas of Mr. Gandhi, who advocated coöperation with the Government at the Amritsar Congress, have so changed in one short year that he is no longer prepared to do so. This is no ordinary change; but Government has so far done nothing to show that it wishes to prevent, by its treatment of the people, the change deepening. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the number of people, who do not care much for British connection, becomes pretty large.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

The Muslim League.

10. (*a*) The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 8th January says that the Muslim League's resolution advising the Amir to make no alliance with the British Government is very objectionable in two ways. If the Amir is hostile to the British Government it is not only objectionable but is also an offence to enter into negotiations with an enemy of the King-Emperor. If, however, he is a friend of the British Government it is equally an offence to try to persuade him to become an enemy of it.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 12th January says that one of the objects of the League consists in safeguarding the political, religious and other rights of the Muhammadans. Another of its objects is that the ties of brotherhood between the Indian Muslims and their co-religionists abroad should remain intact. The editor does not refer to these facts in order to prove that the unity between the Hindus and Muhammadans is only superficial. He wishes merely to show that in order to bring about a general awakening [in the country] both communities have still to travel a good deal further. Next he says that the members of the League do not view with approbation the establishment of friendly relations between Afghanistan and Great Britain. They are of opinion that Islam requires every Muhammadan to sever his connection with the British Government. The aims and objects of the League should receive a severe shock in case friendly relations are established between the Afghans and British. The Amir has not been told, adds the paper, that His Majesty will become an infidel in the latter eventuality. This verdict has been pronounced in regard only to those Indian Muslims who either coöperate with Government or do not adopt the non-coöperation programme. The Muslim League has displayed greater courage than the National Congress in treading the thorny path of non-coöperation. The current year will show how far it succeeds in persuading the Muhammadans to share its views. In the paper's opinion it is no easy task display perseverence in treading the path referred to. It is impossible for the common people to act like Mahatma Gandhi. It is, indeed, difficult for them even to become his followers.

TAHZIB-I-NISWAN (Lahore); Mumtaz Ali, editor.

Non-coöperation.

11. Writing on non-coöperation in the *Tahzib-i-Niswan* of the 1st January, SYED MUMTAZ ALI says that there are undoubtedly some advantages also in practising non-coöperation. These can, however, be gained only if the Hindus and Muhammadans follow the policy with one mind. If only one of the communities acts on it it will be courting certain ruin and will meet failure and disgrace alone.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

Repression.

12. The *Zamindar* of the 11th January states that the British public is being misled into the belief that India is on the verge of a revolt. Indian correspondents of British newspapers are busy creating in its mind the idea that great unrest and disorder prevails in this country. The press and statesmen of England have, therefore, openly declared that it has become necessary to follow a policy of repression to crush the activities of the promoters of the non-coöperation movement. It has also been asserted that if national movements in India are suppressed by force, English public opinion will support and back Government's repressive policy. Commenting, the *Zamindar* warns the leaders of these movements that the political horizon of India has become overcast, and that arrests might shortly be made with greater vigour than before. The only way to keep the movements for freedom alive consists in manfully facing this repression and peacefully filling the King's jails. Repression is undoubtedly likely to cause a temporary subsidence in the movements referred to, but the goddess of freedom will hasten to us if we successfully oppose it. We believe that official repression can accomplish in a few weeks what cannot be achieved by years of propaganda work. We must remember that if our goal is based on truth and righteousness, which it certainly is, no power on earth can crush our movements. On the other contrary, repression will lead us to victory in the end.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

Administration of cantonments.

13. (*a*) The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th January writes :—"The one idea uppermost in the minds of the civil residents of cantonments at the present hour is the shape and direction which the coming reforms in the cantonment administra-

tion will take.... True a circular letter on the question of the application of the elective principle to Cantonment Committee has been issued inviting public opinion, but the rest of the work of the reforms remains shrouded in mystery. Everybody is enquiring what is taking place behind the scenes Hope deferred maketh the heart sick and the words of promise uttered to the ear and broken to the heart are the very reverse of encouraging. What the public demands is that the authorities should put their cards on the table and that they should take the leaders of the public into confidence. The days of secret negotiations have been said to be over with the termination of the last war. But officialdom is a jealous custodian of its vested interests. Is it to be wondered at that the public is growing suspicious as to what surprise will be sprung upon them? We appeal to the authorities to take courage in both hands and invite the leaders of public opinion to a round-table conference....... It is high time that the Army Headquarters made a fuller declaration of the policy on the subject. We appeal to Lord Rawlinson to look personally into this highly important matter."

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

(b) Elsewhere the journal says:—"An important item in the programme of the All-India Cantonment Association is its plea that the Cantonment Magistrate should cease to exercise executive and judicial powers at the same time...... No programme of civic reform in Indian cantonments can be worth much which leaves the Cantonment Magistrate a veritable monarch of all he surveys, an unconstitutional and irresponsible ruler The whole administration of a cantonment takes its bias and direction from the character of the governance of the Cantonment Magistrate. What the civic population of Indian cantonments wants is that the administration should not be like a car rolling over their bodies, but that it should be humane and of responsible character, such as obtains in the self-governing parts of the British Empire."

The Amritsar indemnity.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy editor.

14. (a) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 11th January:—"The announcement made by Sir Edward Maclagan in his speech in the Punjab Legislative Council ... that he had left over for the consideration of the Council the question as to whether the application of the Amritsar municipality for being relieved of its undertaking in regard to what is known as the Amritsar indemnity should be entertained, might be looked at from more points of view than one. It might be regarded as a proof of His Excellency's desire that henceforth questions in which public sentiment is involved should be referred to the decision of the people's own representatives, or generally as a mark of confidence in the Council, and on either ground might be welcomed. On the other hand, it might be regarded as a proof of the anxiety of the Executive Government to shirk its own responsibility in this matter and, by throwing that responsibility on to the shoulders of the Council, to practically deduct Rs. 17,00,000 from the amount that would otherwise have been available to the ministers during the current year—and on this ground might be generally regretted. In our opinion the reference of the matter to the Council ought to have been accompanied by an assurance that the decision would not in any way individiously affect the funds available for transferred subjects. But the financial aspect of the question is not its most important aspect, and in any case the matter having been referred to the Council, the duty of the latter is perfectly clear. It should by an immediate, unanimous vote relieve the Amritsar municipality of its undertaking. The Council is in this matter on its trial not only before the Executive but also before the people. It is not altogether regrettable that thus early in their career our members are afforded an opportunity of demonstrating of what stuff they are made."

VAKIL (Amritsar) Abdulla Minai's, editor.

(b) The *Vakil* of the 11th January says that if His Excellency's decision means that in future such questions should be decided by the representatives of the people his intentions are deserving of praise. In case, however, he only wishes the Executive Government to shift its responsibility on to the shoulders of the Council the decision cannot be viewed with appreciation. The new ministers will be provided only with limited funds for the departments entrusted to them. It would be grossly unjust if the amount of a sum of 17 lakhs of rupees is deducted from the amounts budgetted for these departments. Proceeding, the paper says that the question is one of principle, and that from whomsoever the money is realised the Amritsar municipality should be relieved of the responsibility [of collecting it]. It is to be hoped that the new Council will not shirk its great responsibility on the present occasion. Its members should not forget that the people of Amritsar regard the imposition of the indemnity as wholly illegal and unjustifiable and, therefore, an insult to them. They are determined not to pay it, happen what may. The municipality also respects their wishes and is averse to recovering the money, while there has been put forward a proposal that even if any part of it is realised with the new terminal tax, it should not be paid to Government. In these circumstances, it is the duty of the Councillors to relieve the municipality of the responsibility thrown upon it and save the citizens of Amritsar from the payment of an unjustifiable indemnity. They are fortunate in having got an opportunity at the very outset to prove that they are true representatives of the people.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A railway complaint.

15. One BAKHSHI DALIP SINGH, writes to the *Tribune* of the 15th January :—"It is a matter of great regret that at an important junction [Mandra] like there is no waiting room for the 2nd and 1st class passengers. It is still more deplorable that 3rd class passengers are not provided with any shelter at all. The season here is most severe and dry. Influenza is practically in full swing at this station. The passengers have to hide themselves under wagons during the rains."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

SATYJUG (Lahore), Nidhan Singh, editor.

Government and interference in religious matters.

16. The *Satyjug* of the 5th January refers to the pledge in the royal proclamation of 1858 regarding Government not interfering in the people's religious matters and making no distinctions between whites and blacks. A Punjabi adage says, adds the paper, that it does not become a man to swallow the leek. Has not the good-natured mistress of the storehouse of generosity, the bureaucracy, licked the sputum spitted by its mother, Queen Victoria, in the shape of the above proclamation and pledge and can a man or woman swallowing the leek claim to be a civilised person? If any one asks us how Government is given to interfering in religious matters, we would enquire from him whether the demolition of the Cawnpore mosque and the wall of the Rikabganj *gurdwara*, the carrying off to London of the *chanani* [canopy] belonging to a *gurdwara* like the Golden Temple of Amritsar, the making of a series of improper and self-willed moves in the Temple through many a sycophant, the deportation for no reason of Sri Satguru Ram Singh, whom the Sikhs greatly honoured and who was an eminently religious man, the posting thereafter of the police to his residence and *gurdwara*, the prohibition to Satguru Hari Singh to attend *diwans*, the harassing of the Namdhari Sikhs visiting the *gurdwara* referred to and noting their names as if they were dacoits, the partitioning of Turkey and undertaking the management of the Muslim holy places in an improper manner and contrary to the Islamic principles, do not conclusively prove that Government is thoroughly given to wounding the feelings of Indians by improperly interfering in their religious affairs.

PARKASH (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Professor Rama Deva's criticism of Islam.

17. The *Parkash* of the 9th January says that Professor Rama Deva's criticism of Islam at the last anniversary celebrations of the Lahore Arya Samaj exasperated the political Muslim newspapers which are given to raise the cry of unity on all occasions. Inauspicious is the *swaraj*, it comments, which does not permit one freely to preach one's religion. Shall we be deprived of this freedom under our *swaraj*, although under British rule the followers of every religion are free to express their views? We cannot accept such a *swaraj*: the Arya Samaj will have no share in it. That body cannot tolerate that *swaraj* should mean Muslim rule and should prevent it from saying anything about Islam. The Aryas are prepared to coöperate with the Muhammadans in promoting the country's well-being, but they will not do so at the sacrifice of their conscience or religion.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Cow-sacrifice.

18. The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th January says that the most noteworthy resolution that has so far been laid before the Council of State is the one which

seeks to forbid cow-sacrifice by law, as far as possible. Very few of the cows killed in India are, however, sacrificed by the Muhammadans. The larger number of them are slaughtered in cantonments, etc. There is, besides, no need for the suggested law after the understanding which has been arrived at about sacrifice between the Hindus and Muhammadans through the National Congress and the Muslim League. If there should be a law for the protection of kine, it should stop the killing of the animals [for food], which is the chief cause of their destruction. It would not matter if the sacrifice of cows is exempted from its operation. The paper then goes on to say that the object with which the resolution referred to has been introduced in the Counil of State consist only in giving rise to an unpleasant discussion and injuring the Hindu-Moslem unity. It cannot congratulate the member who wishes to move it.

A Peshawar *gurdwara*.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

19. In a Supplement dated the 5th January the *Punjab Darpan* says that the Hindus and so-called Sikhs of Peshawar were in the habit of doing diverse objectionable things at the local *gurdwara* of Bhai Joga Singh. At last an Akali party took the management of the place in its own hands. Upon this the Hindus got the Deputy Commissioner to issue an order directing Bhai Teja Singh, head of the party, to leave Peshawar with his men within two hours. The order was wholly unjustifiable, seeing that the Bhai and his party did not go to Peshawar to preach politics Nor did they cause any agitation there against Government. They did a purely religious work and Government had no right to interfere in it. The order being illegal Bhai Teja Singh paid no heed to it. Bawa Harkishen Singh, Joint Secretary of the *Gurdwara* Parbandhak Committee, has drawn the attention of the Deputy Commissioner to this improper order. It is necessary, however, that Sikh associations should perform their duty in the matter.

The proposed mosque in Paris.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

20. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th January states that a mosque is about to be built in Paris also, because, like England, France, too, has a large number of Muslim subjects. While, however, the former's Muhammadan subjects cannot number less than ten crore, those of the latter do not exceed twenty million. Nevertheless, the French Government will spend five lakhs of francs on the mosque, collecting only one and a half lakh from the Muhammadans of Algiers, Morocco and Tunis. England should spend five times the amount on the mosque proposed to be erected in London: she has the largest number of Muslim subjects and is also the richest power in the world.

V.—EDUCATION.

The Punjab University.

LIBERAL (Lahore) Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

21. (*a*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 10th January :—" Is the Punjab University being administered on party lines ? This is the question that is gaining prominence day by day. We are told that whether it be the case of the appointment of examiners or of invitations to University functions, regard is had to the relationship that the individual concerned bears to the administrative authority. We have had no time to make inquiries into the first allegation, but we have received numerous complaints to the effect that the University of to-day is more a domestic affair than a public institution, and that invitations to the last Convocation were issued on that basis. We have known Mr. Datta. . . . . personally for years, and have learnt to associate non-partyism with his name. But we are afraid he cannot be free from responsibility for incriminating distinctions that seems to have been made in his office in issuing invitations to the public and the press on the occasion of the last Convocation."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) " PRO BONO PUBLICO " writes to the *Tribune* of the 14th January :—" The public is well aware that a number of chairs for University Professorships has been recently created in the University, some of which have been already filled, carrying salaries according to the whims of the Syndicate. The salary sanctioned for each post is understood to be above Rs. 1,000 per mensem. But what have the impartial Syndicate done ? Highly competent Indian scholars with distinctly high qualifications have been offered Rs. 600, while Europeans have been offered Rs. 1,200 for the same post. As a specific instance of their impartial act, we find that Dr. J. C. Ghosh of Calcutta was offered by the Punjab University to occupy the chair of Physical Chemistry on Rs. 500 a month. Of course, it is to the credit of Dr. Ghosh that he has given a flat refusal to the unjust offer. By this offer the Punjab University has aimed a blow at Indian honour and Indian merit. It is disgraceful on the part of the Syndicate to have ever even thought of offering less to an Indian scholar. Now look at the other side of the picture. It is rumoured that a European holding a simple B.A. degree is likely to get the above post on a salary of Rs. 1,500 per mensem. Really it is a matter of shame that the Syndicate should thus discriminate on racial grounds. I give below a comparative statement which will serve to make clear my meaning :—

	Rs.
Europeans.	
(i) Dr. Builenger, Zoology	1,200
(ii) Dr. Moiles, Economics	1,200
Indians.	
(i) Dr. Birbal Sahni, Botany	600
(ii) Dr. Rao, Mathematics	600
(iii) Dr. Lakshman Swarup, Sanskrit	600

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

A national university for the Punjab.

22. Adverting to the proposal to establish a national university at Rangoon, the *Bande Mataram* of the 7th January wishes that the people of the Punjab would follow suit. There is material here in a greater measure than in any other province for the establishment of a national university. The several colleges and hundreds of private schools which are run by different Hindu, Muslim and Sikh associations, should be utilised for founding a grand university. Should sectarian feelings render this impossible at present, every religious society has a sufficient number of schools and colleges to enable it easily to establish its own independent university. These universities could be united into a grand institution on the creation of a spirit of broad-mindedness and toleration in the people in a fair measure.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

The Gujranwala municipality.

23. The *Liberal* of the 19th January has the following :—"In electing Mr. Labh Singh, M.A., Barrister-at-law, as its president, the Gujranwala municipal committee has set an example which the rest of the Punjab might follow with advantage. Mr. Labh Singh is not only the fittest person to have been entrusted with the responsibilities of this high office, but he is also the first non-official president of an important municipality like that of Gujranwala. This is an event, therefore, on which the members of the Gujranwala municipality as well as Mr. Labh Singh deserve to be warmly congratulated."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Lahore municipality.

24. The *Desh* of the 14th January says that only Congressmen and sincere patriots should be returned to the Lahore municipal committee at the forthcoming election. It hopes, that no sycophant or flatterer of Government will be elected a municipal commissioner this year. Pressure should also be brought to bear on Government to discontinue to nominate any members. All the members of the municipal committee of the capital of the Punjab should be elected by the people and should be their representatives in the true sense of the term.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SADAQAT (Lahore); Ghulam Haider Khan, editor.

Native States.

25. (*a*) The *Sadaqat* of the 7th January says that the resolutions passed at the recent Native States' Conference show how degraded and wretched the condition of the Indians residing in these States is. With only a few exceptions, native chiefs are wholly indifferent to their duty towards their subjects. British subjects can raise their voice on the platform and in the press against the misdeeds of the authorities. The subjects of the States can, however, do nothing beyond putting up with their lot. To the best of our knowledge, there is no political society in any Native State to criticise the policy of the local officials in the way in which English officials are criticised. We cannot consider those

States to be civilised which have deprived their subjects of the freedom of speech and writing. Such despotism shows that Native States and their officials consider this liberty very harmful to their interests. Nearly one-third of the inhabitants of India reside in the States, but they are a nonentity so far as political activities are concerned. Can we ignore them and can India's programme for the attainment of self-government be complete without the coöperation of the population of Native States? Continuing, the paper writes that if Great Britain can interfere in the affairs of the whole world, have not British Indians the right to make practical suggestions for the welfare and betterment of their fellow-countrymen in Native States? The united Indian nationality and democracy demand that all Indians, whether in or outside British territory, should be regarded as members of the same family.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) One KRISHAN DEV, B.A., writing to the *Partap* of the 8th January says that the subjects of Native States have absolutely no voice in the administration of those territories. When India has obtained *sawaraj*, the present despotism of the States will be like a barren tract in a fertile land. They will have to introduce a change in their administration and walk shoulder to shoulder with British India The two are closely bound together: it is impossible that the people in British India should enjoy freedom and self-government, but that their neighbours in Native States should only view the spectacle in silence. The former can never tolerate that the despotic rule of the States should be a stumbling block in the way of the country's advancement. The question of improving the political condition of Native States is, therefore, very important and demands attention from both Government and the people. We admit that certain States have adopted measures which might well be copied by the British Government. We have also no hesitation in admitting that certain sensible Chiefs are trying to improve their government in order to better the lot of their subjects. But who can deny that present pace of political progress in Native States is very slow as compared with what obtains in British India. Look at the queer and despotic orders passed by the Patiala and Gwalior Durbars. Again, only recently the premier State externed a certain gentleman and prohibited Mr. Jinnah's entry into it. There are several other similar examples to show that the subjects of Native States fare worse than their brothers of British India. Government has neither the need nor the leisure to reform the States, nor can it bring pressure to bear upon their rulers in the matter. This being so, the pressure should come not from above but from below. Either Native Chiefs should feel the pulse of the times and keep pace with British India or their subjects should awake, so as to render it impossible for the former to continue their despotism.

The Duke of Connaught.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

26. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 14th January writes:—"In the course of his first speech in India His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught said:—'... If it were granted to me, by my presence again in your midst, to help, so far as in me lies, in the healing of old sores, in the removal of bitter memories, in the strengthening of old ties and in the renewal of a greater mutual confidence and good will, then I feel I should, indeed, be taking a part worthy of a son of Queen Victoria, my dear mother.' Here, in these words, we have a clear suggestion that His Royal Highness would be only too glad to act as an intermediary between the Government and the people, if that part were entrusted to him ... But the question is, who is to take the initial step? To our mind it can only be taken by Government, by which we mean the British Government, because they being the party in power can alone extend their hand without the risk of being misunderstood; and if only the hand is offered in the spirit of true sympathy and equal comradeship, need we say that it will be grasped in the same spirit by His Majesty's Indian people"?

(*b*) In its issue dated the 15th January the paper writes:—"India's relations with the Royal House of England have for over sixty years been marked by such cordiality, warmth and affection on both sides that the Duke of Connaught, who is on a visit to this country to inaugurate the new constitution in the name and on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, will have no difficulty in placing the responsibility on right shoulders, if the people of this ancient land will, for once, depart from their traditional ways and judge his utterances by a severely practical test. His Royal Highness himself referred in the very first speech he made in this country to the 'troubles and difficulties' through which we have been passing, and it is both fair and respectful to him to say to him in the plainest words one can find that the only test which the public in this country will apply to his utterances and his doings in India is, whether and how far they are calculated to heal the wound that has been inflicted on India's self respect and manhood during the last couple of years, whether they contain in them either a cure for the ills from which she has been suffering or an adequate and effective assurance that those ills shall never again recur. We know that the official mission which has brought His Royal Highness to this country has little or nothing to do with this aspect of the matter, at any rate directly. That is precisely why that mission has failed to evoke any enthusiasm even in moderate quarters, while the National Congress and allied bodies have actually decided not to participate in the functions connected with the visit.... If the Duke of Connaught's visit is to serve any real and abiding purpose, if it is not to pass off like a dream without leaving any mark behind, it must be associated with some such historic document, a document which, in the Duke's own word, may 'heal old sores,' 'remove bitter memories,' 'strengthen old ties' and 'renew mutual confidence and good will'." Continuing, the paper states that His Royal Highness said in the course of his first speech at Madras:—'Through the clouds a bright dawn of promise is breaking over the land, and if sanity and patriotism guide your leaders nothing can debar India from her high destiny. It is not through strife and bitterness, it is not by following paths which plainly lead to strife and bitterness, that India will maintain her course so gloriously begun. There are enough unhappy and incomprehensible tragedies taking place in the world to-day without our adding to them here.' Commenting, it says:—"That these words are well meant we have not the smallest doubt, and there is nothing in them which is not both unexceptionable and wholesome in itself. But in the context and having regard to the actual circumstances of the case, they are too plainly one-sided to serve the purpose for which they are intended. His Royal Highness ought to know, if he does not, that it is not the people of India but the Dyers and the O'Dwyers who are the original authors of the 'unhappy and incomprehensible tragedies' that have taken place in India so far, and that it is they and their supporters and not the leaders of the people who are responsible for the prevailing strife and bitterness in India.... If the Duke has something to communicate to the people on the vital general issue, the appropriate place for it would be Delhi and the appropriate time the opening of the Indian legislature.... If His Royal Highness *has* any communication of this kind to make, it is sincerely to be hoped that he will not neutralise its value in advance by one-sided appeals like the one to which we have referred. The King is above all parties, and the least that a representative of the King and especially one belonging to the Royal House and son of Queen Victoria can do is to hold the scales even between the only two parties in India—the people and the official class.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Food exports.

27. Commenting on the paper on Food Exports and Famines read by Dr. Gilbert Slater, Unversity Professor of Economics, Madras, at the Economic Conference recently held at Allahabad, the *Tribune* of the 13th January writes:—"Continued export of food from India would have the effect of keeping up the prices to the level of the purchasing power of more wealthy European importers and this would permanently prevent millions of Indians from having adequate food for themselves even in years of bumper harvest, while in years of famine or scarcity their condition would be far worse. We are sure if Dr. Slater and other economists consider this aspect of the question they will not advocate free export of food as a permanent policy. Their main objection to the permanent stoppage of export is that production would not only not increase, but would decrease. There is undoubtedly some force in this view, but it should be remembered that it is not every Indian cultivator who grows food in India that does so because he has the advantage of selling his surplus stock to the foreign exporter. This is certainly not the case. The great bulk of Indian cultivators are in a state of chronic indebetedness and they have to grow as much food as their land would produce in order to meet their obligations incurred beforehand. It is only the large zamindars and in particular parts of irrigated areas who have the advantage of high prices of free exports. They would certainly lose the gains of export trade, but not the normal profits of agriculture. So the fear of a serious reduction in the output of food growing areas in the event of prohibition of exports is not so real

as it is believed to be. It is necessary to increase production and to give every encouragement to cultivators to do so. We think it would be possible to do so by levying an export duty, so that adequate food stock may be reserved for the people at reasonable prices, and only the surplus sold out."

Honorific titles.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

28. Commenting on the New Year honours, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 7th January writes:—"Now has come a time when these honours are welcomed less as such than as marks of servitude and servility so far as they concern the leaders of men. At any rate, they have ceased to invoke that enthusiasm which they did not very long ago. And the reason for this cold shoulder is not far to seek. These honours go generally to those who dance attendance on officials and win their pleasure by hook or crook, and among them are those who enjoy no confidence of the public and on some of whom public looks with hatred and suspicion. Men who have rendered solid public services to the country, in a spirit of calm resignation in the inherent goodness of the service itself, have seldom come in for recognition."

House rent in the Punjab.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

29. (*a*) One B. R. DEWAN of Lahore writes to the *Tribune* of the 9th January:—"The question of procuring houses on rent in big towns and cities of the Punjab is becoming very serious indeed, and the relations between landlords and tenants already occupying rented premises are almost at the straining point. The house owners are raising the rents of their houses to any amount they like, taking advantage of the helplessness of the majority of the public having no houses of their own. It is a matter of daily occurrence to see tenants being served with notices either to vacate the house or agree to pay the rent demanded. The hardships upon the middle classes, who are the greatest sufferers, owing to unfair treatment of landlords moved the Governments of Bombay and Bengal to legislate in the matter. Accordingly, a House Rent Act was passed in those provinces. It is time that similar legislation were passed by the Government of the Punjab without delay to save the general public from the exactions of landlords."

A complaint.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

30. The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th January states that the clerks employed in the Military Accounts Office have recently been ordered to join regiments. They have also been required to give the following undertakings:—

1. That they will serve for at least six months.
2. That after the expiry of this period they will resign only after giving one month's notice.
3. That they will remain with their regiments both in and outside this country.

The editor feels constrained to protest against the third condition. The letters he has received from time to time from Mesopotamia show that good treatment is not accorded to Indians outside their country, and that many frivolous objections are raised before relieving them. It is strange that while influential societies in India are demanding that Indian troops should not be employed in making conquests for the Empire, Government should contemptuously disregard the demand and go on sending Indian soldiers out of the country. How long will it display indifference to popular feelings?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Ireland.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 17th January says that if even a hundredth part of the horrible acts of violence and murder which have of late been committed in Ireland were to take place in a state like Turkey the British sheep of Christ would become restless and proclaim with a flourish of trumpets that the Turks were unfit to rule. But since Great Britain is so strong that no one dare oppose her the British are at liberty to practise tyrannies a thousand times worse than the rigours of which a country like Turkey may be guilty. The campaign of murder and rapine started by the anarchists of Ireland is undoubtedly regrettable in the extreme. The ruin, however, which British soldiers are working in that country in the name of law and order is sufficient to move God. In her pride of her military strength England does not concede to her neighbour, Ireland, the right to secure which for Belgium she shed rivers of blood in all the four quarters of the globe for five long years. Mr. Lloyd George and those of his henchmen who are at the helm of Irish affairs assert that British soldiers have not been guilty of oppression or rigour in suppressing the anarchist campaign of murder and bloodshed. But even a cursory glance at Reuter's telegrams and the latest newspapers received from England makes it clear that the British military authorities are trampling upon the life and property of Irishmen in a most heartless manner.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan editor.

(*b*) The *Liberal* of the 17th January has the following in the course of its London letter:—"At present here in politics Ireland is the only question. Last two months have been bloody, Sinn-Feiners killing forces of the Crown by ambushing them in isolated places when they were out in lorries on patrol. And the forces of the Crown in retaliation resort to 'reprisals,' *i.e.*, commit wholesale murder and arson where their comrades have fallen. Innocent men are dragged out of their beds by the reprisal-mongers, who are called Black and Tans or Bashi-Bazouks, put against the wall and shot. Their houses are burnt down. If fire-brigades try to give help they are also fired at. There is an organised attempt (in which the British Government is alleged to have a hand) by the Irish executive to economically paralyse the country into submission. The Black and Tans particularly destroy by fire and by bombs big business concerns, creameries (where all milk products are made and these are generally co-operative in Ireland) and hay in the fields. A sinister move on the part of the Government is the closing of important railways to destroy economic life."

ITTIFAQ (Lahore) ; Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(c) The *Ittifaq* of the 17th January says that the Irish are determined to obtain their natural rights. On the other hand, Great Britain thinks it a foolish policy to release a prey. Thousands of lives have been lost in the struggle, and it has become difficult for the parties to know rest. The state of affairs has not improved, nevertheless. Indians also seek freedom and the fate that has befallen the Irish seekers after freedom is before them. They should also bear in mind that while they are blacks, the Irish are not only white-skinned but also brothers of the Britons. When Great Britain displays such miserliness in the case of Ireland, it is not easy to say what treatment she will accord to India. In the realisation of her desire for freedom, therefore, India should not count upon support from strangers.

II.– LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore) ; Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The Viceroy-designate.

2. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 13th January says that for some time past it has become usual for the British Cabinet to entrust the administration of India to men unknown to her children and ignorant of her affairs. Lord Reading seems to have absolutely no knowledge of the existing state of things in India, just as Lord Chelmsford knew nothing of Indian affairs before his appointment as Viceroy. Will his Viceroyalty prove the source of the same "blessings and advantages" which appear conspicuous in his predecessor's regimé ? After contending that these two Jews—Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu—are not likely to pull together, the paper writes that the former passed a very busy life in England and has never visited this country. It is said that Government's angle of vision in regard to Indian affairs has been changing ; but facts would show that the Cabinet takes special care to send out men to rule India who know nothing about her. How can a person, who is wholly ignorant of our feelings and sentiments and has never cared to read any Indian newspaper, rule over us [to our satisfaction] ? There is no hope of any good [befalling us] unless the present system of administration is changed and the appointment of the ruler of the land rests with the people. In conclusion, the paper states that, simultaneously with Lord Reading's appointment as Viceroy, the British newspapers have begun to make mis-statements about India and advise Government to resort to repression. This leads us to think that his Lordship is likely to take drastic steps to suppress national movements, seeing that he does not know the real facts and cannot but listen to, and believe, what the British press and bureaucratic officials may say.

SIYASAT (Lahore) ; Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 14th January says that the Indian Muhammadans have no reason to feel displeased at the appointment of Lord Reading to succeed Lord Chelmsford. The truth, however, is that neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans are pleased at it, seeing that he is as unknown to Indians as his predecessor was at the time of *his* appointment. It can never be acceptable to Indians that such persons should control the destinies of 32 crores of God's created beings. In our opinion the Viceroy-designate does not even know to what important office he has been appointed. Continuing, the paper says that he is said to be an independent-minded man, but that it remains to be seen whether his independence is, like that of other independent-minded Britons, confined to Great Britain alone. At any rate, India does not now care whether a Lord Reading or any other gentleman comes out as Viceroy. She knows full well that she has no longer any concern with Readings or Montagus, and that her future lies in her own hands. She has made up her mind to obtain *swaraj* by means of non-coöperation, and her resolve cannot be affected by the arrival of Viceroys.

SIKH (Lahore) ; Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Sikh* of the 16th January has the following :—"So the destinies of 33 crores of Indians will, for five long years to come, be guided by a lawyer, not a statesman, of Earl Reading's ripe age, erudition and experience. . . . Lord Reading's past life has been too busy in connection with offices of responsibility entrusted to him to have given him ever a time to study or even hear of the affairs of this continent of a country. It is therefore a great pity that our destinies should be placed in the hands of one who, however distinguished and great he otherwise may be, has never so far been connected with or interested in us. However, there is one reassuring feature, too. The success of Lord Reading's mission in the United States and his being one of the leading judicial heads in the United Kingdom, creates in us a strong hope that he will not allow himself to be guided by others, and will, on the other hand, judge everything himself. If he comes out with a sympathetic mind, with a determination to do what good he can to the wronged people of India, then we are confident he could abundantly justify the choice of His Majesty's Government made in his favour at such a critical juncture. . . . Being a lawyer and a judge he can see the impropriety of the restrictions placed on the public press and platform erroneously in the name of peace and order."

GULZAR-I-HIND, (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chishti, editor.

(*d*) The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 15th January says that the Muhammadans are thoroughly willing to accord a welcome to Lord Reading. Their only anxiety is lest a scion of a nation of usurers should become more popular with usurers [the Hindus] [than with the Muhammadans] and may perhaps take more kindly to them [than to the last named].

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 18th January writes :—"It was rather the office of the Lord Chief Justice than the individual" his Lordship is reported to have said [in his first public utterance after his appointment as Viceroy] 'that had been asked, at this solemn juncture in Indian history to be representative of justice in India.' So far as these words indicate a recognition on the part of the new Viceroy of the paramount importance of doing justice to India on behalf of the King and country whose representative he will be in this country for the next five years, they will be generally welcomed not only as embodying a noble sentiment, but as embodying precisely the sentiment which must be translated into practice if the Viceroyalty is to be worth anything. But when his lordship went on to express his hope that 'the people of India who were at the outset of a great progressive reform, would recognise, in the appointment of the representative of justice in England to take the supreme place as the King's representative, the desire, as a guiding factor in the destinies of India, as long as it was possible for human beings to hold the scales even,' he naturally raised a doubt in all rightly prepared minds as to whether he had anything like a real grasp of the problem he would have to deal with. . . . The problem in India is not one of holding the scales even between the two parties, but of taking every possible step towards the speediest relinquishment of its power and authority by one [the bureaucracy] and the speediest assumption of all power and authority by the other [the people]. Not that the question of holding the scales even does not arise at all. There are old sores to heal, outstanding differences to settle. It is here that it will be expected of the supreme representative of England in India to show whether he has left behind him in England the traditions and principles of British justice while relinquishing the office of Lord Chief Justice, or whether, as he himself believes, the Viceroyalty in his case is only a continuation of the Lord Chief Justiceship."

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Ittifaq* of the 19th January admits that in view of his talents, Lord Reading should really prove a unique personality. It would have been better, nevertheless, if some weight had been attached to the wishes of Indians in making a selection.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

The Duke of Connaught.

3. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 14th January says that the bureaucratic Government in India is spending millions of rupees from the public exchequer in providing comforts for, and arranging for a reception to, the Duke. Indians are not, however, prepared to welcome him and the National Congress has openly declared a boycott of all functions held in his honour. There could surely be no better instance of the high-handedness and despotism practised by the bureaucracy. Continuing, the paper says that the time of blind loyalty has now gone by. It is an ordinary trick on the part of the ministers and bureaucratic officials always to try to deceive the people in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor. India has, however, travelled far beyond the time when her children could be captured by such clever moves. His Majesty's uncle has, in his old age, been given the trouble of coming out to India and suffering the hardships of travel in order simply to prove the importance of the reforms to Indians. But we prophesy that the bureaucracy will meet with utter failure in its attempt and the Duke's visit will not affect

India's aspirations after liberty in the least. If His Royal Highness had come on a pleasure trip, we would have accorded a hearty welcome to the royal guest. But since he is coming on a political mission, which the bureaucracy wants to use to crush India's spirit of liberty, no self-respecting Indian is prepared to welcome him. Indians should prove to the Duke in every possible way that they are not prepared to accept the reform scheme, and that their demands are wholly different from it. They should send the King-Emperor through him the message that afflicted India asks for a solution of the Khilafat question, for justice in the matter of the Punjab atrocities and for full and complete *swaraj*; and that nothing less than this can satisfy her.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 15th January says that the Duke of Connaught expressed noble sentiments in his reply to the address presented to him by the Madras corporation. After remarking that they can be called a message of peace, it goes on to say that His Royal Highness observed that the British had deep sympathy with Indians in their desire to advance. We wish we could believe that the people of England would always help us, but the Duke must excuse us if we cannot entertain this belief. The Britons do not care for our feelings; we have had proof of this in connection with General Dyer's case. If the confidence of India in England had not been shaken why should things have come to the present pass? Why should a wave of non-coöperation have passed over the country and a resolution boycotting the Duke been passed?

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Ittifaq* of the 19th January states that according to report, kingly favours are to be bestowed on the people, all repressive laws are to be repealed and martial-law prisoners are to be set free in connection with the Duke's visit. It will, in short, be shown to the world that old sores have been healed and hope has begun to blossom in the hearts of the people. On the other hand, the national parliament of 32 crores of Indians has issued an ultimatum in the shape of non-coöperation, and Mr Gandhi has proclaimed his intention to secure *swaraj* in nine months without taking up arms. We wish that the Duke would pay attention to the nation's united demand, prove himself to be a far-sighted son of Queen Victoria and remove the illness of India, whose heart has been wounded with the bureaucracy's bullets. We request His Royal Highness to convey to His Majesty from united India the message that nothing but the grant of *swaraj* would satisfy her children, who are respectfully returning the toy of the reform scheme. India has grown young and cannot remain content with toys made of sand.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

The reforms.

4. (*a*) Commenting upon the appointment of Messrs. Harkishan Lal and Fazl-i-Husain as ministers, the *Jat Gazette* of the 12th January says that both of them are connected with the urban population and were elected by special constituencies. The new Council contains a large number of members elected by rural constituencies, and unless the present ministers are supported by them they will be unable to retain their posts even with the help of official and nominated members. But the first-named cannot possibly support the ministers unless the latter follow a policy beneficial for the rural population. We hope that the members representing this population will see to this with care. In the event of the ministers not pursuing such a policy it will be incumbent on them to compel them to resign. We cannot congratulate Government on its selection of ministers. The nomination of both from among the representatives of the urban population is an insult to the men returned by rural constituencies. One of the ministers should have been selected from among the members representing the rural population. Government fears an outcry on the part of the extremists, and the present appointments are intended to please them The representatives of rural constituencies should learn a useful lesson from this and fully understand that Government values only those whom it fears and who oppose it.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 18th January:—" Our officials cannot allow themselves to be baffled in their purpose. We all know what strenuous efforts were made to have Nawab Sir Behram Khan elected to the Punjab Council by a pocket constituency which, as is believed by so many, was first created and then enlarged for his special benefit, but the electors were obdurate and returned the Nawab Sahib's rival. How could our officials take so signal a defeat lying down? They, therefore, approached the Government of India, with the result that the Nawab Sahib, who failed to be elected to the Punjab Council, now finds himself a full-fledged member of the Council of State, the most respectable Council in the country, judging from the fact that it is the one legislative body in India whose members are still to be called 'honourable'. Similarly, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Gajjan Singh, who was not able to get himself elected to the local Council and who can scarcely claim to be one of the most popular members of his community, is now gazetted a nominated member of the Legislative Assembly. We have hitherto been under the impression that the power of nomination is vested in the Viceroy simply for the representation of interests which could not otherwise be represented, and not for the benefit of individuals, who having the door of election open to them, failed to get in through it. But we live to learn."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(c) The *Liberal* of the 17th January also refers to the nomination of Nawab Sir Behram Khan and Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh to the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly, respectively, and writes:—"He who runs can see that the nominations are based on personal and not on public grounds, and cannot therefore command popular support."

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

The Nagpur Congress.

5. (a) Writing about the Nagpur Congress, the *Vedic Magazine* for January says:—"Self-conscious India demands her birthright. She does not crave for a boon on bended knees. On the contrary, in terms of dignified indignation she asserts her grim determination to get back forthwith what no power on earth has any moral or legal right now to withhold from her. The Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs had roused her slumbering and dormant self-respect and no fair promises, pledges worded in grandiloquent language, proclamations drafted by clever ministers and foisted upon the people in the name of a sovereign whom constitutional usage has reduced to the position of a majestic and magnificent symbol of the patched-up unity of divided counsels and conflicting standpoints, or declarations of policy which can always be variously explained and explained away by 'servants' of the Crown will satisfy indignant and awakened India urged onwards at once by the inspiring example of a glorious past and the entrancing vision of a future still more glorious. This is the present mood of India. And any casual visitor could read it in the faces of the delegates, in the mottos that decorated the *pandal*, in the oil paintings and drawings that one could see all round the platform, in the severely simple and rigidly ascetic garments which distinguished the leaders from the mass of delegates, in the speeches, the whispered talks and other outward expressions of the strong and irrisistible current of the stream of national life that has overflown its banks and distributed itself into a thousand channels of national activity."

(b) Elsewhere the journal writes:—"The Congress has changed its creed The change is tremendous. It is a fresh demonstration of the awakened self-respect of India. The change of creed is an announcement to the civilized world that India and India alone will have a deciding voice in the determination of her political destiny. If she remains a member of the British commonwealth —if and when that international federation comes into being—it will be of her own free will and choice and not out of fear. This self-consciousness will react upon the attitude of England towards India and, paradoxical though it may seem, the change of creed has strengthened and not weakened the chances of India remaining within the Empire." As to the non-coöperation resolution, the editor writes:—"The resolution, as it stands now, lacks the logicality and self-consistency of the Calcutta resolution. But if this amended form will bring into the fold of active non-coöperation propagandists and indefatiguable workers like Mr. C. R. Dass, Mr. B. C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai, the compromise will be a decided gain to the national cause. We hope that Lala Lajpat Rai will now make a tour in the Punjab, induce the guardians of school-boys to withdraw their children forthwith (the word gradually has now been deleted), will rouse the conscience of college students and then advise them to leave their colleges without delay and regardless of consequences, and will further do all he can to multiply national schools and colleges."

Sanatan Dharm Parcharak (Amritsar); Ralia Ram, editor.

Non-coöperation.

6. (*a*) In its combined issue dated the 1st and 8th January the *Sanatan Dharm Parcharak* describes how on the occasion of the recent Council elections at Lahore the mob surrounded and attacked the house of Lala Mathra Das Puri and threw stones and brickbats at him. Is this, asks the paper, the non-coöperation preached by Mr. Gandhi? Are its advocates displaying by their conduct a specimen of the freedom to be enjoyed under their *swaraj*? They are trampling under foot even the freedom which we enjoy under the just rule of the British Government. There can be no liberty under the non-coöperation and *swaraj* regimé it exists only where the Government rules justly. The Hindus should learn a lesson from the arbitrary doings connected with the *swaraj* and non-coöperation movement. The goal of the Hindu community and religion consists, not in *swaraj*, but in the rule like that which prevailed during the time of Rama. If this is not so, they may [*lit.* will] identify themselves with Islam and the Caliphate and become a community of cross-breeds. If they desire this they should join hands with the supporters of Islam and the Caliphate, pull down the temple of the goddess of liberty and attack the houses not of one Mathra Das but of many other Hindus [*lit.* servants of Mathra], seeing that in India Islam has only been plundering the houses of Hindus and pulling down Hindu temples.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper publishes a communication from one **Dr. Mul Chand**, of the Port Health Office, Rangoon, who refers to an article in which the *Dharm* of Lahore reminded the Hindus of the sacrifices made by Hindu women and children to preserve their honour and religion during the oppressive Islamic rule, and advised them to follow Mr. Gandhi and try to obtain *swaraj*. Commenting, he says that his co-religionists enjoy religious freedom under the British Government, and that it is improper and most unfair to inflame them in the name of religion. Religion should not, he adds, be mixed up with politics, and Sanatan Dharm Sabhas should not dabble in the latter. The *Dharm's* advice to the Hindus is the advice of a foolish friend.

Siyasat (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 17th January says that according to Lord Chelmsford, the non-coöperation movement should have died of inanition before the Nagpur session of the Congress. After remarking that the reverse of this has been the case, the paper regrets that the imperialists among the English should have learnt no lesson from the war, and that tremendous losses in men and money should not have driven from their heads the pride they take in British guns and warships. They think that they are strong enough to keep this country in a state of slavery, and are, therefore, determined to keep Indians under their heels. They do not know that although a large number of persons in the Punjab and the rest of India have gone to jails for making independent speeches, securities of newspapers have been forfeited over their independent writings and the Seditious Meetings Act has been enforced in several districts, still all these acts of tyranny have not stemmed the tide of freedom. History proves conclusively that however successful political tyrannies may prove in the beginning, in the end they injure the tyrants themselves. Oppression leads to liberty, and the result of oppressions and tyranny in India will certainly prove beneficial for the people. Continuing, the paper says that the vow which India has made at Nagpur is no joke and cannot be dismissed as a ridiculous thing. Thirty-two crores of human beings have become prepared to obtain freedom and to make every sacrifice in the attempt. It will be an act of the greatest stupidity to laugh at their determination. The authorities in India cannot end non-cöoperation by calling it a foolish movement. The best remedy for it consists in the English realising that their machine-guns and troops can neither kill 320 millions of God's creatures nor force them into slavery. The maintenance of a connection between England and India is necessary in the interests of both countries. The English should follow a policy likely to strengthen this connection. The friendship between India and Britain should now be based on fraternity and equality.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) One **M. Abbas Ali** of Bari writing to the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th January urges title-holders, members [of Councils], honorary magistrates and those who mix with highly-placed officers to bestir themselves and start a campaign against the non-coöperation movement. If they are brave, self-respecting and sincere well-wishers and friends of Government, they should now descend into the arena and do their utmost to restore good relations between the rulers and the ruled. They far exceed Mr. Gandhi's followers in number and are well off financially. If they were to utilise their position and wealth for gaining the above object they would be certain to achieve success. They should visit every town and village in order to bring about the desired result. Just as they took a prominent part in securing recruits and contribution to loans during the war, they should now guide the public and assist Government. In the other event, the responsibility for the coming unrest, disorder and ruin will rest on their shoulders.'

BANDE MATARAM (. ahore) ; Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th January publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI, who says that the Punjab is the most backward province in the matter of patriotism. The holders of university degrees and educated classes in the Punjab are the most loyal, slavish and cowardly people. The college students in this province are most degraded and lifeless The England-returned Punjabis are less intelligent and greater cowards sycophants and lovers of ease and comfort than their *confreres* of other provinces The voting at the Council elections by the holders of university degrees in the Punjab was significant : they did not manifest even one-tenth of that boldness and courage which was shown by the uneducated classes in practising non-coöperation. It is these degree-holders who are the moving spirits of Government offices and the ornaments of official functions. On their shoulders stands the Imperial Government and by their help exist the British law courts. In short, look where you will, these degree-holders and pleaders are the sole strength and support of British rule in India. It is by their help and through their shamelessness that the bureaucracy successfully accomplishes its purposes. The writer adds :—Alas, Punjab ! thy soil has failed to produce self-respecting, honourable, upright and liberty-loving men. At any rate, the tree of education thy land has borne fruit attractive in appearance but poisonous and full of the germs of slavery in reality. Amongst thy degree-holders are to be found many friends of Colonel Frank Johnson, admirers of Colonel O'Brien and henchmen of Mr. Bosworth Smith. Their deeds during the martial law are now being rewarded with titles, gifts and *sanads*. The calamity which befell him under martial law had turned one of thy leaders into pure gold, but, to thy ill-luck, he has entered the service of those who humiliated and imprisoned him. In short, how long shall we go on praising thy young hopefuls, O Punjab ! The records of the world are filled with their bravery, martial spirit and industry. But in the matter of work pertaining to their home they are slaves of lucre, ease-loving, self-sufficient and most shameless. One feels shame in writing, saying and hearing this. The bravery of thy Hindu, Muslim and Sikh heroes has just been exposed at a court martial. The story is so painful and shameful that after reading it the Punjabis cannot show their faces to the world. The Sikh warriors, the Khan Bahadurs and the Lala Sahibs are chips of the same block [*lit.* deserve to be thrown into the same furnace]. Punjabis ! Search your hearts and consider for a while whether what you are doing, hearing and saying is fit for men. If not, search for the cause of all this and, for God's sake, find a remedy for it ; or mankind will spit on your name and race and you will be unable to show your faces anywhere.

(*f*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th January publishes an open letter from LAJPAT RAI to Lala Hans Raj. The writer urges the Lala to withdraw the D.A.-V. College from the control of the Punjab University and convert it into an independent university, saying among other things that this was what the founders of the College desired, and that in order to win the approbation of Government and the University " we " have abandoned our principles and trampled the spirit of Swami Dayanand under foot. The writer then goes on to say :—' For you and for your college this is a golden opportunity and you should take advantage of it. If you apprehend that you will have to reduce your staff owing to a fall in the income from fees, I beg to give you the following guarantees—I shall recoup the difference that there may be between the income from fees during the coming two years and the average for the last two years... Within one week of the day that your managing committee passes the resolution of withdrawal from the University, I shall deposit in your name Rs. 50,000 in a bank to meet the deficit for two years, so that you may not have to rely upon mere words. In case this amount proves insufficient I shall collect the necessary balance also very soon. Neither you nor your colleagues will have to work for the collection of the amount."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*g*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th January publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI headed " Disease and its cure: message to students; University degrees are preliminary chains of bondage for us: do not seek these degrees and leave colleges: boycott university examinations, vacate colleges and dedicate your services to the nation for one year". The writer says in the course of his remarks that there are very few sources of income in the Punjab which are not directly or indirectly connected with Government or the Native States controlled by it. The majority of the Punjab *raises* are given to worshipping and salaaming the officials, and their descendants also have to follow in their footsteps. In order to obtain public posts educated Punjabis also make use of all those means which their ancestors used to employ for this purpose: there is a difference only in the form. Such is the education that they receive at the Government College [, Lahore]: this is the sole purpose for which they are sent to that institution. The moral atmosphere of the Mission College in this respect is worse than that of the Government College, because their religion is openly attacked there in the course of lectures. Both Hindu and Muhammadan students put up with this without displaying any feelings of resentment. If a student remains self-respecting and independent-minded even after passing four years at the Government or Mission College, he should be considered to be a man of unusual stuff. The D. A.-V. College was started to remedy the evil, which has, however, assumed still larger proportions. The results of university examinations, the number of scholarship-holders and the like, which have come to be the outward signs of success, have led to ruin and demoralisation in the case of this college. The barbarous treatment meted out to the students of the D. A.-V. College during the martial law days will live for ever in the educational history of the Punjab. And if, in spite of this treatment, hundreds of students join the College every year, this means that disease has grown desperate. I think that, the present university education is at the root of this disease. University degrees are the preliminary chains of bondage for us; they start with our brains and reach down to our hands and feet in time. It is they that make us guilty of treason [to our country] and lead us to sell our religion. I am of opinion, therefore, that unless these degrees are let alone, there can be no remedy for our disease. I unhesitatingly appeal to the students of the Punjab colleges to relinquish their studies and give up all idea of getting university degrees. This is the only way to work our salvation and to promote our spiritual and secular welfare. The success achieved by the present degree-holders, seats on the High Court bench and income from the practice of law are so many traps, on being caught in which we sell over religion and motherland. Continuing, the writer appeals to the young men of the Punjab, in the name of country, religion and liberty, to come out of these traps. He concedes that they will get no judgeships, derive no income from the practice of law, and have no chairs, bungalows, motorcars, silks, velvet and dainty dishes. But maize bread and a plateful of *sag* [greens] afford an enjoyment which cannot be derived from *pulao* and *zarda* obtained through sycophancy and betrayal of religion and the nation. Similarly, a shirt and *dhoti* of *khaddar* cloth afford a comfort which Manchester muslin cannot do. Next the writer says:—Young men of the Punjab! Will you lag behind your other countrymen in the race for freedom? I am of opinion that university examinations should be boycotted this year, and unhesitatingly appeal to Punjabi young men to vacate the colleges in the Province, provided their own conscience testifies that I am right in what I say. My appeal is only to those candidates for university examinations who are above 16 years of age and have the capacity to think and decide for themselves.

(*h*) In its issue dated the 18th January also the paper contains a similar appeal from LAJPAT RAI, who asks college students in this province to leave their studies and tour in towns and villages to preach non-coöperation. There is now nothing else to do, he adds, than to deliver the message of non-coöperation to the nation. In case Punjabi young men would lead a life of infamy and remain slaves in order only to secure university degrees, they are free to please themselves.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*i*) Commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's message to students, the *Desh* of the 19th January says that the people have a right to ask Lala Lajpat Rai whether he will not change his opinion a few days hence. Even his greatest admirer cannot assert that so far as non-coöperation is concerned he is a reliable and firm-minded leader. The question of boycotting colleges is an important one and has far-reaching effects. The students should, therefore, carefully consider it before acting on the Lala's suggestion. He may easily change his opinion after a few days, but it will be difficult for them to rejoin their colleges.

The present unrest.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

7. The *Jat Gazette* of the 12th January suggests that the Government should invite all the political leaders in India to a conference and concert measures in consultation with them to end the prevailing unrest. In our opinion it is difficult to unravel the skein unless the Punjab and Khilafat questions are decided in a satisfactory way and a period is fixed for the grant of complete *swaraj* to Indians. We hope that the responsible statesmen will devise means to please the people to prevent the unrest assuming larger proportions.

Boycott and *swadeshi*.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

8. The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th January publishes a communication from one HANS RAJ of Ramnagar, Secretary, National Publicity Committee, Lahore. The writer urges the public to boycott all Anglo Indian firms, and says that the supporters of *swadeshi* should not buy even Dhariwal or Lalimli cloths. He asks Indians to boycott all foreign articles and prefer costly country-made things to cheap imported goods.

Repressive laws.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. Adverting to the resolution on repressive laws which Mr. Shastri is to move in the Council of State, the *Tribune* of the 21st January writes:—"For our part we consider that it is too late in the day to ask for the appointment of a committee merely to examine the repressive laws on the statute book. That is not what the country wants. That is surely not what our distinguished countryman himself wants. What is wanted is not a committee to examine the laws, but actual and definite action with a view to putting an end to them once for all. It is the duty of the Government to do this of its own accord, while inaugurating the reforms, and surely it cannot be the duty of a public man of the standing and authority of Mr. Shastri to ask for less. But even if a committee is to be asked for, it should clearly be a committee consisting of elected members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly enjoying public confidence, also that the country may have some reasonable assurance that the result of Mr. Shastri's labours would not be to add insult to injury in the shape of another Rowlatt report."

Political prisoners.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

10. The *Zamindar* of the 14th January says that some newspapers are asking for the release of political prisoners. Indeed, the whole of India wishes that these prisoners should be set free. Since, however, we follow non-coöperation, our sense of self-respect forbids us to knock at the authorities' door for the release of political prisoners. We can put up with the unbearable pangs of separation from our respected leaders and beloved servants of the country, but we cannot afford to sully our national honour by requesting the officials to release them. It would, however, be beneficial for Government itself to rectify its mistake in having done grave injustice to Zafar Ali, Mangal Singh, the Panipat Maulvis and all other political prisoners, who have fallen victims to tyranny and oppression. So it is, it has been inflaming public feeling by indiscreet acts and regards everyone giving it good advice as its enemy. Why should we then point out to it the means of lending stability to the Empire. ?

I—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Punjab question.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 22nd January:—"It appears from a Delhi message . . . . that out of the questions and resolutions, notices of which have been given by members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, several relate to the Punjab question. It remains to be seen whether they will be admitted by the President or disallowed on some such plea as that on which His Excellency the Viceroy disallowed the Hon'ble Mr. Shastri's resolution at the last Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council. This will be the acid test of the reform rules in so far as they relate to the allowance or disallowance of questions and resolutions. On the last occasion His Excellency declared that the Punjab question should be regarded as closed and sought to justify his disallowance of Mr. Shastri's resolution on this arbitrary ground. That the people of India, non-coöperators and co-öperators, the so-called moderates

and the so-called extremists, do not share the official view as voiced by the Viceroy has been made sufficiently clear during the interval that has elapsed since the Simla episode. The question has now to be dealt with with an open mind and the guilty officials punished. This policy of fighting shy of such a grave issue on the one hand, and of accusing the people of creating unnecessary agitation on the other, will never succeed. The fair name of England ought to be dearer to our rulers than their solicitute for individual offending officials, even though the latter be their own countrymen."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The Amritsar indemnity.

12. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 15th January says that the Amritsar municipality has been of opinion from the very beginning that a compensation of 17 lakhs of rupees, which has been paid to the local European firms, etc., concerned, far exceeds the losses sustained by them during the disturbances. The report of the sub-committee appointed by it to consider the matter shows that 2 lakh is the maximum compensation that can reasonably be paid to these firms, etc. There is, however, a difference of 17½ lakh between 19½ and 2 lakhs of rupees. This vast difference the Legislative Council should take into consideration at the final decision of the matter. If a sum of 19½ lakh instead of two is paid to the European firms referred to—and Rs. 17,00,000 appears to have already been paid—the proceeding will be a piece of gross oppression for the people of Amritsar. We hope that the new Legislative Council will never consent to have a hand in the perpetration of this oppression.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 14th January says that His Excellency has asked the Council to settle an exceptionally difficult problem. If the members decide that Amritsar should pay the indemnity they will get a bad name and be looked down upon by the people. If, however, they burden the whole province with the indemnity innocent tax-payers will complain against them.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 16th January expresses the hope that the members of the Council will not fall short of their duty in deciding the question. Is it an act of justice, it asks, to punish the whole city for the misdeeds of a few, and this also after the disgrace [which the people have suffered] and the general massacre in the city?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Rai Bareilly riots.

13. (*a*) Writing about the Rai Bareilly riots, the *Bande Mataram* of the 14th January says that on the suppression of the disturbances the Government of the United Provinces sent a message of congratulation to the district authorities for their having very successfully grappled with the situation. This would show that, like cunning O'Dwyer, Sir Harcourt Butler also attaches no value to the lives of Indians. What meaning is there in the aforesaid authorities being congratulated for having fired for no reason? The attitude of the *kisans* as compared with the repressive attitude of the authorities was most peaceable. They made over even their *lathies* to the former. While the land and naval forces of Government are ready to support the tyranny practised by the Taluqadars, the poor farmers have to look for help to God alone.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 21st January:—"The agrarian disturbance at Rai Bareilly.... was a deplorable affair.... Famines and failures of crops are more frequent in [the United Provinces] than elsewhere; and some of the landlords, or talukdars as they are called in that province, have been exploiting the tenantry for a long time. The result is that every year thousands of peasants leave their homes and lands, and migrate to other provinces in search of a livelihood.... It was, therefore, natural that these *kisans* should have been affected by the spirit of freedom which is abroad, and their discontent with their economic condition was bound to be heightened by the ideas of self-assertion that are in the air. To expect that the peasantry in India alone are to remain unaffected by the world-forces that are operating in every other country is to expect the impossible.... One thing.... seems to have been unmistakably proved by the regrettable disturbances, *viz.*, that the grievances of the *kisans*, which the Government admits are legitimate,.... cannot be allowed to exist for any length of time without constituting a grave danger to the peace and well-being of the district and its people. The authorities should not lead the peasantry to suspect that they are favouring the talukdars, and should remove the talukdar oppression with a strong hand. The legislation which is said to be under consideration should not be a mere eye wash, but should go to the very root of the matter and effectively preclude any possibility of any of the talukdars exploiting their 'ignorant' tenantry in future, as some of them have done in the past."

Thefts in Gujranwala.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dyal, editor.

14. The *Virat* of the 17th January states that not a few residents of Gujranwala go about saying that the frequent occurrence of thefts in the town led a few gentlemen to speak to a highly-placed officer in the matter. He enquired in reply, however, what the Khilafat [volunteer] corps and the Seva Simitis were intended for. Commenting, the paper says that since Government realises thousands of rupees from the public to spend on the police the people may enquire whether the money is meant only to be spent on the surveillance of persons dabbling in politics.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

A Peshawar *gurdwara.*

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

15. (*a*) The *Sikh* of the 16th January writes:—"The meddlesome Hindus and Arya Samajists of Peshawar are doing all they can to tease and trouble the Sikhs in connection with the latter's own religious *gurdwara* of Bhai Joga Singh. We are confident that the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner will not fail to rise to the top of the occasion by giving the high-handed a bit of their minds. They have before them the instances of Babe-di-Ber, Sialkot, and, just in their very neighbourhood, the Panja Sahib."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 14th January writes:—"The disquieting news of the gross ill-treatment offered by the Hindus of Peshawar city to the reform party among the Sikhs, whose sole object is to reclaim their *gurdwaras* and to rescue them from the anti-Sikh hands, brings home to us, all the more convincingly, the dire necessity of putting in more strenuous and united efforts to give short shrift to the confidence and trust which we have so far placed in our Hindu brethren's honesty of purpose in expecting from them a free hand in matter of the management of our *gurdwaras.* It is a strange irony of fate that the progeny of the very same Hindus in doing a good turn to whose forefathers, in the moment of their direst distress, our ancestors not only ran a risk but actually sacrificed everything near and dear to them, are now bent upon playing the role of Farrukhsayyar. If this is the manner in which our Hindu brethren mean to effect a rapproachement with the Sikhs for the political regeneration of the motherland, then all that we can say is that the attempt would yield quite the opposite results. Where are the Hindu leaders now who were so prominent in the last Sikh League session to get the non-coöperation resolution passed there? Is the Hindus' act of provocation not a fine specimen of non-coöperation at home? . . . . Disgusted with the malicious and grossly insulting and flagrantly dishonest treatment which the Hindus of Peshawar and other places are meting out with impunity to the Sikhs, if the latter cut off their social connections with the Hindus the responsibility will be entirely Hindus' own."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Gujranwala municipality.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

16. (*a*) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 16th January:—"The birthplace of the Lion of the Punjab is perhaps the first municipal town to have got a non-official (elected member) as its president . . . After the appointment of another ex-martial-law prisoner, Mr. Harkishan Lal, as a minister, Mr. Labh Singh's election as the president of an important municipality affords much to reflect upon the past regimé . . . We congratulate the Gujranwala city fathers on their moral courage and such a noble discharge of duty."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 15th January says that the whole Punjab not only congratulates the members of the Gujranwala municipal committee on their election of an Indian president, but also feels thankful to them. The event is next in importance only to the appointment of Mr. Harkishan Lal as a minister and shows how innocent persons were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment in the martial law days. Continuing, the paper says that an incident connected with the election will grieve the advocates of the Hindu-Muslim unity and the movement for *swaraj*. After stating that five Muhammadan municipal commissioners left the meeting on Mr. Labh Singh's election as president, it urges the Hindu and Muslim members of municipal committees to work in union.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 19th January the paper publishes a communication from one **Waliullah** of Gujranwala, who says that the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans of that town appeared to be most friendly. At the election of a president for the local municipality, however, no Muhammadan could find favour with the Hindus. Nor was any Musalman considered fit to be appointed one of the vice-presidents. There can be no doubt that the Muhammadans have not been accorded a good treatment by the Hindus in this matter, which undoubtedly bodes ill.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The exchange problem.

17. One **Chanan Lal**, a banker of Fazilka, writing to the *Desh* of the 1 th January says that it is difficult to form a correct idea of the loss caused to the Indians trading with England in consequence of the present rate of exchange. After remarking that Government's conduct in the matter is very objectionable, he asks why it does not carry out the Secretary of State's order fixing the value of the sovereign at Rs. 10. The order has totally failed to produce any effect on the market, seeing that the value of the sovereign has been daily fluctuating. The result is that no correct idea can be formed of the price of goods ordered from England. Similarly, if any goods are exported from India the rates then obtaining in the country cannot help in the decision whether there will be a profit or loss when the goods reach England. No one can say what rise or fall there may be in the rate of exchange during the interval. Those who control exchange should look into the matter out of pity for Indian traders.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Katarpore prisoners.

18. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 15th January says that so long as even one of the men convicted in the Katarpur riot case remains in jail no Hindu heart can be free from sorrow and grief. Why should Government, it asks, display indifference in releasing these prisoners when an era of Hindu-Muslim unity has set in and the Muhammadans themselves have requested it to set the convicts at liberty? The Duke of Connaught's visit affords Government another opportunity of doing so.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 20th January:—"A petition has been submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Katarpur prisoners.... The circumstances under which the trial was held are well known. The Government is also not unaware of the fact that the situation, by which we mean the mutual relations of the Hindus and Muhammadans, has materially improved since the riot. Indeed, appeals have ere now been made to the authorities by representative Moslems on behalf of the unfortunate prisoners. Government have already missed an opportunity of releasing the prisoners under the terms of the amnesty clause. The Duke's visit has afforded another opportunity. We do hope Government will release the Katarpur men along with political prisoners and thus take a step towards reconciling public opinion."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

Lahore:
The 22nd January 1921.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Turkey.

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

1. The *Watan* of the 21st January says that it has always greatly admired the acumen, foresight and sagacity of British statesmen. It does not approve, however, of the policy which they have, since the Crimean War, been pursuing in regard to the Ottoman empire and the Near East. They have not properly conducted themselves towards this empire, in support of which assertion the paper can refer to historical evidence. This has been a source of many difficulties and troubles for Great Britain and is likely to embarrass her in future also, although Turkey may grow weaker still. She had better part company with Greece, of whose innate despotism Mr. Lloyd George has had some bitter experience, and grasp the hand of friendship which Turkey has extended to her. In the other event, it is feared lest the Turks may join hands with the Bolsheviks.

Persia.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st January says that the understanding arrived at between Russia and Persia will greatly affect British connections in the east. It is strange that Great Britain should have allowed Persia to shake off her influence and seek help from the Bolsheviks. It is yet time for her to establish friendly relations with Persia on terms of equality, which would enable her to safeguard her interests in the east. But the difficulty is that Mr. Lloyd George is all in all in England, and so long as he remains in the Cabinet, there can be no hope of British relations with Turkey and other Islamic and eastern countries being cordial. If the British nation does not open its eyes even now and abstains from bringing a new ministry into existence, its relations with most of the Islamic states will certainly be cut off, which can never prove useful for it.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 21st January states that while the *majlis* has not as yet met to consider [the question of the ratification of the Anglo-Persian agreement, that concluded between the Bolsheviks and Persia has already been ratified. The generous treatment accorded to the Persians by the Bolsheviks, it adds, was not such that the former should not have appreciated it. On the other hand, the people of Persia have always been apprehensive of [sinister] missioners left the meeting on Mr. Labh Singh's election as president, it urges the Hindu and Muslim members of municipal committees to work in union.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(c) In its issue dated the 19th January the paper publishes a communication from one WALIULLAH of Gujranwala, who says that the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans of that town appeared to be most friendly. At the election of a president for the local municipality, however, no Muhammadan could find favour with the Hindus. Nor was any Musalman considered fit to be appointed one of the vice-presidents. There can be no doubt that the Muhammadans have not been accorded a good treatment by the Hindus in this matter, which undoubtedly bodes ill.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The exchange problem.

17. One CHANAN LAL, a banker of Fazilka, writing to the *Desh* of the 1 th January says that it is difficult to form a correct idea of the loss caused to the Indians trading with England in consequence of the present rate of exchange. After remarking that Government's conduct in the matter is very objectionable, he asks why it does not carry out the Secretary of State's order fixing the value of the sovereign at Rs. 10. The order has totally failed to produce any effect on the market, seeing that the value of the sovereign has been daily fluctuating. The result is that no correct idea can be formed of the price of goods ordered from England. Similarly, if any goods are exported from India the rates then obtaining in the country cannot help in the decision whether there will be a profit or loss when the goods reach England. No one can say what rise or fall there may be in the rate of exchange during the interval. Those who control exchange should look into the matter out of pity for Indian traders.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Katarpore prisoners.

18. (a) The *Partap* of the 15th January says that so long as even one of the men convicted in the Katarpur riot case remains in jail no Hindu heart can be free from sorrow and grief. Why should Government, it asks, display indifference in releasing these prisoners when an era of Hindu-Muslim unity has set in and the Muhammadans themselves have requested it to set the convicts at liberty ? The Duke of Connaught's visit affords Government another opportunity of doing so.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 20th January :—"A petition has been submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Katarpur prisoners. . . . The circumstances under which the trial was held are well known. The Government is also not unaware of the fact that the situation, by which we mean the mutual relations of the Hindus and Muhammadans, has materially improved since the riot. Indeed, appeals have ere now been made to the authorities by representative Moslems on behalf of the unfortunate prisoners. Government have already missed an opportunity of releasing the prisoners under the terms of the amnesty clause. The Duke's visit has afforded another opportunity. We do hope Government will release the Katarpur men along with political prisoners and thus take a step towards reconciling public opinion."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Turkey.

1. The *Watan* of the 21st January says that it has always greatly admired the acumen, foresight and sagacity of British statesmen. It does not approve, however, of the policy which they have, since the Crimean War, been pursuing in regard to the Ottoman empire and the Near East. They have not properly conducted themselves towards this empire, in support of which assertion the paper can refer to historical evidence. This has been a source of many difficulties and troubles for Great Britain and is likely to embarrass her in future also, although Turkey may grow weaker still. She had better part company with Greece, of whose innate despotism Mr. Lloyd George has had some bitter experience, and grasp the hand of friendship which Turkey has extended to her. In the other event, it is feared lest the Turks may join hands with the Bolsheviks.

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

Persia.

2. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st January says that the understanding arrived at between Russia and Persia will greatly affect British connections in the east. It is strange that Great Britain should have allowed Persia to shake off her influence and seek help from the Bolsheviks. It is yet time for her to establish friendly relations with Persia on terms of equality, which would enable her to safeguard her interests in the east. But the difficulty is that Mr. Lloyd George is all in all in England, and so long as he remains in the Cabinet, there can be no hope of British relations with Turkey and other Islamic and eastern countries being cordial. If the British nation does not open its eyes even now and abstains from bringing a new ministry into existence, its relations with most of the Islamic states will certainly be cut off, which can never prove useful for it.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 21st January states that while the *majlis* has not as yet met to consider [the question of the ratification of the Anglo-Persian agreement, that concluded between the Bolsheviks and Persia has already been ratified. The generous treatment accorded to the Persians by the Bolsheviks, it adds, was not such that the former should not have appreciated it. On the other hand, the people of Persia have always been apprehensive of [sinister]

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

moves on the part of the English. The present situation is that while friendly relations have been established between Persia and the Bolshevik Government, British prestige has become a thing of the past in the Shah's dominions. Does not the event show that intensely anti-British feelings are being created in Muslim countries? The English, who are intoxicated with power, may not realise now that the Islamic world regards Britain as its enemy, but the day is not far distant when her Muslim-offending policy will not leave them a single Muhammadan friend. It is not, however, yet too late for England to mend matters. The Allies have been carrying on a literary campaign against the Bolsheviks, who have been represented to be the greatest enemies of culture, civilization and Islam. But the fact that the Persians have extended the hand of friendship to the Bolsheviks proves that the former distrust the English [and not the latter]. They are not unaware of what the English have done in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, as also of their efforts to crush the independence of the Arabs. It was impossible that they should not have become afraid of the English even after seeing their co-religionists of Arabia reduced to a wretched condition. The ungentlemanly and unfair treatment accorded to the Turks by the English must also have unfavourably affected the Persians. We are glad that the last-named have seen the English in their true colours, and it is our sincere desire that Muhammadans throughout the world may become acquainted with the real feelings of the English and try to defend themselves against the latter's moves.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd January states that a Reuter correspondent opines that since British troops are to be withdrawn from Persia the agreement concluded between her and the Bolsheviks will be signed shortly. After remarking that, like Armenia, Persia also appears to have turned Bolshevist, the paper says that since the deposition of the Czar the English had been all in all in Persia. They used to give out that they had occupied Persia for her own good, and that one of the objects of the British forces there was to save the country from encroachment by Russia. But now that the time for affording real protection to Persia has come they have withdrawn their troops from the land. If the Bolshevik movement is really ruinous in character, it is strange that the English feelings of philanthropy should not have been moved in the case of Persia. The English remained in Persia as long as this was to their advantage, but no sooner did a calamity befall that country than they prepared to leave it bag and baggage. They have, however, so weakened it before leaving it that it cannot fight what is called the dangerous Bolshevik movement. It consoles us to think, says the paper in conclusion, that the English, who claim to promote the welfare of the whole human race, have had to retire from a neighbouring country, which they had been occupying with the object of keeping India in the chains of slavery.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Afghanistan.

3. Commenting on the Muslim League's resolution advising the Amir to conclude no treaty of alliance with Great Britain, the *Siyasat* of the 15th [received on the 24th] January says that His Majesty is sincere in the expression of his readiness to sacrifice his life for the sake of Islam and does not merely wish to add to the feelings of respect and appreciation with which he is regarded. If the Muslim League has, then, made to a religious and independent-minded Muslim ruler like him a request, which the majority of the seven crore [Indian] Muhammadans consider to be legitimate and based on Quranic teachings, it is his duty to pay proper consideration to it. His Majesty alone knows what sort of relations it is useful for his state to maintain with the English, but he cannot deny that the highest interests of Islam are superior to those of Afghanistan, and that the Afghans cannot refuse to defend the former at the cost even of their lives. Seventy millions of Muhammadans are of opinion that the interests of Islam demand that its followers should not coöperate with the English, and they express the hope, on the basis of the love which they bear the Amir, and their brethren of Kabul, that the Afghan Government should act upon their opinion. Is it not, then, His Majesty's religious and moral duty to give the matter a careful consideration? He can summon *ulema* from all parts of the world, and get it decided by them whether or not Islam requires its followers to practise non-coöperation with the English. If he fails to do this he will render himself guilty of negligence in the eyes of God. If it is decided that coöperation with the English is lawful, the Indian Muhammadans will be saved from pursuing a

wrong path. In the other event, the Amir, as also the crores of Musalmans who are helping the English in different parts of the world, will return to the right path. The whole Muslim world will then become united and will try to promote the cause of the Islam [*lit.* the last message of the holy God].

Ireland.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

4. The *Siyasat* of the 26th January says that England takes great pride in asserting that she is a staunch advocate of the grant of autonomy to small nations. She is, however, doing all sorts of improper acts in Ireland, and what she has so far done to crush the spirit of liberty there is sufficient to falsify her boastful assertions. What right has she to subject Ireland to so much hardship, and why is she bent upon depriving the Irish of their natural rights? It is still more surprising that her allies also should not remonstrate with her in the matter. After asking whether they do not feel ashamed of their conduct over the Irish question, the paper asks how a nation, which will not allow liberty to its own brothers, can willingly give it to other peoples. Those Indians who believe in British justice should calmly think over the Irish question.

II.– LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

"A new danger to India."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

5. (*a*) Writing under the heading "A new danger to India," the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd January says that the European war has brought about a daily-increasing union between England and her colonies. This is creating a great danger for poor Indians, namely, lest they should be taken out of the hands of the British and made the common property of the whole British Empire, which is gradually becoming a federation of the white colonies. In this case, it would become most difficult for Indians to live even in their own country, let alone foreign lands. An idea of this can be formed from the contempt and scorn with which Indian emigrants are treated by the whites in British colonies. Who can say that they will not accord to Indians here also the barbarous and savage treatment which they mete out to the Indian emigrants in the colonies, most of which were turned into smiling gardens through the labours of the last-named? Who can say what they will do when they become equal partners with England in the ownership of India, seeing that even now, when they are nominally under her, they do not listen to her [in the matter of their treatment of Indians] and pay no heed to entreating recommendations from the Governments of India and England [in that behalf]? The danger referred to is, so far from being imaginary, a real one.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 23rd January the paper states that according to a correspondent, the British and colonial Governments have after a mutual understanding, taken certain steps to allow the colonies an equal status in regard to all foreign affairs. This means that in future the non-white races under Great Britain will not be under the British Parliament alone, but will have the colonies also for their masters. Should we, as a self-respecting nation, remain silent in face of such a danger? The [white] races in the British Empire will decide all questions relating, not only to Indians abroad, but also to the employment of Indian troops in foreign countries for territorial conquests, fixing the strength of Indian forces, and making the rules and regulations on these subjects. This is a question of life and death for us. We should afford proof of our life and devote all our energies to defeating this conspiracy. In the other event, our position will become far worse than it is now.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*c*) The *Vakil* of the 24th January says that the question of the status of the colonies is being decided in London. Constitutionally the matter is very important and likely to greatly affect the liberty and rights of India. Unfortunately, however, proper regard is not being paid to the demands of India, nor are they being effectively pressed. At all events, if we do not wish to sacrifice our resources for the aggrandisement of the white population of the Empire and are averse to pawning our rights to it, we should not view the coming changes as mere spectators and should enter a strong protest against them. We should try to realise the great danger which they spell for us and should seek for means to make our protest effective. The paper then goes on to say that henceforth the colonies and Britain will jointly decide all questions relating to the army and navy, the manufacture of munitions [the Empire's] foreign policy, mandates, and military and economic undertakings. In other words, the coloured population of the Empire will now be under the rule, not only of the British Parliament, but also of the colonies. As a self-respecting people, therefore, we have to devise means to escape the new danger referred to. It is the same thing whether we live or die unless we can set up a national administration for the defence of the country, unless we can supervise our military expenditure, unless we can control the movements of our troops, unless we have a navy of our own, unless we have an effective voice in the shaping of the foreign policy—unless, in short, we are placed on a footing of equality with the colonials.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The employment of Indian troops abroad.

6. The *Vakil* of the 22nd January considers it is extremely disgraceful that Indian troops should be employed in Egypt, Mesopotamia and other foreign countries even now. It is no longer our duty to send our troops to the places which justice and right do not allow Great Britain to retain. If she considers it necessary to retain possession of Mesopotamia at the point of the sword, why should the burden be thrown on Indians? Is not the sovereignty of India sufficient for her and is it necessary for her to employ only Indian soldiers to help her? Besides, what has been the result of her present policy for Indians? They conquered East Africa, but to-day there is very little difference between the condition of the Indians there and that of animals. In our opinion the time has come when it should be openly declared that this policy is wholly disliked by Indians, and that it is most improper to keep Indian troops outside the country for long periods against the popular wishes.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The reforms.

7. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 23rd January says that, in spite of their claims to patriotism, every one of the ministers will transfer Rs. 64,000 a year into his pocket from those of poor Indians. Cannot Messrs. Harkishan Lal and Fazl-i-Husain, it asks, serve the nation on a reduced salary? Since the members of the Council are to render honorary services, there is no reason why the ministers should draw a pay of Rs. 64,000. Again, the latter will have several secretaries, who will work day and night to help them. Will the minister draw Rs. 5,500 a month only for signing papers? In spite of their heavy responsibilities, the ministers in Japan, who is richer than India, receive a monthly pay of only Rs. 1,000. Free nations do not fill the pockets of a few individuals with public money. The ministers should follow the example of Mr. Narayan Rao Kelkar of the Central Provinces and work only on an honorarium.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the new Councils, the *Tribune* of the 29th January says:—"The first and most obvious step [towards the establishment of full and complete responsible Government in India] is for each Council to pass a resolution as soon after it comes into existence as is practicable, demanding the establishment of responsible government within the area controlled by it. The simultaneous adoption of such a resolution by all the legislative bodies in the country would be the initial step in the using of the Council for this great and all-important national purpose . . . . The British and the Indian Government when they find that the duly elected representatives of the very men whom they have themselves considered worthy of being entrusted with the franchise are, as a body, in favour of a change in the form of government will think more than twice before they decide against it. And when this step synchronises with a universal and an unprecedentedly strong agitation outside the Councils in favour of the same change, both in the ordinary form of writings in the press, speeches on the platform, and the expression of their views by public bodies; as well as in the extraordinary form of the preaching and practice of non-violent non-coöperation, it does not require a prophet to tell us that its compelling force will be immeasurably enhanced. For our part, we do believe that if we resolutely follow all these methods, it will not be long before British statesmanship will definitely make up its mind and the promised land will be within our reach. In any case, the duty of our Councillors is clear. They have gone to the Councils in the teeth of the deliberately declared opinions of the country's foremost political bodies. It is for them to show by their action that they have taken this step, not out of selfish motives, not because their faith in and their passion for freedom are a whit less strong than those of their compatriots who have refused to go to the Councils, but because they honestly believed that they could render at least as great service to the common cause by the step they were taking as by the step which they refused to take."

Non-coöperation.

8. (*a*) The *Panch* of the 19th January says that non-coöperation has opened the path of sacrifice, which leads to the goal of liberty. After exhorting the lovers of freedom in the country to tread this path, the paper refers them to the life-story of the tenth Sikh Guru for stirring examples of sacrifice.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 22nd January states how Mr. C. R. Das has given up his practice at the bar, and says that the country is now confronted with a question of life and death. It demands sacrifices from its sons: it cannot rise unless they do its behest. Formerly our political movements used to be confined to mere talk, but now the people are prepared to make every kind of sacrifice at the instance of Mr. Gandhi. Let all Indians unitedly shout to-day "Victory to Mother Bharat!"

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 24th January publishes a poem written by one NAZIM ALI, of the office of the Jamiat-i Khuddam-i-Khilafat, Delhi. Some of the verses run as follows:—

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Reply to oppression, tyranny and breach of promise
By non-coöperation and non-coöperation alone.
Hang me or shoot me:
I am prepared to give my life.
What do I care for jail?

(*d*) Writing under the heading "Students and politics; sacrifice education for higher politics," the *Zamindar* of the 21st January says that India now stands ranged against the bureaucracy and is carrying on a struggle to attain her magnificent object, *viz.*, independence. We have to restore the Caliphate, while the blood of the martyrs of the Punjab is crying for revenge. We want justice in connection with the Punjab atrocities, as also to get rid of the high-handed and despotic rule by the blood-stained hands which have wrought injury to the Caliphate. We have quietly to sacrifice substantial worldly interests at the altar of freedom and to bear repression at the hands of worldly powers. Next the paper calls on young men to relinquish their studies for one year to begin with, and respond to the call of the country and religion to take a part in the battle [for liberty]. The self-respecting students of Bengal have left several colleges, and it now remains to be seen how the enthusiastic young men of the Punjab will act up to the decision of the National Congress and the Khilafat Committee with a view to saving the honour of their motherland. The honour of the Punjab is in their hands at the present moment. May God be their help and support and may He endow them with the spirit of patriotism and of *jehad* in His path.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 22nd January asks whether there is any Indian whose heart will not leap with pride and joy on reading of the spirit of sacrifice displayed by Bengali young men in boycotting colleges. Will the Punjab, asks the paper, allow herself to be left behind in the race? The people of this province should remember that the hopes of the whole country are centred round them. Now that the war for freedom is going on it is the duty of the young men of the Punjab to descend into the arena. They should bow before the standard of *swaraj* which has been raised "over the field of education," nay, they should hold it aloft and visit every city and village to acquaint the people with their duties. This is the time when the question, which means life or death for the country, is to be decided. The country has unanimously demanded *swaraj*, but Indians should bear in mind that it cannot be had by mere talk: it demands its price. Is the Punjab prepared to pay that price? The editor cannot bring himself to believe that she is not so prepared. She has never lagged behind any other province in making sacrifices. Young men of the Punjab, come forward to serve Mother Bharat. Go about the whole province and awaken the people.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*f*) The *Siyasat* of the 21st January writes that the Punjabis should never forget that the country has decided to practise non-coöperation only as a protest against the Punjab atrocities. Is it not, then, disgraceful for the young men of this province that while people in other parts of the country should resort to non-coöperation for the above reason, the Punjabis should be unwilling to make any sacrifice? It is the duty of all the Punjab leaders to join Lala Lajpat

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Rai in order to lend strength to his voice and thus prove to the country that the people of this province are true to their word. We appeal to the Punjabi young men to accomplish some work now : the time for thinking has passed.

SIYASAT, (Lahore) ; Syed Habib, editor.

(*g*) The *Siyasat* of the 22nd January publishes an article over the signature of the editor, SYED HABIB, who urges the students of the Islamia College, Lahore, to relinquish their studies. He tells them that the future hopes of their community are bound up with them, and asks whether they will continue to receive the teaching of slavery at the College. They should make the Quran their guide and, in conformity with its teachings, bid farewell to their college and do national work for one year under the Khilafat committee, the local Khilafat association or the Congress committee. They should pay no heed to taunts and reproaches from worldly-minded relations, think nothing of temporary losses, and accomplish practical work.

(*h*) In the paper's issue dated the 23rd January, SYED HABIB appeals to the members of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, and other Muslim associations in the Punjab to nationalise the educational institutions run by them, saying that it is incumbent on them to practise non-cöoperation in pursuance of the resolutions passed by the National Congress, the Muslim League and the Khilafat and *ulema* conferences.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore) ; Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*i*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd January publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI, who says that the supporters of the D.A.-V. College complain why he should confine his attentions to that institution alone. His reply is that he regards its conductors as the most patriotic people [in the Punjab], and that its students should be more patriotic and self-respecting than those of other colleges. He expects greater things from this college than from other colleges in the Punjab. In his opinion, the Lahore Government College is the abode of the living dead. No vestige of the national spirit is to be found there. How can this be otherwise, indeed, seeing that college is a perpetual morgue. Students undergo a transformation there in only a few months and become living imitations of the bureaucracy. The writer pities those young men who are compelled to read there. Unlike similar institutions in other provinces, the Government College at Lahore cannot tolerate even the least display of freedom. Its Indian professors also always think only of their *izzat* and bread, and can display no independence. As regards the Mission College, it is four times as sinful to be educated there as at the D. A.-V. College. The reason for this consists, not in the preaching of Christianity at it, but in the following :—

(1) It is run mostly by foreigners.

(2) Its educational management is in the hands of American missionaries.

(3) It receives a grant from Government and thus injures us with our own money [*lit.* shaves us with our own shoes].

(4) The Hindu and Muslim faiths are subjected to greater criticism at it than at other colleges, while the national susceptibilities [of Indians] are wounded there.

As far as the writer's experience goes, American missionaries are our worse foes than British missionaries, some of whom possess the innate spirit of fairplay which characterises the British nation. The American missionaries come from a land where the whites look upon coloured people with the greatest contempt, roast the latter over a slow fire on trumped-up charges, crack jokes over their death agonies, photograph them [in this condition], keep their bones and flesh in their houses as sacred relics, and distribute them to their dear and near ones. The American missionaries are part of such whites, and have greater colour, race and religious prejudices than the British. In conclusion, the writer says that the time has come when Indian Christians should take all mission colleges under their own control, engage Indian managers and professors for them, run them on national lines and join the nation in its demands. There will be no religious distinctions under *swaraj*. Why should we depend upon American missionaries and why should Hindu, Muhammadan and Indian Christian students brook insults to their national feelings in colleges run by these missionaries ?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*j*) Writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 27th January, LAJPAT RAI apostrophises the parents of students and asks whether they do not desire that their sons should shed glory on their name by becoming patriots and whether they would like the latter to defile their souls through fear of displeasing them. Next the writer says that no parent has the right to destroy the soul of his sons in order to gain his own selfish ends. It rests with the parents, he adds, to decide whether they would permit their sons to serve the country, tread the path of freedom and cut asunder their chains of slavery, or whether they would compel them to defend their souls for themselves.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*k*) The *Tribune* of the 26th January writes in the course of an article on educational non-coöperation :—"To begin with .... school education should, for the most part, be left unaffected by the non-coöperation programme. We say 'for the most part', because where provision can be made for suitable education of boys on national lines and under national control, nothing but good can come from the withdrawal of a certain number and proportion of the boys from the existing schools and their being placed in national schools. Secondly, so far as college education goes, the conscience clause should be more properly and more strictly interpreted than it appears to have been in some cases, and boys should ...... be encouraged to question their conscience individually, and not only their conscience, but their judgment and their capacity for sustained sacrifice. Thirdly, only a selected number of students should be withdrawn from the existing colleges, generally with the consent of their parents and guardians, and utilised for such national service as they can possibly render. The great majority must continue their education, whether in the existing colleges or those that may be established on national lines, in all human probability in both. We do not believe the country will, in any circumstances, be prepared to sacrifice the education of all or even most of its college students; nor do we think such sacrifice will or can do good. Education is under modern conditions the very basis of national life and national self-realisation, and to the extent that education is sacrificed, to that extent not only the individual student but national life itself is bound to be a sufferer. But while college education must continue, it is by no means either necessary or desirable that that education should, in the case of all or even most of the boys, follow the lines that university education does follow in India at present."

(*l*) In its issue dated the 27th January the paper writes :—"Educational non-coöperation, in order that it may be permanently taken up by a large number of students in all parts of the country, should take the form and shape of vocational education, entirely independent of Government aid and control, to be imparted partly by new national institutions and partly by non-university branches of existing institutions, where these can be started under reasonable safeguards as to efficiency and permanance. The great advantage of this course would be that it would at once appeal not only to a large proportion of the students themselves, but also to a large proportion of their parents and guardians..... One of the very first things that we shall have to do, as soon as we have political power in our hands, is to make provision for vocational education as a partial solution of the bread problem. Why should we not take advantage of the present opportunity to do what we can in this direction ? Why, instead of asking all our affiliated colleges to give up their affiliation at once, which they are scarcely likely to do, should not the leaders of the movement try and persuade some of them to divert a substantial part of their energies and their funds, of course with such aid as they can themselves give, to making suitable provision for vocational education on absolutely independent lines ?

(*m*) Adverting to the students' strike at Lahore, the *Tribune* of the 29th January writes :—"However anxious officials may be to keep the students in an atmosphere of pure study, students do breathe the same atmosphere that their elders do, and in every modern country that has had to pass through a stage somewhat analogous to ours students have been among the first to be affected by the prevailing spirit of unrest..... Let those who have now so far changed their old method, which consisted in representing India as an exceptional and an abnormal specimen of humanity, as to publicly declare that the present unrest in India is only a part of a world-wide unrest be true to their new-born faith, and keep their head cool. If the movement represents only a passing phase, it will doubtless pass away..... The best thing

[for principals and college committees to do] is to meet reason with reason, to answer argument by argument, to keep in touch both with the students and their parents and guardians and to avoid the very appearance of coercion. You cannot coerce the whole student population of a city, and any method that even remotely savours of coercion will only make things worse..... [As to students,] not only should each individual student keep himself scrupulously and absolutely free from even the appearance of coercion on his own account, but he should, as far as lies in him, prevent the use of coercion whether in his own case or in the case of others. The moment our students depart from this wholesome rule, they will not only degrade the struggle from its high moral plane, but actually endanger it."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

9. (*a*) Referring to the extension of the Seditious Meetings Acts to the district of Jullundur, the *Tribune* of the 25th January writes :—" So there is no difference between the old era and the new, between the Lieutenant-Governorship and the Governorship-in-Council, with the added provision for frequent consultation between the two halves of the Government, so far as the facility with which restrictive measures like this can be taken is concerned. If the public needed to know nothing of the Government's reasons for action under the old order of things, it equally needs to know nothing to-day. We deeply regret that instead of cancelling the actions already taken under the Act the local Government should go on extending the operation of the Act. "

(*b*) In its issue dated the 27th January the paper writes :—" We are now informed that [the Ministers] were not [consulted before the action was taken]. This is not only unfortunate in itself, because the local Government loses much of the advantage of having popular leaders associated with it if it does not try and obtain their views in a matter of such crucial public importance but is obviously inconsistent with the spirit, if not also the letter, of the Joint Committee's recommendation on the subject." Next the paper quotes from clause 6 of the Committee's report, and continues :— " Is not this sufficiently clear and explicit language, and does it not make it obligatory upon the Governor and his Executive Council to consult the Ministers in a matter like the one under notice, which cannot under any canon of interpretation be held to belong to the category of ' matters of administrative business which can be disposed off departmentally '. It will not do to say that the Governor and his Executive Council were anxious to spare the new Ministers the odium of sharing their responsibility for a measure which they knew could not possibly be popular. There is absolutely no question of the sharing of responsibility in this or any kindred case." Here the paper makes another quotation from the Joint Committee's report and concludes with the remark that the omission to consult the Ministers was entirely indefensible.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th January says that all political agitation ceases in the *ilaka* to which the Act is extended. This is satisfactory for Government, and it is for this reason that it has been emboldened to enforce the Act in one district after another. The proceeding is, however, the reverse of prudent. Government knows how the heart of the Punjab is troubled and how her blood is boiling. This being so, it is possible that the gradual gagging of the whole province may prove the forerunner of a catastrophe, the responsibility for which will lie at the door of those who are imposing restrictions on the liberty of speech.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

The Gujranwala indemnity.

10. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 26th January states that, like the Amritsar municipal committee, the Gujranwala municipality also has declined to realise the indemnity imposed on the latter town. It now behoves the Punjab Government to abandon the idea of realising any indemnity and abstain from reviving the unpleasant memories connected with the martial-law administration.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

The administration of cantonments.

11. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 25th January writes in the course of an article on the proposed Cantonment Reform Committee :—" [The civil residents of cantonment] want to live like men, like civilised men in full enjoyment o

the rights of citizenship which are and should be the indefeasible birthright of everyone who owns allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor. . . . Bereft of the elementary rights of citizenship, with no voice, much less a share, in their civic affairs, all power vested in the person of officials and labouring under such galling disabilities as grow alone in an atmosphere of irresponsible autocracy—the denizens of Indian cantonments are verily like hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country. They are like the dumb, driven cattle in the battle of life. It is high time for the authorities to revise radically the present cantonment administration."

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

A case of expulsion from Multan cantonment.

12. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 25th January publishes the following from one Hakim ALLAHYAR KHAN :—" In July 1920 there was held a meeting under the auspices of the Khilafat association, Multan cantonment, in which the president was Maulvi Ghulam Muhammad. I was asked to act as treasurer, but I refused to hold this post In fact I did not even contribute any subscription towards the funds. I was deported. There was nothing in the order of the authorities to show why I was deported. After repeated inquiries I came to know that there was one thing of which I was supposed to have been guilty, *i.e.*, I was told that I had been exciting the military soldiers to leave Government service. In spite of my complete innocence, I apologised to the military officers, but all in vain. . . . The crime of which I was accused was wholly unfounded and there was no proof of my having been guilty of anything of the sort, as I had never any chance to attend any such association or meetings. I own moveable and immoveable property worth about Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 30,000 which are mostly buildings and lying in the cantonment area. Now imagine my plight : I cannot receive even the usual rent. I am living in a solitary state where I have no comfort, and further I beg to say that the members of my family are living alone in the cantonment and there is none to look after them. Some days back my son about two years old died for want of care and proper medical attendance. I could not even participate in his death ceremony. This is in brief the story of my externment. It has meant untold hardships for me, who am a loyal subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

AL-FAZL (Qadian); Ghulam Nabi, editor.

Cow-killing.

13. (*a*) *Al-Fazl* of the 20th January says that one of the resolutions to be moved in the newly-formed Council of State is to the effect that the provincial Governments be asked to prohibit cow-killing by law as far as possible. This should suffice to open the eyes of those Muhammadans who think that by obtaining self-government in conjunction with the Hindus they will be able, not only to secure complete liberty, but also to bring about the restoration of the Muslim territories which have passed into the hands of Christian powers. When even on the inauguration of the new reforms the religious affairs of the Muhammadans are thus sought to be interfered in and an attempt is being made to prohibit by law what is allowed by Islam, what tyrannies will not the Hindus practise owing to their numerical strength on the grant of self-government ? Continuing, the paper says that Government will never tolerate any interference in the religious affairs of the Muhammadans : it is incumbent on it to respect their religious susceptibilities in the same way as it ought to respect those of the Hindus or any other community. As president of the Cow Conference held at Nagpur in December last, it adds, Lala Lajpat Rai made the remark that unless self-government was obtained the question of the protection of kine could not be solved. This is the sort of *swaraj* which the Hindus are anxious to obtain. There will then be no one to call them to account, nor will they fear anyone in solving the question [according to their wishes]. In view of their numerical strength, the Muhammadans will not have the courage to oppose them, while if they do raise an outcry there will be no one to listen to it. This should show what treatment the Hindus intend to accord to the Muhammadans on obtaining self-government. Is this the kind of *swaraj* to secure which the latter are making common cause with the former ?

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nat , editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 22nd January states that it is opposed on principle to seek official help in connection with matters which affect the social or religious relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans. We have to see, nevertheless, how protection can be afforded to bovines. The

Muslim League passed a resolution asking the Muhammadans to abstain from cow-killing, but it has not been carried into effect. How can, then, the matter be settled if the Hindus and Muhummadans will do nothing for themselves and the question is not also to be taken up in the Legislative Councils or municipal committees? The Hindus desire cow-protection and the Muhammadans profess to share this desire; but when the time for action comes the former are threatened to do nothing against the latter's wishes. How, then, is the object in view to be gained?

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

VICTORIA PAPER (Sialkot); Brij Lal, editor.

Honorific titles.

14. The *Victoria Paper* of the 20th January remarks that titles of honour should not be conferred on persons holding appointments no better than those of clerks. Officials like clerks and sub-assistant surgeons should be otherwise rewarded for the good services rendered by them. They should, for instance, be given a special increase of pay.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Complaint against some soldiers in Lahore fort.

15. The Secretary, Panth Sewak Jatha, writes to the *Tribune* of the 23rd January:—"On the 16th of January 1921 (the birthday of Sri Guru Gobind Singh ji) at about 10 P.M., we, the members of the Panth Jatha, were going to Dera Sahib Sri Guru Arjan Dev ji near the fort reciting sacred *shabads* (hymns). All of a sudden a volley of bricks and stones fell upon us from the fort. Almost all of us were hurt. On being questioned as to what necessitated them to do us this uncalled-for hospitality, the soldiers simply laughed and abused us. One fails to understand whether these men are here to protect the hearths and homes of His Majesty's beloved subjects or to do harm to peaceful and law-abiding people. The special attention of the officer in charge of the fort is invited to the event in order that he may strictly instruct his soldiers to be more careful and gentle in future."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 29th January 1921.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish treaty.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The *Tribune* of the 1st February writes :—" At last a silver lining is visible in an otherwise dark cloud. Our readers will have seen from a London telegram ..... that in consequence of several recently changed factors a modification of the Turkish treaty is now regarded as practically certain, and one important change which is considered probable is the transformation of the Greek zone of occupation to a zone of economic interest under the sovereignty of the Sultan and the removal of the Greek troops. That this will be a change for the better, as far as it goes, is on the face of it obvious, but by itself it will not go a long way either towards placating Muslim sentiment generally or towards satisfying the Indian Mussalmans in particular. It remains to be seen whether the Allies will yet rise to the height of the occasion and of statesmanship and arrive at a solution of the problem that would be not only consonant with justice, but have in it the element of permanence, which ..... is almost the last thing that can be claimed for the present treaty.

Persia.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 25th January says that it is clear from the recent news from Persia that the Government there is not prepared to ratify the Anglo-Persian agreement and is sincerely desirous of casting in its lot with the Bolsheviks. On the other hand, the English intend at once to withdraw their troops, from northern Persia at least in the event of the Persian Government not ratifying the agreement. Although the withdrawal indicates that the English are afraid of the advancing Bolshevik flood, still the pretext put forward is that since they can render no help to Persia owing to her failure to ratify the agreement they have decided to leave the country. Continuing, the paper says that apparently the new Anglo-Persian agreement is not going to be ratified. Feelings of opposition to the English are running very high at Teheran and in northern Persia, while the power of the Bolsheviks is daily growing in the country. Again, in order to ensure the protection of their country and promote their national aims and interests the Persians are inclined to make friends with the Bolsheviks. On the contrary, they

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regard the English with feelings of enmity and hostility. In these circumstances, it would be an act of great folly if their pride of power leads the English to try to control the situation with the help of the military and to oppose the Bolsheviks by sending further troops to Persia. British statesmen should know that their honour on the present occasion lies only in withdrawing from Persia. If that country becomes the fighting pit for the English and Bolsheviks it will be totally ruined, while a dreadful calamity will overtake Asia. India also will be involved in ruin, seeing that the help in men and money for the British troops in Persia can be supplied from this country alone. But India is no longer prepared to render voluntary help [to England] in enslaving foreign countries.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Syed Habib,
editor.

Indians abroad.

3. Commenting on Mr. C F. Andrews' recent letter to the press in the course of which he stated that Indians were not allowed to settle in four-fifths of the possessions of the British Government, the *Siyasat* of the 30th January says that the whites in East Africa are thinking of blowing Indians from the cannon's mouth to prevent the latter making a living there. Restrictions have been imposed on the entry of Indian emigrants into Canada also. The heart-rending memory of the *Komagata Maru* incident will not be effaced from the minds of India after the lapse even of centuries. The wives of the Indian labourers living in Fiji are required to act as prostitutes. Again, such severe punishment was inflicted on these labourers for the recent strike there, which was based only upon economic grounds, that even the horrible tyrannies which the Punjabis had to suffer during the martial-law regime stand no comparison to it. In New Zealand also people from this country are prevented from earning their bread. It is preposterous, therefore, that men from all these parts of the Empire can make a living in India without let or hinderance Can Great Britain claim in face of these facts that an equal treatment is accorded to all her subjects, and that no colour and racial distinctions prevail in the Empire? Should the members of the Government, under which Indians are considered to be such degraded beings that they are not permitted even to earn their bread in its possessions, feel surprised at the latter having started the non-coöperation movement or at the majority of the people in the country not favouring the maintenance of the British connection?

II.– LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

JAT GAZETTE
(Rohtak);
Chhotu Ram,
editor.

The Duke of Connaught.

4. (*a*) Referring to the reception accorded to the Duke of Connaught at Madras, the *Jat Gazette* of the 26th January expresses the hope that a spirit of the greatest devotion will be displayed by the people of other places also which His Royal Highness is to visit. He deserves honour from Indians even as a prominent member of the royal family.

DESH
(Lahore);
Dina Nath,
editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 3rd February remarks that the Duke of Connaught is said to have brought with him a message of peace for this country. Is it about the repeal of the Rowlatt Acts, asks the paper? If this is so, it is a belated remedy. Where is now the necessity for officially repealing the Act? We ourselves repealed it long ago. We dug its grave at the Jallianwala Bagh and buried it there. If the Duke has in his pocket anything less precious than *swaraj* the object in view cannot be achieved.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 4th February writes:—" To those who have been looking forward to the function which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is to perform at Delhi within less than a week with any hope that it will be the occasion for a historic pronouncement on the great question of *swaraj*, which to-day fills the thought and absorbs the energies and the emotions of all that is good and true in the country, the speeches made both by Lord Ronaldshay and the Duke on the occasion of the inauguration of the Bengal Legislative Council will be a grievous disappointment. There was much in both speeches that was undoubtedly both uncontroversial and commendable. . . . But both made it abundantly clear that whatever else the Duke may have to tell us later on he will have nothing to say on the burning question of *swaraj*, nothing, at any rate, that may be expected to improve the present political situation in India or to bring mental peace and contentment to the large section of the people who have lost both. . . . . It matters little what His Royal Highness may say at Delhi. Even if he has anything to say on the concrete issues of the Punjab and the Khilafat, it will be only a palliative, and will not touch the root of the diseases, for the disease has now ceased to be functional and has become organic."

India and the Empire.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

5. The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th January says that the recent alteration in the Congress creed has raised the question whether India can remain within the Empire. After remarking that the separation movement has already started in other parts of the Empire, the paper states that British statesmen are considering various proposals to meet the situation. It is in contemplation, among other things, to bind together the different parts of the Empire on a footing of equality. In case, however, the whites in the British colonies are accorded this treatment, Indians will have a multiplicity of masters instead of one. Continuing, the editor says that India can remain within the Empire only if she is placed on a footing of equality with other parts of it. He then goes on to say that if she gets Home Rule she will employ all her powers to revive her arts and industries. And in order to bring about this result she will have to adopt measures which may kill British trade, arts and industries. Obviously, therefore, it is impracticable for her to continue within the Empire even as an equal partner.

India and self-government.

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

6. The *Jiwan Tat* of the 25th January says that Mr. Gandhi has raised the cry that he will obtain *swaraj* for Indians in nine months. We realise, however, that our country is not as yet fully prepared for *swaraj*. Indeed, Indians are yet unfit for self-government. They do not possess the qualifications which Mr. Gandhi himself considers essential for the attainment of *swaraj*.

Non-coöperation among students.

ITTFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

7. (*a*) The *Ittifaq* of the 24th January urges the Punjab students to leave officially-managed colleges without any delay. Bengal has set a noble example in patriotism and self-sacrifice, but the Punjabis, whose houses are on fire, are waiting to find out the direction of the wind. Punjabi young men should leave their colleges and visit every village to rouse dormant spirits and preach *swaraj*.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 27th January writes that since the *ulemas* have unanimously decided that according to the *shara*, it is unlawful to read at colleges which receive monetary help from Government and are affiliated to official universities, there is no reason why Muslim students should hesitate to act upon this decision. To no self-respecting Muhammadan can any principle be as worthy of being carried into practice as the injunctions of his sacred religion. We can produce no more cogent an argument in favour of non-coöperation than the fact that the commands of God and His Prophet support the movement. Next the editor deprecates the indifference of his co-religionists to the resolutions adopted by the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*, dwells on the importance of the Muhammadans acting on the *fatwas* given by their theologians and urges Muslim young men not to tolerate the insult offered to their religion and successors of the Prophet [the *ulema*].

(*c*) The *Zamindr* of the 30th January feels gratified to see that Punjabi students have submitted to the decision of the country and the nation. After remarking that Lala Lajpat Rai deserves congratulations on the success achieved by him, the paper suggests that all the students, who may boycott their colleges, should attend a school, specially started for the purpose, to study the Khilafat, the Punjab and *swaraj* questions, as also other problems connected with [the movement for] independence. After they have undergone a course of training for two months, they should be sent to the villages in the province to acquaint the people there with the Khilafat and Punjab questions and [India's] goal of freedom, to induce them to practise non-coöperation, to prevent them from resorting to official courts, - in short, to generate a wave of liberty in every nook and corner of the province. If this programme is followed in all parts of the country, *swaraj* can be obtained not in eight but two months.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 1st February publishes a leading article urging the parents of students gladly to allow the latter to follow the dictates of their religion. It asks them to bear in mind that our faith enjoins upon us to practise non-coöperation with the present Government, which has trampled upon our religious sentiments with contempt, and to withdraw our sons from its educational institutions. Besides, all the *ulema* of India have decided that it is a sin to get our sons educated at official and semi-official schools and colleges. Again, the liberty of our country is involved in the matter. If the non-coöperation movement succeeds, which it certainly will, India will be freed from foreign domination and her children will enjoy all the blessings which fall to the lot of free nations.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(e) In its issue dated the 2nd February the paper regrets that no representative from the Law, Training, Medical and Veterinary Colleges should have attended the students' conference held at Gujranwala. Next it asks the students of the first-named college why they should study the unconstitutional and oppressive laws of the British Government and asks them to discontinue reading and prepare themselves to serve their nation. The same advice is tendered to the students of the Training College, which, the paper says, prepares slaves, who turn out slaves in their turn. As to the Medical and Veterinary Colleges, they are meant chiefly to meet the military requirements of the bureaucratic Government of India. Does there still exist any Indian, however, who, in spite of the present plight of the people, would render military service to Government? If there is any in the country, he is undoubtedly a disgrace to it. Surely it is inconsistent with Indians' sense of self-respect to make themselves a source of strength to those who utilised the former's military power for crushing weak nations and cruelly shed innocent blood at the Jallianwala Bagh.

(f) In the leader in its issue of the 3rd February the paper urges the students of the Islamia College, Lahore, not to lag behind those of other colleges in following the non-coöperation movement. Do they wish, it asks, to bring disgrace upon the Muhammadans of this province? Will they let the world say that they are so lost to all sense of self-respect that even the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat question have failed to move them? To-day Islam expects every Muhammadan to sacrifice all his worldly interests for God and the Prophet. Again, India expects every Indian to overlook all educational and social considerations in order to rescue his motherland out of the clutches of aliens.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(g) The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th January publish an article written by LAJPAT RAI, who asks the students of the Medical College to practise non-coöperation. He also appeals to the students of the Law, Islamia and Khalsa Colleges to join the movement.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(h) The *Siyasat* of the 31st January suggests that students should be withdrawn from those [denominational] schools and colleges the authorities of which neither get these institutions disaffiliated nor discontinue receiving grants from Government. This would bring them into the right path, while a still more effective means to that end is for the people not to give a single pice in aid of these schools and colleges, which are so many machines for converting young men into slaves. Our Muhammadan brethren in particular, who are not blessed with a plethora of wealth, should take the suggestion into consideration. If it is acted upon several of the educational institutions referred to will have to listen to the nation's voice and the pride of their conductors will be humbled.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(i) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 3rd February :—"While the idea [of making students suspend their studies to do political work] is intelligible, we must once more beg leave to express our dissent from it. We do not minimise the supreme need for doing everything in our power to reduce, even if we cannot wholly do away with, the power which the bureaucracy exercises over our understanding, our imagination and our will, but we know of no surer or more effective way of securing this end than by means of education itself. So far the greater part of this destructive work has been done, whether directly or indirectly, by education, yes, even the present unsatisfactory system of education, and its products. No class or section of the people is so wholly discontented with its lot as a subject people as the educated community, and no section of the community has done even a small fraction of the work which the educated community have done to transform this state of subjection into a state of freedom and of complete equality. . . We [do not] minimise the value of the work which the students are being called upon to do, and especially the propaganda work and the work with the spinning wheel. But here, again, what we have to consider is whether this work could not as well or better be done by others and whether in doing this work students would not be neglecting work at least as important as itself. For our part we have no hesitation in answering both questions in the affirmative... It would be a mistake to imagine that every boy of sixteen has in him the making of a missionary... Above everything else we do object, in a struggle which is not physical but moral, to the minimising of the supreme need for intellectual development. Whether we aspire to break the power of the bureaucracy or to assume our rightful place in the brotherhood of nations, let us not forget that it is only with the power of knowledge, backed by character, that we can hope to do either. Let nothing be done, therefore, that will for one single moment lower the supreme place of knowledge in the imagination of the people, and especially of that portion of the people whose special business it is to keep ideas alive and burning.

(j) The following occurs in the course of a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 4th February by Professor RUCHI RAM SAHNI:—"The representatives of the materialistic or utilitarian school of thought are not blind to the serious short comings of the existing State-regulated system of education. But considering the number of scholars at present under instruction, the low standard of literacy prevailing in the country, and the enormous funds which must be found if a national system of education, independently of State aid, is to be depended upon exclusively, they would not like the present conditions to be disturbed till provision shall have been made for wider and better instructional facilities for the people. To shut down the existing schools and colleges, because they do not come up to our expectations, before better ones are ready, is, they say, putting the cart before the horse; it is an act of national suicide; it is nothing short of madness."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Aryas and non-coöperation.

8. The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd February publishes the following from LAJPAT RAI under the heading "Non-coöperation ordered by the Vedas: Swami Dayanand's Message":—Swami Dayanand has given the purport of verse 17 in the 9th chapter of the Yajur Veda as under:—"Those very state officials who realise taxes from us should always and in every way fully protect us, otherwise they should not realise the taxes and all of us should not pay these to them. Taxes should be paid for the protection of the ruled and the reformation of the wicked [and for purposes of] war, [and] for no other object. Verily this is so." We ask the Arya Samajists, the followers of Swami Dayanand, whether, after the martial law oppression in the Punjab and the Hunter Committee's report, it is not incumbent on them to obey the injunction contained in this verse. Does not this *mantra* preach the creed of non-coöperation?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Tilak *Swaraj* Fund.

9. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th January publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI, who says that *swaraj* is the only remedy for all our ills. It is our duty, therefore, to display the greatest liberality in subscribing towards the Tilak *Swaraj* Fund started by the Punjab Congress Committee. After stating how the Fund will facilitate the solution of several national problems, the writer says that the people should curtail their expenses in order to subscribe towards it. He strongly appeals to the rich and the poor in this province to make contributions in aid of the Fund.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of the 2nd February says:—"We do hope the appeal will evoke as patriotic and as liberal a response from the lacerated heart of the Punjab as one has the right to expect, as the most sanguine among us do expect. Think what some of us may, *swarajya* is the only remedy for the Punjab wrong, the one effective way of making a repetition of that wrong impossible, and the response which this appeal will evoke will naturally be regarded as the measure of the extent to which the individual citizen feels for that wrong and desires that it should not recur."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

10. (a) The *Liberal* of the 24th January writes:—"After Amritsar, Lahore was next to be gagged, and its public activity is therefore dumb except for the speaking that the local press is able to do for it. The contagion has since spread to Jullundur, and it is no wonder if, in these days of civilisation and humanity, the whole population of the Land of the Five Waters finds its tongue cut off by the hands of the British bureaucracy! But it is difficult to suppress feeling and, like water, it must find out its own course. If

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

the exits are all tight, the foundations must be tapped and the edifice effected. To look at this aspect of the question, the Seditious Meetings Act cannot but defeat its own object. For is it or is it not natural that a suppressed feeling, which has no means of ventilating itself, must find its expression in forms which are detrimental to peace and order in the country? We hope the authorities will not ignore this side of the case and withdraw the Seditious Meetings Act at as early a date as possible."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th January says that the so-called new era has now commenced. Our Lieutenant-Governor has become a Governor and there are as many as three ministers—ministers who receive each a princely salary of Rs. 61,000 a year out of the hard-earned money of the starving people—to advise Government from the popular point of view. What does it mean, then, that the Seditious Meetings Act, which is an extremely oppressive law, should be enforced in new districts instead of its operation being withdrawn from the districts in which it was already in force? Nothing need be said about Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia: no one expects anything from him. But have Lala Harkishan Lal and Mian Fazl-i-Husain also been bewitched by Government that they, too, have not entered an emphatic protest against the imposition of this tyrannical and oppressive restriction on the people's liberty of speech? Next the editor states on the authority of the *Tribune* that the Act has been enforced in the Jullundur district without the ministers having been consulted in the matter. It now remains to be seen, he adds, whether these advisers of Government, who have gained access to the official paradise in the name, and to promote the welfare, of the people, will quietly put up with this first attack which the bureaucracy has, in its pride of power, made on their right to advise Government and the people's right of free speech, or whether they will make any protest against this uncalled-for interference on the part of the bureaucracy. In our opinion, their foremost duty at the present moment consists in becoming determined to oppose this unjustifiable extension of the Seditious Meetings Act and getting at least this much settled that in future this repressive Act will not be extended to any district without their consultation. In case, however, they let this opportunity slip through their fingers the Act will be the enforced in the Hoshiarpur district also at a very early date.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

A case of expulsion from Jullundur cantonment.

11. The *Partap* of the 20th January publishes a letter from GANGA SINGH, who was recently ordered to leave Jullundur cantonment within twenty-four hours. The writer states that he is a shopkeeper and owns [? immoveable] property worth Rs. 40,000 in the cantonment. The value of the goods in his shop and the debts due to him amount to Rs. 50,000. He manages the shop himself and has no relation to attend to his business. He has been living in the cantonment for the last thirty-five years and pays Rs. 80 as income-tax. Continuing, he states that [recently] he decided [*lit* wished] to sell to Europeans chiefly for cash, as during the war [some] *Sahibs* [quietly [went away and defrauded him of Rs. 5,000. He suspects that perhaps it is for this reason that the Cantonment Magistrate has become displeased with him and has taken the above action against him. Justice demands that the writer should be told the reasons for his expulsion, and that if there are any charges against him he should be prosecuted in a court of law. Commenting, the *Partab* says that the Magistrate's order is most tyrannical and cannot be condemned too much. It does not become a Government in the twentieth century to inflict a severe punishment like expulsion on any person without telling him the reason for it and giving him an opportunity to defend himself. It is officers like the Cantonment Magistrate of Jullundur who bring the British Government into disrepute.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

The postal strike.

12. The following is taken from the *Liberal* of the 24th January :—

"The postal strike in Lahore still shows no signs of abatement. The inconvenience caused to the people therefore continues to grow and the loss to business is also very great. It was stated that the postal authorities were very anxious to end the strike, but could not do so, as the president of the post peons' committee was Mr. Santanam, a non-coöperator! Mr. Santanam has since resigned his presidentship, although, as he made it perfectly clear, the causes of the strike are as far away from non-coöperation or politics in general as the poles asunder.

However, Mr. Santanam's resignation has not made the situation a whit better and the people would like to know if the Postmaster-General has any other reason for not listening to the reasonable demands of the workmen. Why does he not say that the post peons' union should be ended before he can agree to end their strike?"

Recent strikes.

Sikh (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

13. The *Sikh* of the 30th January writes:—"So it is evident that all these railway, postal, coal and cognate strikes strike at the interests of the people rather than of Government or Government people. During the last North-Western Railway strike it was the Punjabi merchant and businessman that suffered the most; it was the Punjabi passenger that was deprived by want of timely trains, not the British gentleman or servant who could avail himself of any train he liked. Similarily has the present postmen's strike proved a calamity for the poor subjects who could not have even the most important letters in time. The public *dak* was thrown in bazars as if it was a bundle of waste paper. Now even that it is boasted that the arrangement has much improved by the appointment of new men so that 'there would be no cause for a complaint' in future, the less said the better about the Indian *dak*, whereas it is well known that *Sahib logs* receive theirs as regularly and punctually as ever. If inquiries were to be made as to what a heavy loss and trouble the public have been put to through this mismanagement in the Postal Department, they would reveal astounding facts in proof of it. . . . The usual train service which is already too insufficient to meet the demand, has been heavily curtailed with effect from the 24th instant. And who is suffering through this curtailment? None else but the poor Punjabi businessman, servant and litigant."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Cow-killing.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

14. Adverting to the resolution on cow-killing moved at a recent meeting of the Lahore municipal committee, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th January says that the Hindus continue to display indifference to the communal and religious affairs of the Muhammadans, as also to their feelings. If they continue selfish, the day is not far distant when the Hindu-Muhammadan *entente*, over which they are in the habit of harping and which is essential for promoting the country's common interests, will come to naught through their selfishness. The gulf separating the two communities will then be so widened that it will be beyond human power to bridge it over. Continuing, the paper says that Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din moved an amendment to the resolution to the effect that Government might be urged altogether to stop cow-killing. The municipal committee accepted the amendment, and this is calculated to wound the feelings of the Muhammadans. The matter will now go to the Punjab Government, and it remains to be seen what attitude Government will adopt in regard to it. It is not too much to hope that the just and good Government of Sir Edward Maclagan will reject the amendment.

Alleged insult to the Prophet.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

15. The *Zamindar* of the 26th January states that writing to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Babu Panjkori Banerji draws attention to an extremely objectionable sentence in an English text-book—the *Story of England*—written by a Christian *padri* and taught in schools in Bengal. After quoting this sentence, in which Muhammad is called a false prophet, the paper says that although the Calcutta University contains [some] most scholarly Muhammadans, the unclean book in question continues to be taught in the Bengal schools Such are the advantages to which the supporters of State-aided education are in the habit of giving prominence in order to throw dust in our eyes. Do State-controlled universities expect Indians, it asks, even after such abominable and humiliating acts, to maintain a connection with them? In conclusion, it suggests that the book referred to, in which the wicked *padri* in question has used filthy language towards the Prophet, should forthwith be excluded from the courses of study, and that all copies of it should be confiscated and destroyed.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 27th January expresses the hope that Government will not allow the mischief to assume larger proportions and will lose no time in excluding this unclean publication from the list of text-books. May we also hope that it will prosecute the *padri* for defamation [in respect of Muhammadans] ?

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore) ; Abdul Majid, editor.

The next municipal election at Lahore.

16. The *Zamindar* of the 30th January publishes a communication from one MALIK MERAJ DIN of the Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. The writer urges the [Muslim] voters of Lahore to vote for no candidate who, far from standing by "us" during "our" sufferings under martial law, sided with "satanic powers". They should return to the municipal committee only such men as are of them, participate in their sorrows and joys, feel for the country and the nation, and, above all, obey the teachings of Islam and fear no wordly power.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar) ; Gian Singh, editor.

Faridkot.

17. The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 28th January :—" When the late lamented Maharaja [of Faridkot] died we pressed on the Government the necessity of appointing a Sikh as President of its Council. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had, however, a protege in Rai Bahadur Ganga Sahai, and in his anxiety to provide him with a good billet, other interests were not so much heeded as they deserved to be. With all his experience of different States and British service, the Rai Bahadur is essentially a non-Sikh and his art of government is the one he learnt at the feet of his master Sir Michael. 'Devoid of sympathy and love, he knows how to carry on.' The people have found in him a cold master and his colleagues a mechanical chief His health is now shattered. . . . We, therefore, now give a timely counsel to our sympathetic Governor that no further mistake may be committed in selecting his successor. The State wants primarily a Sikh officer of experience, ability and character. There is no lack of such Sikhs now in the Provincial Civil Service. . . . Apart from other questions of administration, the betrothels and marriages of the princes and princesses of the ruling family, the publication of the Faridkot commentary of Sri Guru Granth Sahib . . . and other kindred subjects require a thoroughly Sikh heart, born and bred in Sikh lore to guide the destinies of the State during the long impending minority of the Tikka Sahib. Let us hope that our Governor-in-Council will not disappoint the Sikhs by his selection of the next President."

PAISA AKHBAR. (Lahore) ; Mahbub Alam, editor.

Begar.

18. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 28th January expresses gratification at the appointment by the Punjab Government of contractors to supply provisions to touring officers at market rates. After praising the local Government for taking this step, the paper asks it to adopt prompt measures to stop the employment of forced labourers also, which practice entails many hardships on the poor people concerned.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore) ; Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th January says that if officers and their subordinates act upon the *communiqué* the suffering of poor shopkeepers are likely to be mitigated. Such acts of oppression cannot, however, end unless the people acquire the courage to oppose them.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE :
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Siyasat (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

England and the League of Nations.

1. The *Siyasat* of the 3rd February says that no country has been able to derive from the League of Nations the advantage which Great Britain has done. She has established her rule in Irak-i-Arab and Palestine in the name of the League and taken possession of the magnificent Egyptian empire by removing it from under the Turkish rule. She has also annexed the German possessions in Africa and occupied certain other *ilakas* with the approval of the League of Nations. Continuing, the paper asks whether she lays before the League, in whose name she is deciding the fate of the whole world, accounts of those countries also which are tired of her tyrannical rule and long for freedom. She continues to adopt arbitrary measures regarding Turkey, Russia, Austria, Germany, etc., in the name of the League, but does not honesty demand that she should lay before it the affairs of Ireland and India also so that the representatives of the powers through whom she tried to gain her object may come to know how these countries are tired of her rule? It is asserted that the object of the League is to establish peace throughout the world and to protect subject nations against tyrannical powers. How can, then, that body shut its eyes to the case of Ireland and India and is it not its duty to call upon Great Britain to clear her position in regard to them? The Irish and Indian nationalists are proclaiming by beat of drum that their countries wish to be freed from the British Government; and if the League of Nations or the Allies' Conference can snatch Turkish territory on the pretext of establishing freedom there, attention should be paid to the painful story of the inhabitants of Ireland and India also.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Duke of Connaught.

2. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th February says that, instead of knowing and admitting the real state of affairs in India, the Duke of Connaught has telegraphed to the King-Emperor that His Royal Highness feels very grateful for the wonderful reception accorded to him here. Does not this show that the adage "Kings have ears but no eyes", which obtained in the old times of despotism and flattery, applies even to the present age of democracy and awakening? The Indian bureaucracy and its organs, *i. e.*, the Anglo-Indian newspapers, should remember that they may deceive the Duke, the British public and themselves, but that this cannot alter the real situation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 11th February:—"Judged by the ordinary and conventional test, the speech of the Duke of Connaught at the opening of the Indian Legislature was, indeed, a remarkable performance. In form and substance, in style and diction, and above all in the fine sentiments it breathes throughout, it is entirely worthy both of a member of a royal family, particularly noted for felicitous utterances, and of those to whom it was addressed. . . . We have in the royal message, embodied in the speech, for the first time in British Indian history, the recognition of India's demand for and India's claim to *swaraj*. . . . We have the assurance conveyed in the clearest possible terms that although for the present the principle of responsible government has been withheld from the sphere of the central Government, in that sphere as in the rest of the administration the people's representatives are henceforth to have a real and effective voice. . . . Short of the actual transfer of power and authority, which Indian opinion has now for some time been resolutely demanding, this, it will be admitted, is almost all that could be desired, and it is not difficult to imagine what effect such a pledge, conveyed in such terms, would have produced upon the public mind of India only a few years ago. But the intervening period has made all the difference, and to-day it is the bare truth to say that all these fine sentiments of an earlier time will literally fall flat. It was none of these things that people had been anticipating. One has only to recall the rumours that were afloat in all parts of the country to form a correct idea of the sort of utterance which had been looked forward to, in some cases with, in others without, an excess of confidence. . . . Repressive measures are not even referred to, unless the assurance about the disappearance of autocracy be taken to cover them. The Khilafat and the Turkish treaty are not so much as mentioned. There is no assurance anywhere as regards the time-limit or even as regards the determination of His Majesty's Government either to expedite the process of transfer of authority in the provincial sphere or to initiate it in the central. On the other hand, the phrase 'free gift of one nation to another', which the Duke uses in an otherwise eloquent passage, is clearly reminiscent of other times and of ideals and conceptions of things which humanity in India as elsewhere has now definitely outgrown and deliberately discarded. . . . It is only as regards the Punjab wrong that the Duke was not wholly silent, but here too the reference is both indirect and unsatisfactory. . . . The net effect of the speech will be only to accentuate the feeling of profound disappointment produced by the Duke's utterances in Calcutta, while the throwing away by British statesmanship of an opportunity which is not to recur for about a year of conciliating India through the mouth of royalty will be recorded by history as among its greatest blunders in India."

(c) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"Apart from the repudiation of the idea of force and terrorism in the body of the Duke's speech . . . . there was a word of personal appeal with which His Royal Highness brought the proceedings of the day to an end, and which, we have no hesitation in saying, will go direct to the heart of the people of India even as it undoubtedly came from the heart. . . . 'My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day'. At the same time, His Royal Highness has only to place himself in our position to see that an appeal like this, while it would naturally touch all hearts, could have the desired effect only after justice had been done, only after the British Government had repudiated not merely by their words but by their action the idea of government by force or terrorism. It is not the Dyers and O'Dwyers that matter.... What does matter is the attitude of the British Government.... It is the failure of that Government to mete out justice in connection with the Punjab wrong that fills our mind with despair and dismay, and makes the situation so difficult to-day. We do hope His Royal Highness will not consider India unappreciative of his good wishes and of the unquestionable sincerity of his and the King-Emperor's love of her people, if she wishes him not only to take these words as her reply to his own appeal, but to carry them back with him as her people's humble and dutiful reply to the august message of which he was the bearer."

Autocracy in India.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

3. Commenting on the Viceroy's speech on the occasion of the opening of the Indian Legislature, the *Tribune* of the 12th February writes:—"The Viceroy, indeed, told us that the [principle of autocracy] had disappeared already. But this is most emphatically not the case. Not only does the principle of autocracy still persist, but even its operation has not so far been materially affected. Only a day before His Excellency and His Royal Highness made their speeches, a neighbouring administration, for whose acts the Government of India has a special measure of responsibility, took action under the Defence of India Act against one of India's foremost public men, a man who only the other day was called by the united voice of the greater part of political India to the presidential chair of India's foremost representative gathering. In the very city in which they spoke all three primary rights of citizens are at the present moment under executive control, namely, the right of public meeting, the right of association, and the freedom of the press. In every part of the country laws are in force which are the visible embodiment of autocracy and the visible negation of liberty. Surely after all this it is too much for the head of the Government to assert, and for the royal guest to endorse the claim, that autocracy has all been abandoned. Before this claim can be advanced or conceded, the duty of the Government is clear and unmistakeable. It must either forthwith declare all the repressive and restrictive measures to be virtually a dead letter, or at any rate exercise none of the powers vested in it by any such measure without the previous sanction of the Legislative Assembly or the provincial Council, as the case may be. So long as a single repressive measure remains in operation and so long as a single power vested by any of them is used without prior reference to the legislature or fresh legislative sanction, so long will the claim remain invalid and unsustainable."

Non-coöperation.

Mukhbir (Amritsar); Lakhmi Das, editor.

4. (a) The *Mukhbir* of the 1st February publishes a communication from **Lala Janeshar Das**, a *reis* of Saharanpur. The writer says that if Government were to withdraw its help from us, anarchy would come to prevail in India. Rapine, plunder and murder would become the order of the day, which would afford an opportunity to the Bolsheviks, Turks and Afghans to invade India and destroy the honour and riches of her children. After remarking that this would retard the country's progress by centuries, the writer suggests that at a time when the Turks, Afghans and Bolsheviks are joining hands and an invasion of India is apprehended, the Hindus should not identify themselves with the non-coöperation movement. Continuing, he says that it is absurd on the part of Mr. Gandhi, the Ali brothers and other leaders to assert that the movement is constitutional and non-violent. The public should boldly raise its voice against the propaganda, being supported by Government in the matter. In the other event, dangerous consequence will ensue.

Siyasat (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 3rd February says that "A MUHAMMADAN" thus addresses the Muslim youths of the Frontier Province:—O lion-hearted people, who sacrifice yourselves for Islam!... Why have you not so far bowed your head before the commands of your God and Prophet after coming to know of the unanimous decision of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind and reading the resolutions passed by the Khilafat conference, and why have you not become prepared to act upon the suggestion made by the revered leaders of your country and community?... Are you unwilling to sacrifice—for a certain period and for the attainment of *swaraj* within one year, as also to bring about the freedom of the country and the nation, in deference to the resolution of the Khilafat and to save the honour of the holy places of Islam—your education, an education which makes you cowardly, effete and slavish, plays havoc with your brains and drives love of country and community from your hearts? If this is not so, do you wish to cast a blot on your name? Do you wish to remain in the chains of slavery throughout your life? . . Do you refuse to obey the injunctions of God and the Prophet? The Punjab has become prepared [to practise non-coöperation]. You have read in the papers of the sacrifice made by Sind, Madras and Benares. It is you alone who lag behind others. It is you who are indifferent to the matter? . . . Rise and gird up your loins. It is not the time to indulge in empty talk and make delay. You should perform the duty of serving your motherland, act on the suggestion of the leaders of the country and [your] community and prove that the frontier people do not only indulge in talk, but can also work like Bengalis.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th February publishes a communication from one ABDUL RASHID, of the Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, who urges Indians totally to boycott all foreign goods, including even medicines. If they cannot do this, he says, all talk about obtaining *swaraj* is chimerical. He hopes that the Muhammadans will follow the Hindus in the matter.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(d) The *Ittifaq* of the 9th February says that the dearth of country-made articles of sorts has been felt for a long time past. If we succeed in solving the question we shall have thrown away our collar of slavery. We can secure freedom by practising non-coöperation only if we discard the use of imported goods and promote indigenous industries.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(e) The *Partap* of the 9th February asks Government to bear in mind that the non-coöperation movement will not die. The Nagpur Congress has infused a new life into it, and it can cease only if Government accepts that body's demands. The more the settlement is delayed the worse shape will the movement assume and the worse results will ensue. Repression cannot prove successful, and if Government desires that there should be peace in India and the relations between her and England should be cemented, it should not even think of resorting to it. After remarking that it should try to come to a compromise with the leaders, the paper enumerates the popular demands in respect of the Punjab and Khilafat questions. If Government, it says in conclusion, accepts these demands all at once, "we should try to obtain *swaraj* with a calm mind".

ZAMINDAR (Lahore; Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(f) The *Zamindar* of the 8th February writes that although it has been unanimously decided by the Congress, the Muslim League, the Khilafat conference and the Jamia't-ul-Ulema that British courts should be boycotted, still the matter has not received the attention it deserved. It is undoubtedly very difficult to boycott criminal courts, but a boycott of at least civil courts should be inaugurated at once A nation, which cannot do without the help of foreigners in settling its monetary disputes, has no right to lead an independent life. Continuing, the paper says that unfortunately events have occurred recently which have made us distrustful of British courts, and to-day no self-respecting Indian reposes confidence in any of them. When we raised our voice against the Rowlatt Act and this led to deplorable results, these courts displayed extreme cruelty in imprisoning our dearest leaders and young hopefuls. Again, although no non-coöperator contravenes law in any way, still these unclean courts have imprisoned our beloved and esteemed leaders—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulvi Laqa Ullah, Sufi Iqbal Ahmad, Sardar Mangal Singh and other patriots—acting with grossly shameful injustice and despotism in the matter. In this way what little faith the public had in the sense of justice of British courts has become a thing of the past. Every self-respecting Indian should now abstain from resorting to these courts. *Panchayats* should be established everywhere, so that crores of rupees of indigent Indians may not go into the pockets of foreigners, our national sense of honour may not be murdered and we may not have to meet injustice in the end. O self-respecting Indians, will you go on knocking at the door of the courts which imprisoned your zealous leaders and the brave men who are ready to die for God and freedom? Boycott these courts and shew to foreigners that India expects not the least justice from those who have already brought disgrace upon it in the matter of the holy Caliphate and the Punjab question.

(g) The *Zamindar* of the 8th February states that a Madhepur [Bengal] correspondent informs the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that the cooks and sweepers employed by the local European population have struck work. Commenting, the *Zamindar* says that the Europeans in this country depend on their Indian servants for most of the necessities of life, and that if the latter come to realize their power they can make their masters most uncomfortable in one single day. This is certainly the most effective form of non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(h) The following occurs in the course of an article on "Faith" countributed by "A. N. S." to the *Tribune* of the 12th February :—"The fact of the matter is that non-coöperation means sacrifice, and because we are not prepared for it we indulge in all sorts of arguments regarding the practicability or otherwise of the movement. Our faith in ourselves is so weak that we dare not act in accordance with the dictates of our nobler self. The calculating man—and the majority of us belong to, this class—when urged to non-coöperate by the voice within seeks to still it with the thought: 'There is no legal authority to coerce my obedience to the Congress non-coöperation resolution. I am leading a comfortable enough life; why invite voluntary suffering? If I am not in the good books of Government, at least I am free from the attentions of the C. I. D. If martial law is declared again posters will not be put up on my house, my son who hopes to get a job in a Government office will ruin his life's chance'; and so on and so forth. The frame of mind that reasons out the pros and cons of non-coöperation thus, represents the 'slave mentality' against which Mahatma Gandhi has warned us."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(i) One MEHR CHAND writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 4th February says that it is possible to obtain *swaraj* in one year if lawyers give up their practice, merchants boycott foreign articles, doctors stop using imported medicines, and the like. Only after this has been done should students, who should be regarded as a reserve force, be asked to step into the arena. They alone can do nothing, nay, their inexperience will create several dangers and thus retard progress. The high and low, the rich and poor, the educated and illiterate should advance simultaneously.

PANCH (Lahore); Ran Singh, editor.

(j) The *Panch* of the 2nd February urges the Sikh students of the Khalsa Colleges at Amritsar and Gujranwala to come forward and not to lag behind the students of other colleges in relinquishing their studies. They should throw off the yoke of slavery in order to maintain the honour of their country. They should know no rest until their colleges sever all connection with the University and are converted into purely Sikh educational institutions.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(k) The *Siyasat* of the 3rd February says that while the students of almost all the colleges at Lahore are now on strike, it is a matter for the greatest regret that their professors should not have exhibited the least spirit of nationalism. Do they not feel ashamed that while young boys are destroying their worldly expectations by participating in the [present] political war, they [the professors] should be unwilling to encourage them in any way.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(l) The *Vakil* of the 5th February publishes a communication from SANA ULLAH, editor of the *Ahl-i-Hadis* of Amritsar. He says that it is easier for the students reading Arabic and Sanskrit to listen to Lala Lajpat Rai's message of non-coöperetion than it is for the students of English. They should emulate the example set by the Egyptian students of Azhar, and be the first to take up the work of serving their motherland.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(m) LAJPAT RAI writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th February says that the Punjab students have made a prompt and most satisfactory response to his appeal for non-coöperation. After remarking that the spirit displayed by them has revived his hopes, the writer addresses Indian teachers in the Punjab and asks whether they have no interest in the present struggle. Do they think that their salvation has been entrusted into the hands of the British Government for ever? Are they so helpless and cowardly as to be wholly devoid of activity and enthusiasm? Has slavery taken such hold of them that their cold hearts cannot be moved even by the example set by students? Teachers are the guides, makers and protectors of nations. Is it too much to expect Punjabi teachers to take part in the struggle for *swaraj* and teach their students the lesson of patriotism and national service? It is shameful that while their pupils are giving expression to pure feelings, they should keep silent or oppose them.

(n) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th February publishes a communication from one RISHI SHARMA, who says that, as Punjabi young men know, Government puts us in the fetters of law from our very birth. Our food, dress, education and bringing up are regulated by law, and the axe is thereby intentionally laid to the root of our nationality. Our humanity is changed into brutality, and various false hopes are held out to us. Our ambition for freedom is crushed, and we are supplied with such poisonous food as renders us idle, helpless and, at last, sickly. On the other hand, we are deprived of the refreshing food on which the bureaucracy and Government have been steadily thriving and which emboldens them frequently to practise oppression on us and humiliate us. This being so, why do young men turn a deaf ear to the call of their leaders? After reiterating the alleged martial law atrocities, the writer urges young men to boycott schools and colleges and carry the message of non-coöperation to every hearth and home.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(o) ABUL KALAM AZAD contributes to the *Zamindar* of the 6th February an article on non-coöperation and national education. He says that of all the items in the non-coöperation programme that relating to education is the most important. The non-coöperation movement has a religious character for the Muhammadans: they cannot have friendly relations with a power at war with Islam and its followers. As regards the general political aspect of the movement, it should suffice to say that we cannot coöperate with a Government which has embarked upon a policy of tyranny and injustice. If India follows non-coöperation she will gain freedom: the chief cause of our subordination and slavery is our coöperation with aliens. Next the writer lays stress on the necessity for educational boycott.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(p) The *Ittifaq* of the 6th February concedes that when the students of the Islamia college went on strike some time back their *confrères* of other colleges did not make common cause with them. Whether any other college joins with them or not, however, it is their religious duty not to coöperate with Government. They should not look to others, but should obey the injunctions of their religion. They should not grudge any sacrifice even of life. Let us see when they come to their senses and descend into the arena.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(q) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 5th February:—"The Congress calls upon boys above the age of sixteen to forthwith leave their colleges if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end..... While..... it is the undoubted right of those who consider themselves competent for the purpose, to advise the students, ... in the particular way in which things are being done there is not much room for the individual student questioning or exercising his conscience, ... Who does not know that even older men, men who habitually think for themselves, men in the position of members of Parliaments and Senates, too often lose all power of independent thinking when they are under the magic influence of a Fox, a Sheridan or a Mirabeau? How much more difficult it must be for boys still in their teens, boys who have never been called upon, especially under a system of examination-dominated education, to do much independent thinking, to exercise their individual judgment under the spell of the voice of a Gandhi, a Lajpat Rai or a C. R. Das! .... So it has come to this that large number of students have been forming resolutions to go on strike, not only simultaneously, but on the spur of the moment and immediately after listening to a popular orator..... But speaking as a practical man, as a man of affairs, man with a knowledge of mass psychology, one can unhesitatingly assert that that delicate operation, known as the exercise of one's conscience, has had very little to do with the action of a very large majority of the students. They have simply had no time, and their boundless faith in their leaders has left in them no inclination either, for this operation."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

The reforms.

5. The *Siyasat* of the 7th February says that Government as well as the Anglo-Indian press is proclaiming that by introducing the new reforms Great Britain has placed Indians under a deep debt of gratitude. It appears on a consideration of the reforms, however, that they have only made an unbearable addition to the burden of state expenses, especially the imperial military expenditure, under which poor Indians are already groaning. The people have been saddled with the salaries of ministers, members of Executive Councils, etc., and get noting in return. Next the paper suggests that Lala Harkishan Lal and Mr. Fazl-i

Husain should be paid only Rs. 3,000 a month, and that the salary of Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia and his European colleague should also be reduced. Indeed, a reduction should be made in the pay of all highly-placed officers, none of whom should receive more than Rs. 2,000 per mensem. The money thus saved should be spent for the benefit of those poor Indians who have to starve and cannot afford to buy clothes to cover themselves.

India's military expenditure.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

6. The *Vakil* of the 5th February writes that the major part of the military expenditure of India is not spent in the country. It goes to other lands in the form of salaries and price of war materials. A proposal for a reduction in the number of Indian troops is now under consideration, but, in spite of its being reasonable, it has been opposed by the *Daily Telegraph*. Again, the Esher Committee has recommended that Indian troops should continue to be employed for the extension of British territories. It is, however, idle to expect us to make the same sacrifices for the safety of the Empire as are made by free colonies like Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, unless we can control the military expenditure of India, have the power to determine our military requirements, are given an effective voice in regard to our foreign policy, are regarded as equal partners in the Empire and get a position similar to that of the colonies. Is it the sole purpose of the existence of India that the British War Office should use her troops and military resources wherever it likes, but that her voice should be ignored at the time of disposing of conquered territories? India has now learnt a lesson and public opinion in the country has been roused. The treatment so far accorded to her has become unbearable. Indians now fully see through the moves made by European politicians. They can no longer be deceived by the words "safety of the Empire." They should not now be expected to go on expeditions for conquering Asiatic countries [for England]. This is possible only in one way, *viz.*, India should be granted self-government.

The Indian army.

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Ahmad Shah, editor.

7. The *Zulfiqar* of the 8th February says that the question of a reduction in the strength of Indian troops is being discussed by several newspapers. After remarking that in view of the ideas now prevalent in the country, the proposal is generally considered to be dangerous, the paper regrets that the matter should have been taken up at a time when mischievous agitators have already poisoned the minds of the people, including ignorant men and young students, against Government and have left nothing undone to lower its prestige. The acceptance of the proposal is likely to have most injurious consequence for both Government and its law-abiding subjects. We would suggest that an economy [in the public expenditure] should be effected in some other department. As regards the military department, it is now advisable to expand it still further.

Race prejudice in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The following is taken from the leader in the *Tribune* of the 6th February:—"British statesmen have been known in India and in England who did their best in their limited spheres to carry into practice [the] principle of racial equality. But no dispassionate student of the history of British rule in India will, we venture to believe, differ from the view that such instances of liberal-hearted Englishmen have, by no means, been either many or frequent, with the result that the race question in some of its aspects still remains almost as burning an issue as it was many years ago. . . . . Go where one may, search the records of any department you please, pry into the innermost recesses of the hearts of Europeans occupying some of the highest administrative posts, as also of those serving at the lowest rung of the ladder, travel in the railway train or attend a social function, and what do you notice? The same spirit of aloofness on the part of a class of Europeans, sometimes deepening into open contempt for the Indians, the same patronising air born of the consciousness that one belongs to the ruling class and the other to the ruled, the same spirit of racial arrogance sometimes exhibited in all too obtrusive a manner and at others concealed under a thin veneer of outward courtesy. And it is not only from the middle class educated Indian community—the *bete noir* of Anglo-India—that the complaint comes. Even Indians of the highest social and official position have been known to labour under the same grievance. . . . . The judgments in what have now come to be known as 'spleen splitting' cases

furnish examples of exhibitions of racial bias even in the sacred sphere of the administration of justice. . . . The bureaucracy itself is not wholly free from blame and is, indeed, in a measure responsible for it, or else how is one to explain the continued existence on the Indian Statute-book of discriminatory laws as between Europeans and Americans on the one hand and Indians on the other?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Tilak *Swaraj* Fund.

9. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 8th February writes:—"The Tilak *Swaraj* Fund week commenced yesterday and will terminate on the 13th instant. . . . . Need we say that the province is on its trial as it never has been before? If the demand for *swaraj* is to-day so much stronger, louder and more universal than at any preceding period in our history, it is the insults and the humiliations inflicted on the Punjab which, more than anything else, are responsible for this result. It is for the people of the Punjab to show by their action in this matter how far the iron has entered into their soul, how far the insults and the humiliations which the whole country so keenly resents have been taken to heart by those who were their immediate objects."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Liberal* of the 7th February:—"We have no doubt that the response which the people of the Punjab will make to the appeals that have been issued on the subject will be worthy of themselves and the province to which they belong. No other part of the country has perhaps suffered more grievous wrongs at the hands of the British bureaucracy than the timid, the defenceless and the disunited Punjab, especially during the last two decades. . . . The horrors perpetrated during the martial law regime have struck the imagination of even the most heartless among them and it is with a view to put an end to the system that made the events of April 1919 possible that the Tilak *Swaraj* Fund has become necessary. The greater share of the responsibility devolves on the Punjab, for it is she who has suffered most and needs to be rid of the abnormal system that makes such a suffering possible. We have every hope that poor though the province is, she will not grudge the last penny that she can spare for this campaign against evil."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The political agitator.

10. The *Partap* of the 10th February says that whatever untoward may happen anywhere in India the bureaucracy attributes it only to political agitators. They are held responsible for every *hartal*, labour strike or any other manifestation of unrest. As an instance in point, the paper refers to the opinion of the Government of the United Provinces regarding the origin of the Rai Bareilly riots. Next it asks whether Government considers Indians to be so foolish that although they may have no cause for complaint they can be inflamed by a handful of persons into losing their lives and courting imprisonment. Again, does it regard political agitators to be so powerful as to credit them with being able to inflame people even when the last-named have no complaint to make? Unless people have serious cause for complaint, no power in the world can create unrest among them. Government should abandon the policy of exculpating itself by blaming political agitators, and should try to ascertain and remove the real grievances of the people, which is the only way to end the prevailing unrest.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 10th February:—"We are sincerely pleased to find that Raja Narendranath has given notice of two questions and one resolution on the important subject of the proclamation of certain districts in the Punjab under the Seditious Meetings Act. . . . Both questions have been so framed as to give the Government an opportunity of explaining their action if they will choose to do so. On them, therefore, will lie the entire responsibility of evading the questions, if they will adopt that ill-advised course. The Government knows well as we do how keenly their action in both respects is resented by the public, and if they desire to carry on the administration of the province under the new regime in a spirit of sympathy with and of responsiveness to public opinion their duty is plain. They should either lose no time in cancelling the measure they have already taken or make a genuine attempt to carry public opinion with them."

Treatment of convicts in the Andamans.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 9th February writes under the heading "Hell on Earth":—"Every patriotic Indian must hope with all the strength and earnestness of which he is capable that the forceful article . . . which Colonel Wedgwood contributed to a recent issue of the *Daily Herald* [on the treatment of prisoners in the Andamans] will receive that attention at the hands of the British public and His Majesty's Government which its intrinsic importance so eminently deserves . . . . It is objectionable on the face of it that a considerable body of prisoners, including political prisoners, should be removed from their country and kept in a distant penal settlement, away from the gaze of their countrymen and entirely out of the reach of public opinion. Such an arrangement cannot obviously be conducive to the existence or the exercise of that proper sense of responsibility on the part of those in charge of the settlement which modern opinion does consider essential even in the treatment of prisoners. And when to this is added the actual evidence of persons whom malice itself cannot describe as criminals, who are, indeed, as much men of honour as their accusers and judges, and some of whom would cut off their right hand rather than utter a word that is not true, that this sense of responsibility, in some cases, does not exist at all, and in others is largely dimmed by the exercise of autocratic power and the complete absence of all check from public opinion, the demand [for the abolition of this penal settlement] becomes truly irresistible . . . . But the question is not merely one concerning the Andamans, though we believe the Andamans affords the worst example of the class. Some of what Colonel Wedgwood says regarding life in the Andamans is substantially true of life in Indian jails also. . . . It is . . . . in the highest degree essential that instead of leaving the question of the treatment of prisoners, whether of the political or any other variety, to the personal idiosyncrasies of individual superintendents and jailors, the Government should immediately resort to properly thought-out measures with the definite object, first, of improving the lot of prisoners generally and, secondly, of introducing a system of completely differential treatment of political prisoners in particular. We do not know what the result of the recent enquiry by the Jail Commission will be, but as far as we are aware the question of the differential treatment of political prisoners did not form a part of that enquiry. Yet this is one of the most urgent questions connected with the whole subject. The present state of things is as outrageous as it is wholly indefensible. That men who suffer only for their opinions or for offences involving no moral turpitude should be treated like felons is repugnant not only to all modern notions of justice and humanity but to commonsense itself. We do hope one of the very first things to which the reformed Governments and legislatures will put their hand is the amelioration of the condition of jail life generally and of political prisoners in particular. The new era means nothing if it does not mean that political prisoners in India will be treated as political prisoners are treated in England and other self-governing countries."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 7th February says that Indians should carry on a strong agitation to compel Government to end the barbarous treatment accorded to unfortunate convicts in the Andamans. Government also should lose no time in enquiring into the allegations which Colonel Wedgwood and other persons have made in the matter.

The Lucknow assault case.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

13. Refering to the assault which two British soldiers are stated to have committed on a respectable *pardanashin* Hindu lady of Lucknow, the *Ittifaq* of the 6th February says that this is not the first incident of its kind: British soldiers have, in their pride of rule, outraged the chastity of Indian women several times before this. They have already been guilty of such shameful acts at several places. Indian women and gentlemen are daily kicked [by them] in railway trains. The Government of India takes no practical steps, however, to end this state of things. May we ask those Anglo-Indians, who always sing songs of union and invite Indians to coöperate with them in the new Councils, whether the way to bring about this union is the one that has been adopted at Lucknow and is followed in railway trains and elsewhere? Indians are no longer prepared to suffer insults and indignity: they do not wish to live as slaves and a subject people. They wish to live in India as masters, and the greater "these Pharoahs" [? Europeans] humiliate them the more strength is lent to their demand.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The postal strike.

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th February says that although postmen have been on strike for the last two months the Postmaster-General has as yet paid no attention to the matter. The authorities wish to reduce the poor strikers to a helpless condition by involving them in starvation. In case Government proves successful in accomplishing this unholy object the road to progress and reform will be totally closed for the future. The employees of all Government departments should, therefore, extend their sympathy to the poor postal peons. It behoves the public also to render financial and other help to the strikers in order to defeat the tyrannical object [Government has in view].

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

A complaint.

15. The *Partap* of the 11th February says that the complaint is becoming general that at several places people going to Sub-Inspectors of Police for help are told to go and seek help from Mr. Gandhi. After stating that this complaint has been made against different Government officers at various places, the paper remarks that the officers, high or low, who ask people to go to Mr. Gandhi for protection, create among them the belief that even under the British Government they can be protected only if they consent to remain as slaves and do not even open their lips for their rights. We cannot believe even for a moment that Government can ever follow this policy or take up this position. Those of its officers, therefore, who refuse to help the public in time of need are playing false to it and are creating among the people the impression that they should devise some other means for their protection. This is evidently calculated to weaken the British Government.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

Cow-killing.

16. Referring to the protest of the Anjuman-i-Muin-ul-i-Islam, Lahore, against Lala Sukhbir Singh's resolution on cow-protection, the *Liberal* of the 7th February asks:—"When will our Muhammadan brethren learn to show full regard to Hindu sentiment in this matter?"

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in Jammu.

17. The *Partap* of the 10th February states that its Jammu correspondent reports that the Seditious Meetings Act has been enforced in the state. There is already no political society in the state nor has any political meeting been ever held there. The present order warns the various religious societies against holding religious meetings in future without permission from the state authorities. Commenting, the paper says that if the news is well-founded nothing more deplorable can be imagined. Apparently the event is ascribable to the inauguration of the non-coöperation movement in Jammu.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

The Raja of Pudukotah.

18. (*a*) Referring to the order issued by the Raja of Pudukotah [Madras] prohibiting Mr. Satyamurti's entry into his state, the *Siyasat* of the 10th February says that the order will be viewed with aversion throughout India. The rulers of Native States oppose British India's national movements because of the fear and awe with which they regard the British authorities. Their subjects, however, do not think with them: they sincerely sympathise with the Indians in British territory. It is the duty of the nationalist leaders to commence a struggle with a view to creating a national spirit in Native States.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 11th February states that Mr. Satyamurti has written a letter to the press to the effect that the Raja wishes to appoint as his heir his son from his Australian wife, and that as Mr. Satyamurti strongly protested against a son born from a foreign and non-Hindu woman becoming heir to a Hindu *guddi* the Raja has given vent to his anger in the form of the order in question. Commenting, the *Partap* says that if the Raja really wishes to make this son of his the heir to a Hindu *guddi*, the matter is regrettable in the extreme. In a sense the event means the destruction of the *guddi*, which no Hindu can tolerate. The question is not one of the liking or otherwise of the Raja, but one of the existence or destruction of his state. This being so, every Hindu has the right to raise his voice in the matter.

Lala Lajpat Rai's externment from the Frontier Province.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

19. The *Tribune* of the 10th February writes:—"It is with the deepest regret we learn that the N.-W. F. Province Government has served an order of externment upon our distinguished countryman, Lala Lajpat Rai. . . . . The ground for the action was that the Chief Commissioner believed that Lala Lajpat Rai's presence at Peshawar would be prejudicial to the public safety. What reason the Chief Commissioner had for this extraordinary belief we do not know. What we do know is that Lala Lajpat Rai was proceeding to Peshawar with the single object of composing the differences that had unhappily arisen between Hindus and Sikhs in that city, as is shown, among other things, by the fact that Gyani Sher Singh, a blind Sikh gentleman, was going along with him. But even if it was feared that he would make political speeches during his presence at the place, and if the local authorities did apprehend that political speeches would be detrimental to the public interest, obviously the proper thing for them would have been to have allowed him to proceed to Peshawar and then to have asked him not to deliver such speeches. In reality the state of things at Peshawar must be very extraordinary if even a public man of the standing and eminence of Lala Lajpat Rai cannot address a public meeting at the place without the risk of a breach of the peace. But the most wonderful part of the thing is that the order was not served on Lala Lajpat Rai while he was at Rawalpindi. Had this been done, he would have been saved the trouble of travelling about 60 miles by motor. That the authorities had kept themselves informed about Lala Lajpat Rai while he was at Pindi is shown by the fact that he was stopped almost at the entrance to the Province and by an officer who put questions to him which clearly showed that he knew everything about Lala Lajpat Rai's movements. That in the circumstances they did not stop him at Rawalpindi can only be due to some one's desire to make an undue display of authority. In any case the order is one against which we have no hesitation in recording our strong emphatic protest."

Begar.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

20. Writing against the *begar* system, the *Tribune* of the 10th February refers to the press *communiqué* recently issued by the Punjab Government to announce the appointment of salaried contractors to supply provisions to touring officers. It concludes as follows:—"The worst thing about this and similar measures is that they are at best only palliatives and do not go to the root of the whole trouble. . . . The evils inseparable from *begar*, which is another name for forced labour, are as well known as is the fact of the existance of grave discontent among the villagers. In either case the times have changed and what was quietly tolerated ten years ago and accepted as a part of their lives' burden is bound to be challenged as an undue infringement of their private rights. It is neither in the interest of Government nor of the people that there should be more discontent than can possibly be helped. The *begar* system is a cruel and mischievous and, therefore, dangerous anachronism which should be abolished root and branch without delay."

The next census.

Siyasat (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

21. The *Siyasat* of the 10th February says that the census operations are about to commence, and Government will require a large number of men for the work. After remarking that they will be paid nothing, the paper refers to the resolution recently passed by the people of Panipat, Karnal district, to the effect that these men should consent to work only if all their expenses are paid by Government. Next it expresses the hope that all those whom Government wishes to do *begar* work in connection with the census will act upon this resolution. Continuing, it says that since Government will pay high salaries to the European officers employed on the census work there is no reason why Indians should be required to work *gratis*.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turkish question.

1. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 13th February states that the British Cabinet has placed Egypt and "mandated" territories under the Colonial Office. It is certain that the latter include Palestine and Irak-i-Arab and possibly a large part of Arabia also. The fact of their having been handed over to the Colonial Office means that all these *ilakas* have now been added to the British Empire. If this is true—and there can be very little doubt about it—who is responsible for this mad policy? Next the paper contends that England derives no benefit from this addition to her Empire, while the event will still further anger the people of the countries in question. If the annexation is only nominal [*lit* superficial] it is a palpable mistake, while if it is real nothing can prove more dangerous for Great Britain. Egypt and the "mandated" territories should be left alone. The British Government is surrounded by rivals and enemies on all sides, and should avoid a mistake, the commission of which will entail an irreparable loss is her and the consequences of which will harrow her soul.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th February states that the League of Nations is about to give Great Britain mandate rule over Irak-i-Arab and Palestine. The way in which the English gradually change [a temporary] into a permanent occupation of a territory is evident from the instance to be found in the history of India. After they have once established their rule in Irak-i-Arab and Palestine, they will never leave these countries without a fight. The League of *Thugs* will either have been broken up by that time or become an uncared-for thing. Continuing, the paper says that religious freedom has undoubtedly been assured to the countries referred to, but that religious freedom is not everything for a nation. Besides, if it is to signify the same thing in Irak-i-Arab and Palestine as it does in India, *i. e.*, if it is insisted that religion should be divorced from politics, what kind of religious freedom would it be?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) Referring to Emir Feisul's protest against the grant of a mandate to England in respect of Mesopotamia, the *Bande Mataram* of the 16th February says that the League of Nations is only a farce enacted by England and France.

They have set it up with the support of small states like Belgium, Servia, Roumania and Portugal in order to satisfy their spirit of territorial aggrandisement. After remarking that it follows the wishes of Great Britain in particular, the editor says that Emir Feisul does not perhaps know that British promises are never fulfilled. Continuing, he ironically remarks that the Emir and his father may oppose this, but Great Britain dare not disobey the League of Nations or shirk the great responsibility of civilising and protecting the Arabs, which would, besides being a moral offence, constitute a great wrong upon mankind. If necessary, His Majesty's innumerable troops are ready to help in the accomplishment of this blessed task. The Emir and his father should keep silent regarding the mandate as punishment for their treachery to Turkey.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Habib Shah,
editor.

The English and Tibet.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 11th February says that the members of both the Houses of British Parliament always loudly proclaim that they have no wish to extend their Empire. Their acts are, however, wholly opposed to their professions. The English have occupied territories extending over lakhs of miles in connection with the great European war under the cover of establishing peace. Recent telegrams now show that Great Britain has her eyes on poor Tibet. Next the paper states how the Government of India has sent Mr. Bell to make certain demands on the Tibetan Government, and says that although Indians are themselves slaves, they can never tolerate that one more nation should be enslaved by the English.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Syed Habib,
editor.

Indian military clerks abroad.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 13th February complains that the troubles of the clerks employed in the Military Department and serving abroad are not allowed to be brought to light. Government takes great care to allow the men no access to newspapers, but their fellow-countrymen do come to know of their wretched condition. The paper then publishes a letter written by a soldier to his brother [from where it is not stated], which runs as follows :— . . . . We were promised one month's leave after a year's service, but we are now being subjected to the oppression that we cannot get a single day's leave after the lapse even of three years. The war came to an end long ago, All the powers have signed [the peace treaty]. Germany has destroyed her war material. Turkey has already been occupied by the British Government. Prisoners have been exchanged. All the Englishmen who came with us for the period of the war have been sent back. It is not known for what fault we are still kept here. We seem to have committed no fault except that we helped [Government] in its hour of distress. If this is our fault we repent [of it and say] that we will not repeat it in future. English officers accord a very bad treatment to us. . . . We have ruined ourselves for this and the next world. We can find no way of escape. If we utter here any word [of complaint] [the military officers] are ready to court-martial us.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KESARI
(Lahore);
Kapur,
editor.

The Duke of Connaught's visit.

4. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 14th February states that the Duke of Connaught has so far visited four cities—Madras, Calcutta, Agra and Delhi. At these places he was boycotted by all the Indians excepting the sycophants and flatterers who are either in Government service or are otherwise connected with Government. The treatment which the country has accorded to His Royal Highness is wholy justifiable from the Indian point of view. Government and Anglo-Indians, however, regard it as an insult to the Duke. We also admit that this is so. But who is responsible for it ? Can the responsibility lie on Indians, who are demanding only what the rest of the world has already got and are not prepared to bear in future oppression by a tyrannical Dyer or O'Dwyer ? Can any one justly hold them responsible for what has taken place ? They felt compelled to act in the way they did : there was no other alternative for them. Have the people of India become so shameless that they should forget the martial-law atrocities, for which no reparation has been made by Government ? Can they coöperate with the Government which eulogised the officers who practised oppression on them ? No, never. Can they welcome a guest of the Government of India—be he a member of the royal family, nay, even the King-Emperor himself—who comes to pat it on the back ? Surely they are self-respecting enough to keep themselves

from degrading their nation and country in this way. Every one will admit, therefore, that they are right in what they have done. Indeed, they would have been to blame if they had not acted in the way in which they have done. And how could the British Government, which refused to inflict a heavy punishment on Dyer, who shot hundreds of innocent people in the Jallianwala Bagh, which refused to punish O'Dwyer, nay, praised him, and which behaved similarly towards the officers who tyrannised over poor, unarmed, innocent and helpless Indians during the martial law days and went the length even of disgracing women of respectable families, venture to send a royal prince to India without entrusting him with any hope-inspiring announcement and authorising him to make pleasing promises [to the people]? Everyone will feel constrained to say that the British Government itself is responsible for the insult offered to the Duke of Connaught in India.

Kesari (Lahore); Kapur, editor.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper says that some Indians entertained high hopes in connection with the Duke's visit to this country. All these hopes were, however, dashed to the ground when His Royal Highness read out the King-Emperor's brief and dry message, which contained not a word likely to please Indians. The message is not worth even being wired, let alone the Duke having been given the trouble of undertaking a journey, on which lakhs of rupees have been wasted, to bring it.

(*c*) In its issue dated the 17th February the paper says that when Government is lacerating the hearts of Indians by various acts of oppression the Duke or anybody else has no right to ask them to forget the past. How can Indians accede to such a request?

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, B. A., editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 13th February says that His Majesty used the word *swaraj* in the royal message which was read out by the Duke of Connaught at Delhi. Those people who consider *swaraj* to be synonymous with sedition should now hide their diminished heads in shame. Barring the reference to *swaraj*, however, there is nothing noteworthy in the message, although the King-Emperor has certainly expressed love and sympathy [for Indians], for which we are thankful to His Majesty. The paper then passes on to the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Indian Legislature and asks whether autocracy has ceased to exist even now. If this had been the case, it adds, there would have been no Defence of India Act nor would the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province have ordered Lala Lajpat Rai to go back from Attock. After remarking that the Viceroy uttered only empty words, the *Partap* refers to the Duke of Connaught's appeal [to the British and Indians] to forgive each other, and says that the sole reason why such appeals are made is that Government may not have to acknowledge its mistakes. All Englishmen, big and small, admit that oppression had been practised on the Punjab during the martial law regimé; but Government has neither expressed regret nor made any reparation for it. The Duke was given the trouble of coming out to India in his old age and thirty lakhs of rupees have been spent on the visit with the sole object that Government may escape admitting its mistakes before the Indian public. Cannot the people see through this move on the part of the British authorities in India? The former should abandon non-coöperation, forget what befell them in 1919 and again live like obedient slaves, but Government should not have to utter even one word of regret. We plainly tell the authorities that if they wish to reassure Indians, they should express contrition for their doings and make amends for the oppression practised upon the Panjabis. As it is, shows like the one in question will lead to no result.

(*e*) **Dr. Satyapal** writing to the *Partap* of the 8th February says that Government has lost another opportunity of applying balm to the lacerated hearts of Indians. The Duke of Connaught's appeal to Indians to forget the wounds inflicted on them displays extreme ignorance of human nature. Which of our wrongs can we afford to forget? Government has not had even a few words of sympathy for the relations of those killed and wounded [at the Jallianwala Bagh]. The [Punjab] incidents have made a deep impression on our hearts and, let alone ourselves, even our coming generations cannot forget these wrongs, which Government has done absolutely nothing to redress.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*f*) The *Siyasat* of the 16th February asks where was the necessity for the Duke to visit India and what was the use of the pageant at Delhi. The royal message brought by him could have been conveyed by the Viceroy and could also have been sent through the post, which would have cost less [than his visit has done]. Continuing, the paper says that both the Duke and the Viceroy appealed to Indians to forget the past and obliterate all traces of bitterness. This conduct on the part of the former amounts to abusing and ridiculing [Indians]. As for the Duke, he would never have made this appeal if His Royal Highness had not been, since his landing on Indian soil, surrounded by despotic officials and had had a chance of talking to Indians. How can those forget past events whose mothers and sisters were disgraced, whose leaders, sons and brothers were imprisoned for no fault, on whose houses bombs were thrown, who had to grind corn in jail, who fell victims to machine-guns and who had to suffer flogging? They cannot do so, especially when their relatives are still in jail and their oppressors have gone unpunished. Government should release the oppressed, grant pensions to the widows of the Jallianwala Bagh victims, punish oppressors and make a repetition of the Punjab incidents an impossibility before asking the people to forget the past. In the other event, this will be nothing short of contemptuous ridicule.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Zamindar* of the 16th February says that the Duke made absolutely no reference to the Khilafat question in his speech at the inauguration of the Councils at Delhi. This proves conclusively that the British Government considers only the Punjab events to be at the bottom of the present political upheaval in India. The fact of the matter, however, is that if the feeling among the Muhammadans had not been as intense as it is the non-coöperation movement would not have been launched. British statesmen should know that there can be no peace in India until the sacred Caliphate is restored to its former position.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5. (*a*) A student of the Government College writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 10th February says that if non-coöperation is fully carried into practice, Indians can undoubtedly obtain *swaraj*. No shopkeeper, he adds, should sell anything to Englishmen. If this is done, how will they obtain vegetables, fruits, milk, meat, etc? Similarly, Indians should not enter their [private] service. If the people become unanimous as to this, who will cook food for Englishmen? Where will they get *khansamas*, bearers and chaprasis from? If sweepers and water-carriers also cease working for them, they will be involved in serious difficulty. Continuing, the writer says that if students unite and leave schools and colleges, we can obtain Home Rule within one month.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 12th February says that traders of Lahore say that it is extremely necessary for Indians to boycott foreign manufactures in order to obtain *swaraj* within a year. If our traders were to realise that they can bring England to her senses by means merely of a commercial boycott, they could render a memorable service to their country.

SATJUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Satjug* of the 13th February publishes a communication from SARDUL SINGH COVESSIEUR, who says that some people look upon non-coöperation, which has a political colouring, as an innovation. Well-informed people know, however, that it constitutes an important part of religion. The Hindus should remember that the first and staunch non-coöperator of the times, who allowed religion its full share in politics, was a Punjabi, namely, Baba Ram Singh. How good would it be if, like the followers of other religions, the Namdari Sikhs were courageously to preach the Baba's principles to the general public. It is high time that those who follow him produced many Gandhis and saved the people.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) One ACHCHRU RAM BANEI, of Ludhiana, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 15th February says that the present condition of the Punjabis cannot be deplored too much. To-day the memory of the sufferings of the Punjab has made the rest of India ready to make every sacrifice. But what a shameful life is being lead by us, who were subjected to so much disgrace and humiliation? It behoved the Punjab to be ahead of the other provinces in the matter of non-coöperation. On the contrary, however, the number of *ji hazurs* is daily on the increase here. We are again falling victims to internecine feuds and thereby serving as tools in the hands of the bureaucracy

I wish most respectfully to enquire from my Punjabi brothers which of them have their turbans on their heads. Our turbans are lying at the feet of every Englishman and are being kicked. If we do not act with wisdom, in spite of this, then, O brothers, they [the English] will remove our skulls also. Our future rise or fall is in our own hands. We possess the power to obtain *swaraj*, but we are unaware of this. The period of one year fixed by Mr. Gandhi is very long: we can, if we so wish, obtain *swaraj* to-morrow. Therefore, O youths of the Punjab, shake off the sleep of negligence. Forget the words 'if' and 'but' and become ready to die. You have laid down your lives in foreign countries to save the honour of others. Now become prepared to display a thousand times greater courage and bravery in sacrificing every comfort in order to save the honour of Mother India and the Caliphate. See that no other province excels you in the matter of sacrifices. Students of the Punjab, the Bengalis are far ahead of you. What are you thinking of? The time for thinking is gone. The country and the nation are insisting on a sacrifice from you. Why are you hesitating? Come forward and sacrifice yourselves to liberate Mother India from the bonds of slavery and thereby set an example for the coming generations.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai editor.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th February publishes a communication from SARDUL SINGH COVESSIEUR, who addresses the young men of the Punjab as follows: - You must not have forgotten the indignity and humiliation to which you were subjected during the dark days of 1919. The tying of your innocent fellow-countrymen to the triangle and their being mercilessly flogged in this very city [Lahore] must still be before your eyes. I need not make you shed bitter tears by speaking of the Jallianwala Bagh [incident]. I do not wish to appeal to you over the humiliation and the violation of *parda* to which your mothers and sisters were subjected. I would appeal to you in the name of your brother students, who had to walk sixteen miles a day in the scorching heat of the summer to salute the British flag. Have you become devoid of all sense of self-respect? Is all sense of shame dead in you? No, no; I cannot believe this. Will you not, then, join hands with the youths of Bengal and other parts of India who are protesting against the disgrace which you had to suffer? The future of the Punjab rests with you. Her honour, etc., is in your hands. Will you tolerate that the future generations should say that the Punjab [*lit.* India] lagged behind all in the battle for the freedom of India? My young friends, think carefully. You will not get this opportunity again and again. Do not let it slip through your fingers.... If you do not put your shoulder to the wheel you will be stamped with infamy and disgrace. The whole of India is watching your movements. Do not let the Punjab be subjected to ridicule. Come out of your colleges, which are so many machines for turning out slaves, enlist in the army of peaceful non-coöperators and free Mother India.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Zamindar* of the 15th February says that the leaders of the nation and the [non-coöperation] movement should take care to engage such students as have left their colleges in some work or to send them to national educational institutions. In the other event, most of these students will go back to the colleges at the instigation and persuasion of teachers and parents, with the result that the movement will receive a set-back. It is essential that national educational institutions should be established at places where students may go on strike. Religious instruction should be imparted at them, while Hindu students should learn Urdu and their Muslim *confrères* Hindi. Again, all of them should work at the spinning wheel, and should also be taught the art of speaking. If these suggestions are carried into effect there will be no danger of the movement of educational non-coöperation proving a failure. A college of the above character is badly needed at Lahore, and the leaders should establish it at a very early date. All the students now on strike should be admitted to it. No large sum of money is required to launch such an institution. Only a few thousands should suffice to commence work.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Council Secretaries in the Punjab.

6. The *Tribune* of the 19th February writes: — "Can any one tell us why so many as four persons have been appointed by His Excellency the Governor to be Council Secretaries under the Government of India Act? That Act, as every one knows, does not make it obligatory upon the Governor to appoint even a single Council Secretary.... In other words, the appointment is purely discretionary. What made the local Gouernment think that not only was it

necessary to appoint Council Secretaries, but that a smaller number than four would not do? Why should it have thought that each of the ministers and members of the Executive Council must have a Secretary to himself? In Madras there are nearly twice as many members of the Executive Council and ministers as there are in the Punjab, and yet the Governor has appointed only three Council Secretaries. In other provinces the proposal to appoint Council Secretaries is being strenuously opposed on the excellent ground that there is no work for them. Why should the Punjab alone be supposed to have both work for Council Secretaries, and enough work for four of them? As regards the persons actually appointed, some of them are in the happy position of having no history, while against one an election petition is, we believe, still pending. Further, two of them are Muhammadans, one Hindu and one Sikh. This lends itself to the suspicion that even in this matter the vicious principle of communal representation, of which the bureaucracy in this province is so notoriously fond, has not been without its influence, although the Act nowhere lays down that regard is to be had to this principle in making these appointments. . . . Nor can we, for the life of us, see why the appointments could not be made after informally consulting the members, both as regards the number of Council Secretaries needed and as regards the persons to be actually appointed. . . . The ministers and members of the Executive Council, who are amply provided with expert assistance by permanent officials in the Secretariat, could surely go on for some time without the assistance of Council Secretaries, as members of the Executive Council had gone on for years in the provinces where the council form of government had been in existence before the inauguration of the present reforms. In the meantime experience would have shown to what extent the services of Council Secretaries were actually needed and, what is even more important, it would have been possible for either the ministers and the members of the Executive Council or for the Governor himself to ascertain the wishes of the Council. Why was not this obviously proper course followed? If these appointments are persisted in, the duty of our councillors is quite clear. They are the custodians at once of their own rights and of public money and a just regard for either demands that they should mark their disapproval of the action taken by His Excellency in this matter in the only manner open to them. . . . It is for them to vote the salary, and there is nothing to prevent them from voting a small or even a nominal salary. If they think that there is not adequate work for Council Secretaries, a nominal salary is what they should vote. If, on the other hand, they think that there is work enough for two but not for four, they should vote half the salary that they would otherwise have done. They can also take similar action to mark their disapproval of either the method of the appointment or of the persons actually selected."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Repressive laws.

7. (*a*) Writing about the debate on Mr. Shastri's resolution on repressive laws, the *Tribune* of the 17th February says:—"All the repressive measures must go, at least in their present form, because the principle of popular liberty, embodied in the reforms, is inconsistent with the maintenance of measures which are directly antagonistic to that principle and are, indeed, based on its complete negation." Next the paper quotes a passage from Mr. Shastri's speech which ends thus:—"I think I shall not be guilty of forcing the pace of the reforms, if I ask the Government to begin the work of conciliation by striking off some of these fetters.' Commenting, it writes:—"There is no difference in this case between some of the fetters and all the fetters. . . . if it is desired to take away the matter of the unrest, it will not do to remove only some of the fetters and leave the others untouched, . . . so long as any of the fetters remain, the unrest will continue to derive its nourishment from this source. The policy of driblets has done enough harm already in the hands of the bureaucracy. Our own leaders should be on their guard against adding to this harm by their advocacy of the same policy." Continuing, the paper reviews Sir William Vincent's speech and concludes as follows:—"The question here is essentially one of trust, of threefold trust, of trust in the reforms and in the principle of liberty which they are supposed to embody, of trust in the Councils which the reforms have brought into existence and of trust in the sanity and commonsense of the people. If you believe in the principle of liberty, you are bound to assume that the moment you repeal the measures and set the people free the situation will automatically improve. If you believe

in the Councils, you are bound to assume that they will not hesitate to give you whatever powers you can convince them are really needed for the orderly progress of the country. If you believe in the sanity and commonsense of the people, you are bound to assume that they will not make the removal of that which constitutes one of their main grievances a ground for a fresh attack upon you."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) In its issue dated the 18th February the paper writes:—"Sir William named the measures which the Government intended to improve, but which, oddly enough, did not include the Press Act, as to which he said that there was a difference of opinion, because the Government were already considering the matter. Unless this means that the Government is already considering the question of repealing the Act, the decision not to refer it to the committee would only be one more instance of bureaucratic bungling. No repressive law has done greater harm or has less right to live a day longer than this supremely obnoxious measure. The nearest approach to a satisfactory assurance given by Sir William was contained in the declaration that pending the report of the committee 'the Government would only employ the repressive measures in the last resort, and when they were forced to do so.' But here, again, we have a right to ask if it was in pursuance of this policy that the entry into the Frontier Province was prohibited only a few days ago of one of India's foremost leaders? And surely if this declaration has any meaning, the least that the Government can do is to begin by cancelling all the measures taken so far under the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the Seditious Meetings Act."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th February says that Sir William Vincent stated that two thirds of the members of the committee appointed to examine the repressive laws would be non-official Indians, persons of unimpeachable authority and experience, whose opinion would carry great weight. After asking who these persons would be, the paper enquires whether Government is prepared to come to an understanding with Mr. Gandhi and the national leaders working with him. If this is not so, who are the persons outside the Council whose opinions really carry weight or is it that the Government's choice would fall on men suited to serve its purpose, thereby neutralising the opinion of the members of the Council.

Government's industrial and economic policy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The *Tribune* of the 19th February has the following:—"It is more than two years since the report of the Industrial Commission was published and yet nothing has so far been done, as far as the public is aware, to give effect to some of the principal recommendations made therein. India has been passing through a period of economic crisis and the great bulk of the population have been suffering. Industrial activity has not increased, trade has been disorganised, exchange has been unstable and our monetary system unsatisfactory. Industrial and labour discontent has manifested itself in various forms, such as repeated strikes and lock-outs. In these circumstances Government have to come to the help of the people by stimulating industrial activity, encouraging commerce and solving the labour problems. During the war European countries anticipated troubles of this kind and made early preparation to overcome them. Unfortunately, the Government of India did not show equal zeal in this respect, and, even after the war, they have accomplished nothing beyond making certain enquiries and preparing a few paper schemes. . . The one thing that is necessary at present is an entire change of policy and the attitude on the part of the Government, both central and local. . . They have to adopt a policy of active intervention in industrial affairs, themselves starting necessary and essential industries and encouraging and subsidising others that are required for the economic well-being and political safety of India. Unfortunately we find no signs of this changed policy yet, and even where a policy of active intervention is approved, the attitude of officials shows extreme conservatism and want of adaptability. India is still in that early stage of industrial advancement when, in all countries, the State has to take a more direct and active part in promoting it."

India and self-government.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th February states that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta remarked in the course of a recent sermon that Indians should be given a much larger share in the administration and trained for complete self-

government. Commeting, it says that the clergy should now guide the British Government in the matter: the bureaucracy's tyrannical and despotic rule can no longer be a success. The British nation and Government should now sincerely act on the holy and right views expressed by the Primate, seeing that no other alternative is now left them. They should grant self-government to Indians as soon as possible.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Tilak *Swaraj* Fund.

10. One **KHUSHALCHAND TULSIRAM,** writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 10th February says that it is the duty of all Indians to subscribe towards the Tilak *Swaraj* Fund. Next he suggests that shopkeepers should contribute a certain percentage of their income in aid of the Fund just as they do for cow-protection, etc. This would bring in large sums of money, and shopkeepers would not only serve their country and nation but would also establish a memorial to Lokmanaya Tilak in every shop.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. ROY, editor.

The Punjab disturbances.

11. Commenting on the debate on Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas's resolution on the Punjab disturbances, the *Tribune* of the 18th February writes:—"It is . . . . difficult to think of a more artificial atmosphere, an atmosphere more removed from the actualities of the country's present mood and temper, than that in which this apology for a debate took place. It was congratulation all round. . . . A simpler or more admirable method of ending one of the saddest and bitterest controversies in all history it is difficult to think of. Everybody seemed to be happy both with himself and with his neighbours, and what had promised to be a desperate battle passed off as merrily as a dinner. The same spirit is visible in the settlement itself. Of the four parts of the resolution, the one that did really matter, the one that could with truth be said to be the pith and marrow of the whole, was withdrawn. And why? Because the Council had been assured that 'equal punishment would have been given to offenders if they had dealt with Englishmen instead of Indians'? If the mover could be so easily satisfied, it is difficult to understand why he put himself to the trouble of moving this part of the resolution at all. For our part we should be glad to have a little bit of evidence in support of the statement. English history is happily not replete with instances of 'cool and calculated massacres,' and much of what was done by the offending officials would have been absolutely impossible in England, just because in England there is no such thing as 'racial ascendency' to maintain, just because in England there could be no question of teaching a lesson to a whole people. But in those isolated and infrequent cases in which English officers have mishandled a situation or have exceeded the limits of lawful authority or the exact requirements of the case every one knows how severely they have been dealt with. Nor is it really a question of punishing offending officials. It is more than anything else a question of making the Government itself realise the duty it owes to the governed. And can any man with any knowledge of English history or English character for a moment doubt that if Jallianwala Bagh had been a park in London instead of being one in a Punjab city the Government, under whose administration the massacre took place, would have ceased to be in office within twenty-four hours, or would have been forced to resort to far more drastic punishment than that which the British Government has seen fit to inflict upon the author of that dark and unforgettable crime? We do not forget Sir Godfrey Fell's observation that to be made to leave the army in the circumstances in which Dyer had been made to leave it was a disgrace worse than death. But we gather a very different impression of the actuality when we find that the man who is thus disgraced is not only the recipient of congratulations and monetary rewards from large numbers of his countrymen in India as well as in England, but is actually able to boast six months after his removal from the army that 'it was fortunate that the authorities in the Punjab had time to act and act in the same way as *we certainly should act again*, if the circumstances were similar.' Much was made in the course of the debate of the Irish reprisals. It was conveniently forgotten that in Ireland as in India the charge against the officers was that they were treating her as a subject country, and her people as an inferior race, and against the Government itself that it did not sufficiently punish its officers for this attitude. . . . The fourth part undoubtedly stands on a different level. If it is carried out in the letter

and in spirit, the victims of official misdeeds will undoubtedly have much of the relief that it is in the power of the Government to afford to them. But let it be added in the same breath that it means little or nothing to the community generally. It only means that the community has to pay as much for the misdeeds of officials as for the misdeeds of mobs. It is surely no substitute, in any form or shape, for the punishment of the offending officials, some of whom, indeed, may actually feel gratified in their heart of hearts that this sort of compensation involves a new punishment for the community, whom they were so anxious to teach a lesson in the martial law days."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Cow-killing.

Ahl-i-Hadis (Amritsar); Sana Ullah, editor.

12. (*a*) The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 11th February states that Mr. Gandhi told the Marwaris of Calcutta that if they desired cow-protection they should support the Khilafat movement. The paper concurs in this view, and says that efforts to have cow-killing prohibited by law are apprehended to create a gulf between the Hindus and Muhammadans, which no well-wisher of the country can like to see.

Ittifaq (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Ittifaq* of the 12th February publishes a communication from Dr. Sultan Muhammad, of the Mochi Gate, Lahore. He says that the question of cow-sacrifice is a religious one and that political reasons have led the Muhammadans to realise that it stands in the way of their union with the Hindus. They have issued several manifestoes on the subject, but their co-religionists continue to be ill-treated by the Hindus in Government offices, as also in connection with trade and religious matters. Now it has occurred to the latter to get a law passed to stop the killing of kine. Next the writer takes exception to the resolution on cow-protection which is to be moved by Lala Sukhbir Singh in the Legislative Assembly, and says that although it exempts cow-sacrifice from its operation, still it is calculated greatly to affect the Indian Muhammadans in regard to economic and religious matters. Continuing, he writes that the Muhammadans cannot be held responsible for the slaughter of innumerable cattle in cantonments, and suggests that if the Hindus want to protect kine, they should discontinue eating goat's flesh. This would cheapen meat and make the Muhammadans prefer it to beef, which their poverty now compels them to use.

Sikh *gurdwaras*.

Punjab Darpan (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

13. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 10th February says that the Punjab Government has announced the appointment of a committee to propose a law about the management of *gurdwaras*. The paper is at a loss to understand, however, what this can mean. Government has never enacted any law relating to churches and mosques. Where is, then, the necessity for the law referred to? Is this not tantamount to interfering in the religious affairs of the Sikh community?

V.—EDUCATION.

The Punjab University.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

14. "Pro Bono Publico" writes to the *Tribune* of the 16th February:—"Allow me to express my sincere regret to the University authorities for some of the inaccurate figures regarding the salaries of the professors of the Punjab University, which appeared in my letter that was published in the *Tribune* of the 14th January 1921*. The Joint Registrar of the Punjab University very kindly undertook to give us the exact figures a few days later, for which we all are very thankful to him. But if I may be excused for saying so—the Joint Registrar's reply to my letter does not in the least help us in understanding the real policy, which governs the working of the University, and which it is our keen desire to find out. The inaccuracies, pointed out by the Joint Registrar do not affect our contention at all. What we want to know is the reason why a European and an Indian, with equal qualifications, should not start with the same initial salaries. Why should an eminent chemist of the type of Dr. Ghosh (of Calcutta)—who is considered to be one of the foremost Physical Chemists of to-day—be offered to occupy the chair of Physical Chemistry in the Punjab University on Rs. 800 a month, when the salary sanctioned for that post, is nearly Rs. 1,500 per month? Why should both of the European professors in the University draw Rs. 1,250 a month each, while none of the Indian professors is doing

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*Para. 21 (*b*) of the Punjab Press Abstract No. 3.

so? Is not even a single Indian professor in the Punjab University qualified to draw the same salary?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Mayo School of Art, Lahore.

15. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 18th February:—"There is a rumour that it is under contemplation to appoint a European to be Vice-Principal of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore. We hope the rumour is without foundation. If we are not mistaken, the School has never had during the whole course of its existence a European Vice-Principal, and it is a matter of common knowledge that the Indian Vice-Principals have as a rule been a conspicuous success. Is a new departure in an obviously undesirable direction to synchronise with the transfer of both Education and the Industries to popular ministers? The Mayo School of Art is, we believe, under the administration of the Hon'ble Lala Harkishan Lal. We cannot believe that he will be a party to a proceeding of this kind."

SIKH (Lhore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

The Sikhs and District Inspectors of Schools.

16. The *Sikh* of the 13th February writes:—"Forsoothe, every day brings to our notice a fresh complaint against the unjust actions of this or that Government department against the Sikh community, whom in their official utterances, talks and chats the authorities are never tired of assuring that their claims always receive the most favourable attention. Now how clearly the appointments of District Inspectors under the new scale in the Punjab Education Department belie such assurances can be easily judged from the bare facts now in evidence. There has been attached to each of the thirty districts in the Punjab a District Inspector on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem to start with. Well of these thirty posts, only two have gone to the Sikh community .... Thus the rate of the Sikh proportion in the Education Department of their own province comes to 6·6 per cent, far less than even the one-seventh or something like that which in the near past was erroneously considered as the adequate share of the Sikh community in such departments. And how many eligible and highly capable Sikhs must have been superseded by this unjust sweep on the part of the authorities at the expense of the community, can be easily imagined. Now the following Sikh districts have got each a non-Sikh District Inspector:—Ambala...., Ludhiana...., Jullundur..., Hoshiarpur..., Ferozepore..., Amritsar..., Lahore.., Gujranwala..., Sheikhupura..., Lyallpur..., Shahpur..., Jhelum.. [and] Campbellpur.... As local educational interests of each district depend in a large measure on the attitude of the educational officer there, the fate of the above-mentioned Sikh districts, under the present circumstances, can better be imagined than described. As apart from the unquestionable claims of the Sikh community, the educational advantages of these districts demand the District Inspectors there to be Sikhs, we respectfully but strongly draw to this most serious matter the immediate attention first of the Director of Public Instruction and then of the Hon'ble the Minister of Education."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The Tonk State.

17. "ONE IN THE KNOW" writing to the *Zamindar* of the 17th February says that the present ruler of Tonk, Nawab Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, has been doing strange things. The officials of his State are corrupt in the extreme, this being true of Lala Moti Lal in particular. The people complained to the Nawab against the Lala and asked for his dismissal, but to no purpose. Again, the Nawab has appointed one Abdus Samad—a barber and a scoundrel—as the head of the C. I. D. "Every wealthy person falls a victim to his enquiries," and every one with whom he may be at enmity tastes of his injustice. Almost the whole public is complaining against him. Once the Nawab sent him to jail, but his wife, who is employed in the *mahal-i-khas*, succeeded in getting him released. About 75 persons have been deported on his reports, while nearly 100 have been sent to jail, where they are being subjected to great hardships.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

N.-W. F. Province.

18. The *Partap* of the 13th February says that not long ago M. Zafar Ali Khan was prohibited from entering the Frontier Province. Lala Lajpat Rai has now been sent back from Attock, and Syed Habib expelled from Bannu. In a word, no person desirous of rendering public services in the Frontier Province can enter that part of the country. Will this state of affairs be allowed to con-

tinue for ever ? Not only a verbal but a practical protest should be made against it, so that the Chief Commissioner may not again venture to prevent any one from entering the Frontier Province.

Lala Lajpat Rai's externment from the Frontier Province.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

19. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 15th February says that Lala Lajpat Rai was going to Peshawar in order to settle the differences between the local Hindus and Sikhs over Bhai Joga Singh's *gurdwara*. The Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province, however, issued an order forbidding him to enter that part of the country. The prestige-loving bureaucratic authorities have always religiously acted upon the principle of "Divide and rule". The dissensions between the Hindus and Sikhs were a veritable blessing for the bureaucracy. If Lala Lajpat Rai had reached Peshawar the Hindus and Khalsas there would have embraced each other and begun to promote the movement of liberty for India. It is obvious that this was wholly injurious for the bureaucracy, especially in a province which knows no law. How can the bureaucracy tolerate that the various communities in India should unite and try to throw off the yoke of British rule ? Accordingly, it prohibited the Lala from entering the Frontier Province, and its mind is now at ease.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Mhammad Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Ittifaq* of the 15th February says that although under the new era Indian leaders cannot freely tour in any part of India, in the Frontier Province they are not even allowed to set foot. The sole reason for certain leaders wishing to go there, it adds, is to teach its simple and enthusiastic people to give expression to truth. Continuing, the paper asks whether the Chief Commissioner is glad at the existing conflict between the Hindus and Sikhs of Peshawar. If this is so, he may rest assured that the time has passed when disputes between different communities in India could grow serious. The message of freedom and unity has already reached even the remotest corner of the country. We are sorry that the authorities should not even now leave the path treading on which creates a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled. It is also a matter for surprise that Great Britain's well-wishers should continue indifferent to harmful orders like the one served on Lala Lajpat Rai.

The Bengal Council chamber.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

20. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 15th February :—"We are indebted to the *Bombay Chronicle* for drawing public attention to the following advertisement, which appeared in one of the issues of the *Times* of mail week :—'The Council of the Royal Institute of British Architects invite competition for the proposed Council Chamber to be built in Calcutta for the Legislative Council of Bengal. Premiums of £500, £250, and £100 will be awarded to authors of designs and the winner of the first premium will be appointed to carry out the work in accordance with the Royal Institute of British Architects' scale of professional charges' .... The question is, why should tenders for the designs have been invited in England at all ? Are there not firms in India itself quite capable of the work ? Even if it be assumed that the work could not be as artistically done by an Indian as by an English firm, which we do not admit, could anything be more absurd in a poor country like India than to place artistic perfection before the utilisation of indigenous talent in a matter of this kind ?"

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE :
The 19th February 1921.

232 SB—189—24 2-21—SGPP Lahore.

[illegible] painted [illegible] but the work [illegible] which Arch[illegible] study or professional [illegible] the designs [illegible] arts in itself quite capable of [illegible] work could not be as artistically [illegible] which we do not admit, would [illegible] them, than to place [illegible] a matter of this [illegible]

[illegible] Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a [illegible] report [illegible] in the Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the [illegible] the report is believed to be.

NOOR ILAHI,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Khilafat.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. (*a*) Writing about the recent debate in the Legislative Assembly in connection with the proposed despatch by the Government of a deputation to England to represent the views of the Indian Mussalmans before the coming Peace Conference, the *Tribune* of the 26th February enumerates the demands formulated by the Muhammadan members of the Assembly and the Council of State, and concludes as follows :—"No demands could be more definite than these, and no reasonable person can say that any of them are impracticable. If British statesmanship will yet rise to the height of its God-given opportunity and will satisfy these just aspirations of the Mussalmans of India it will not only help to solve one of the bitterest controversies of all times. . . ., but will inscribe its name in imperishable letters on the scroll of fame. . . Without a doubt the solution of [the Khilafat] question and the question of the Punjab would free the national movement in India from all its present bitterness."

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 23rd February asks Mr. Chhotani what demand he will make on behalf of India at the Allies' conference to be held at London to discuss matters relating to Turkey. Will it satisfy him if Turkey is restored to her former position and will the restoration of their holy places reconcile the Indian Muhammadans with the British Government? These are very important questions, affecting as they do the very existence of Islam, nay, of the whole of India. "Mr. Gandhi has carried the battle of non-coöperation to the stage of the attainment of *swaraj*." We wish, therefore, that the Muhammadans should not become reconciled [with Government] only on their demands relating to the Caliphate being conceded, because this would weaken the struggle for *swaraj*. Besides, if they do not demand *swaraj* at the conference, the Allies might again attack the holy places in the near future.

Unless India obtains *Swaraj* not only the Muslim and Hindu religions, but also all nations will be in danger. Mr. Gandhi being the leader of the Muhammadans in the matter of the Caliphate it is necessary that Mr. Chhotani should formulate his demands on the conference in accordance with the former's instructions. The event constitutes a ray of light in [the prevailing] darkness and may perhaps disperse the dark clouds of slavery.

Kesari
(Lahore);
Kapur,
editor.

Ireland and Egypt.

2. The *Kesari* of the 23rd February says that the events which have taken place in Ireland and Egypt are not unknown to the people of India. The idea of obtaining liberty by peaceful means has already been abandoned by Indians to a large extent. They see that what the Irish could not obtain after a hundred years' hard struggle appears possible of attainment by means of regular fighting Mr. Lloyd George may assert with vehemence that he will not yield to force, but the world sees that force is "loosening the screw of his rigour and severity." The same is the case in Egypt, where, too, liberty has been obtained after bloodshed Do British statesmen wish for the same bitter experience even in India? Why do they not adopt measures whereby the peace of India may not be disturbed?

Kesari
(Lahore);
Kapur,
editor.

Indians in New Zealand.

3. A correspondent writing to the *Kesari* of the 21st February states that it is being urged that the Indians now in New Zealand should be expelled and that no more Indians should be allowed to land there. Next the writer reports that on the 20th July 1920 eight Indians, who worked as contractors, put up at a house in West Rhine (?). They were attacked by sixty whites, who turned them out, with the result that they had to pass the night in a jungle. Commenting, the paper asks whether the Government of India has no remedy for the ill-treatment accorded to Indians abroad. Cannot we prevent the colonists from entering our country? So far we have been looking to Great Britain for justice. Is the Government of India also enamoured of good looks? If this is so, why are we not put to death, so that no blacks may be left on the face of the earth?

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Zulfiqar
(Lahore);
Ahmad Shah,
editor.

The Duke of Connaught's visit.

4. (*a*) The *Zulfiqar* of the 16th February says that the Duke of Connaught's visit to India will assuredly prove a blessing for the people of this country. Some unfortunate men undoubtedly wished to inflame the public by passing resolutions suggesting boycott of His Royal Highness. They are, however, only few in number are mischievous people and hold seditious ideas. For the rest, all Indians admire the British Government and regard the Duke's visit as a source of mercy for them. Those who are loyal to Government should not be kept out [of concessions] because of the seditionists referred to. It is our confident hope that the Duke's visit will prove a blessing for us, and that our demands will be fulfilled. Our only fear is lest friends and foes should be treated alike, as was done during the martial law regime. The sedtionaries will then have good reason for raising the cry that the Duke had come empty-handed.

Arya Gazette
(Lahore);
Khushal Chand,
editor.

(*b*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 17th February says that Indians are not satisfied at the royal message read out by the Duke of Connaught at Delhi. After remarking that they cannot now be satisfied with mere words, the paper states that at Delhi the Duke was surrounded by troops, most of whom were English. On the other hand, when Mr. Gandhi, the uncrowned king of India, visits Delhi the whole city looks like a bride. He is received by lakhs of people, whose attitude seems to say to the Duke, "Go and tell the people of England that Mahatma Gandhi and no one else is our real though uncrowned king."

Partap
(Lahore):
Krishen,
editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 23rd February states that the Duke of Connaught says that misunderstandings mean mistakes on the side of both the rulers and the ruled. This is true; but what is the existing situation? On the one hand, the people are expected at once to forget all the tyrannies, the memory of which still lacerates their hearts; but, on the other, arrests and "notices" are the order of the day. This means that if the people make a mistake full use of the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes should be made against them, but that in the case of a member of the bureaucracy behaving similarly the veil of mercy and forgiveness should be thrown over his mistake. Was the Duke's advice meant only for the public or was it intended for the authorities also?

Non-coöperation.

Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 23rd February writes that the severance of the British connection would prove very dangerous for the safety of India, who cannot defend herself against foreign invasions. Some extremists may dislike the idea, but it must be admitted that India's connection with Great Britain is highly necessary for her welfare. It is most dangerous in some people to think that non-coöperation consists in upsetting the Government. It is time that the advocates of non-coöperation carefully considered the matter and gave up all idea of bringing about a revolution.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 18th February urges the Muhammadans to boycott the forthcoming anniversary of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, which, it says, is no representative of theirs. The Anjuman is an official body and the Muslim public should subscribe nothing towards its fund. The Muhammadans demand that it should get Islamia schools and colleges disaffiliated from the University, as also that it should be liberated from the clutches of pro-Government persons and title-holders.

Ittifaq (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Ittifaq* of the 21st February also asked the Muhammadans to take no part in the anniversary. The only object of the Anjuman is to collect funds for imparting an education the acquiring of which has been declared to be unlawful.

Swaraj and coöperation.

Tribune, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. Commenting on Sir Surendranath Bannerjee's recent speech at a meeting of his party in the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, the *Tribune* of the 24th February writes:—"We find that he once more reiterated his opinion that while the goal of [his] party, as of the country generally, was *swaraj*, this goal, was to be attained not by non-coöperation, not even by non-violent non-coöperation, but by coöperation. For our part we have said again and again that both, coöperation and non-coöperation, are largely deceptive terms. We are yet to see the man who is prepared to carry non-coöperation to its logical conclusion and the president of the Central Khilafat Committee and Dr. M. A. Ansari, both of whom are extreme non-coöperators, have just shown by their readiness to attend the London Peace Conference that non-coöperation is not the 'monster' that its enemies represent it to be. Similarly the so-called coöperators only deceive themselves when they imagine that they can or will win *swaraj* only by coöperating with the representatives of the established order of things. Unless the word coöperation includes the fullest measure of constitutional opposition, it has never gone and will never go far towards winning for a people its birthright of liberty. . . . Does Sir Surendranath or any other moderate leader really believe that *swaraj* is to be won only by working the reforms in the Councils? We can think of no graver misconception—if they do . . . In the best of circumstances, even if the Councils had not been boycotted by the most progressive section of our politicians, it would still have been necessary to supplement Council work by work outside the Councils. To-day the necessity is incomparably greater. Leave Mahatma Gandhi and his associates in the Congress and their activities out of our public life, and the movement towards self-government in India will at once lose all its dynamic force, and the country itself the greatest and most effective agency on which it depends and must depend for its rapidly growing national self-consciousness."

The Indian army.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

7. Referring to Government's reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly about the average expenditure on Indian and British soldiers and officers, respectively, the *Bande Mataram* of the 18th February asks whether any one can admit that Indians are accorded in their own country an equal treatment with the British. A comparison between Indian and British soldiers in the matter of fitness for military service will show that the latter are inferior to the former. If Government knows that expenditure on British troops is very high and still employs a large number of them, this means that it reposes no trust in their Indian comrades. It is high time that there were no British troops in India or a substantial reduction were effected in their strength. Will any member care to move a resolution to this effect in the Assembly?

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Fresh taxation.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th February states that a large deficit is anticipated in Government's income this year; that Mr. Hailey proposes to enhance customs duties and heavily tax all articles of luxury to meet it; and that there is no likelihood of a reduction in the military expenditure, which is, indeed, likely to increase still further. It is a fundamental principle of government that there should be a reduction in the public expenditure when there is a deficit in receipts owing to unavoidable causes. In the present case, however, there is an apprehension of an increase instead of a reduction in the military expenses, which are already very heavy. This is wholly opposed to the dictates of Justice and the laws of government. India's military expenditure has been growing year by year, with the result that funds have not been available to meet several other requirements of the country. An increase during the last five or six years was unavoidable, but now that there is no war the expenditure on the army should be reduced first of all. There is now no justification for Government still further to add to it. Instead of enhancing customs duties and taxing articles of luxury it should reduce the military expenditure. Retrenchments are possible in the expenses of several other departments also, while another way to meet the deficit referred to consists in postponing such works as are not indispensable.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Nankana riot.

9. (*a*) Writing about the Nankana riots in its extraordinary issue dated the 22nd February, the *Khalsa Advocate* says:—"We are surprised to read the official list of casualities there which is stated to be only 20 killed.... Our own opinion about the official attempt at giving the lowest figures of casualties is that if it is not due to some telegraphic inexactness it may be due to official anxiety to minimise the gravity and the seriousness of the situation created by such a horrible and wholesale massacre of the Sikhs, the responsibility for lack of foresight to anticipate which and make adequate arrangements to meet it ultimately devolves upon the local authorities. Any way the melancholy event has sent into the heart of every Sikh, male or female, old or young, adult or child, that surging wave of indignation against the dastardly conduct of Mahant Narain Das and the supporters of his cause which can be suppressed or regulated and controlled by no outward power or force except that of their own inner soul force of which, as recent events have established, there is an immeasurable storehouse in their hearts. The good Khalsas are on their trial and should therefore maintain the equilibrium of their minds at this critical hour.... In continued self-control and regulated energy lies their ultimate triumph and the full consummation of their sacred avowed object. Feeling runs very high and serious things are being said against Mr. King and others, and we do not venture to express them."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 23rd February says whether it can ask Government why the riot was allowed to occur, although it knew beforehand that a disturbance was likely to take place. It had been on everyone's lips that preparations for a fight were being made at Nankana. But even if this is not taken into consideration, Government should have taken a warning from the Tarn Taran incident. It was its duty to make arrangements for averting this bloodshed.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) LAJPAT RAI writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd February says:—"We had been receiving news for some days past that there was a strong apprehension of a fight taking place at Nankana. We feel confident that the responsible officers of Government shared this apprehension and knew or ought to have known that an incident like the one in question might happen at Nankana any moment. We would like to know what measures were adopted by them to avert it and what was done by Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, who is now a prominent member of Government, to prevent the disturbance? It is necessary in order to remove every sort of misunderstanding that the public should have clear and detailed statements from Government and the Sardar Sahib. We shall await these statements and abstain from making any comments [at present]. We would, however, appeal to our Sikh brothers, with whom we deeply sympathise in their pain and grief, to act with patience and forbearance."

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Sikh* of the 24th February writes that a "body of Sikh pilgrims formed by the combination of various *jathas* of the Panth was, when it went to the sacred shrine to pay homage to the holiest of holy on the last auspicious anniversary of the Great Guru's birth, received by a strength of over 1,000 mercenaries and nearly as many Sadhus, armed with *lathis* (*chavis* being concealed) and cudgels and arrayed like a regular regiment. There was also a reinforcement of the armed police, and, as has never been denied, loaded rifles with a stock of munition were kept ready for use if need be. The Deputy Commissioner and the police officials witnessed all that and were further convinced of the motive of the Mahant joined by his fraternity from places near and far with a quota of men and arms from each, and we, for our part, did not fail to point out such a flagrant connivance on the part of the officials. But in vain, as nothing was done to show to the Mahant what a breach of law he had committed and was further preparing himself to commit. Nor was this alone. The manufacturing of *chhavis*, storing of arms and ammunition and kerosene oil continued in full swing; and a considerable strength of men under the command of one Ismail Bhati added to by a body of about 100 Pathans was kept ready to strike whenever the Sikhs came to visit the shrine. These reports continued to appear in the press and have also been clearly mentioned in the warnings of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Even the Mahant's own organ, the *Sant Sewak* is said to have mentioned that he had under his command 400 men (Bhattis) to accord the Sikhs the 'deserving reception.' But how strange and astounding it is that all this failed to rouse the police, the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner from their torpor, not even the fortifications of the shrine with lofty iron walls and perforating of iron sheets and doors to enable the Mahant's men to fire through nor the purchase of rifles and munition without license! And how all this shows that either the authorities were deliberately quiet or the Government of now-a-days is a mere humbug, (a mockery) can be easily judged. Well we ask Mr. Deputy Commissioner Currie to answer and Government to consider the following questions:—

"(*a*) Did he not see with his own eyes all that took place at Nankana Sahib on the occasion of the last Gurpunyam fair? If so, what action did he take in the matter?

"(*b*) How many times did he visit the place since the last fair?

"(*c*) Did he never notice the fortifications of the shrine in progress and the presence of the body of Pathans and Bhattis? Did he not receive reports about all this from people? If he did, what action did he take as District Magistrate? What steps ought to have been taken under such circumstances? Can a private person keep in his possession so many arms and so much ammunition without a license? If not, when was the license given him, by whom and why?

"(*d*) How many times did the Mahant, alone or in company with a deputation, wait upon him in this connection and what advice did he give him and when?

"(*e*) Did he not know that the Panth was going to hold a grand gathering on the 4th, 5th and 6th March at Nankana Sahib and that they had beforehand warned the Government and, for that matter, him of the Mahant's designs? If he did, what steps did he take to ensure public safety and preservation of the peace against that? Besides the above, [we ask] Mr. Commissioner King [the following] questions:—

"(*a*) What actuated [him to give in] writing to Baba Kartar Singh his opinion in the matter which was published and circulated broadcast for the encouragement of these Mahants?

"(*b*) What steps did he take as Commissioner to caution the Deputy Commissioner and the public against the impending danger?

"Unless satisfactory answers to these questions are given by either the officials concerned or the Punjab Government, the public have reasons to suspect a culpable connivance on the former's part. Is it not curious that while it took the æroplanes last year to reach Gujranwala an hour or so, it took the troops and Commissioner full 8 hours to reach Nankana Sahib? And what is by far the most astounding, the burning of the dead and the dying continued full four hours even after the arrival on the spot of Mr. Currie, the Deputy Commissioner ! Far be it from our mind to attribute motives, but what is there in our possession to dissuade the world against doing so unless there is a satisfactory explanation of all this ? Then the alleged detaining of private telegrams till those sent by the Deputy Commissioner had their full effect is another fact in the same connection. However, with all that, we have full confidence in the present Governor-in-Council and so we are sanguine that a strictly and thoroughly honest and impartial enquiry will result in the arrest, impeachment and exemplary punishment of the murderers, the actual offenders and the abettors, and deterrent steps against the official connivance if it is proved. We hope that a successful enquiry will reveal a deep-rooted and widespread conspiracy. Unless this is done there will remain an everlasting stain on the fair name of the Punjab Government."

TRIBUNE (Lahore) ;
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(e) The *Tribune* of the 25th February has the following :—" There is a very strong feeling that neither the Commissioner nor the Deputy Commissioner should have anything to do with the enquiry [into the riot]. With the correctness or otherwise of the statements that have been publicly made by persons whom it is impossible to dismiss as irresponsible about the policy of those officials we are not concerned. What is perfectly clear is that in view of such statements made by such persons and the belief of which these statements are the outcome, the least that the Government can do, if the enquiry is to inspire public confidence, is to take steps to see that the two officials may not be associated even remotely with either the enquiry or the subsequent proceedings. From this point of view the transfer of Mr. King from the office of Commissioner has been a commendable step. We do hope similar action will be taken in the case of Mr. Currie. We make no reflection against either."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore) ;
Abdul Majid Khan,
editor.

(f) The *Zamindar* of the 23rd February remarks that nothing can afford greater proof of the shamelessness of the Muhammadans than the fact that some of them also were among the people who helped and abetted the Mahant. O shameless Musalmans, it adds, has not the cup [*lit.* list] of your meanness and shamelessness been filled as yet ? You made the armies of the successor of the Prophet targets for your bullets. Aliens took possession of the peninsula of Arabia with the strength of your unclean hands. You destroyed the freedom of other Islamic countries for the benefit of infidels. Even now you are so grovelling in the abyss of degradation and folly that the autocratic authorities make you their tool of rigour and oppression, and you use guns and swords against those who went to Nankana only to perform a religious duty. You are by no means fit to be called Musalmans ; you are infidels, nay, worse than infidels. . . . The situation is becoming extremely critical. The guides of the nation should turn their attention to this new Jallianwala.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore) ;
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(g) The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd February wonders what danger Government apprehend in the event of a peace-loving person like Sardul Singh going to Nankana that it interned him within the limits of the Lahore municipal committee. He has been prevented from performing in connection with the Nankana riot the duty which, as president of the Sikh League, Secretary of the Punjab Congress Committee and a most influential leader of the nationalist Sikhs, he could have discharged much better than the obscure persons whom Government has selected to help it. We are sorry that the authorities should have, by their conduct and unstatesmanlike doings, afforded cause to the public to indulge in various undesirable surmises.

TRIBUNE (Lahore) ;
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Action against political workers.

10. (a) The *Tribune* of the 20th February writes :—" It is difficult to form a proper idea, from the telegrams published in these columns . . . . of the exact sequence of events leading to the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan and three others in the Madras Presidency, and to the issue of an order prohibiting Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq and Babu Rajendra Prasad from entering the prescribed limits of the town of Arrah in Behar. . . Is it merely an accident that the two orders were issued almost simultaneously in two places so remote from each other as Calicut and Arrah, and that in both cases the action was not only under the ordinary law, but under the same section of the same law ? . . . There are few sections of the ordinary law which lend themselves more easily or more assuredly to autocratic treatment than Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. . . . The

terms of the section are so comprehensive that we have grave doubts if there is anything to prevent any magistrate in any part of the country from resorting any day to actions similar to those taken in these cases in respect of any public meeting or against any public man. Indeed, it is worthy of note that when in the past our public men have condemned special measures like the Defence of India Act and the Rowlatt Act on the score of their not being necessary even for the purposes of officials, this particular section is one of those they have invariably referred to as being sufficient for those purposes. The Government must, therefore, be mistaken if they imagine that they have only to substitute action under this section for action under one or other of the professedly repressive laws for autocracy to be divested of its obnoxious features. After all, it is the substance and not the shadow of liberty which the people want, and the sooner this fact was recognised by those concerned the better for them as well as for the country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 23rd February the paper says :—"Having proved to their own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of the country the power of the repressive measures, and especially the Defence of India Act, officers of a certain class are now busy providing an object-lesson to the country as to the power of the ordinary law. We have already referred briefly to the cases of Mr. Yakub Hassan and others in Madras and of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq and Babu Rajendra Prasad in Behar. Similar action has been taken in the United Provinces against Mr. Ranga Iyer and Babu Bans Gopal and in our own province against Sardar Sardul Singh. The circumstances of these cases are different, but the two things common to them are that in all these cases the action of official authority amounts to an undeniable interference both with individual liberty and the freedom of the public, and that in all these cases that action has been taken under one or other section of the Criminal Procedure Code, which has long been in need of a drastic revision. . . . Is it wrong to assert that the only effect of the acceptance of Mr. Shastri's resolution so far has been not to prevent the bureaucracy from resorting to repressive measures, which is clearly what he intended, but to lead them to substitute for the special repressive measures the repressive sections of the ordinary law? . . . What must be clear to every unprejudiced observer is that all these cases bear in every respect a family resemblance to the cases under the Defence of India Act that a short while ago so convulsed the public mind. In what respect, then, does the new era differ from the old? And with what truth can it be said that autocracy, which was the essential feature of the latter, has all been abandoned in the new scheme of things? . . . Madras has set an excellent example by immediately raising the question arising out of the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hassan and others in the Legislative Council as a matter of definite and urgent public importance. Let that example be followed in every other province where a similar situation has been created."

(*c*) Elswhere the paper refers to the order issued by the District Magistrate of Lahore directing Sardar Sardul Singh Cavessieur not to leave the limits of the Lahore municipality, and comments as follows :—"The section under which this action was taken is the same as that under which action has been taken for the same purpose in all recent cases in other parts of India." After quoting the relevant part of the section, it continues :—"Now the first question that we desire to ask is, is the action of the Magistrate in leaving the reasons for the order to be recorded subsequently lawful? The law distinctly lays down that he can take action under this section only by a written order stating the material facts of the case. The provision is clearly of the utmost importance, and its obvious object is that 'the party should be made to know distinctly the grounds upon which the Magistrate has acted, in order that he may be better guided to a conclusion as to whether the order is one which he is bound to obey or whether he can safely resist it either under the penal procedure which is laid down by section 188 of the Penal Code or by showing cause under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.' Yet this is exactly the provision which the Magistrate has ignored. Secondly, in order that action under this section may be valid there must be 'information or evidence before the Magistrate that the act to be prohibited is likely to cause a riot, affray, etc.' and 'it is not intended by this section to relieve him of the duty of making a proper enquiry into the circumstances which make it likely that an imminent breach of the peace will occur.' Did the Magistrate hold such an enquiry? It will clearly be no enquiry and no substitute for one if a police official stated to the Magistrate in reply to a question that it was not safe to allow Sardar Sardul Singh to proceed to Nankana Sahib. Thirdly, does the order of the Magistrate conform to the requirements of the law as regards its nature and scope? The order contemplated by this section is 'a particular and specific order addressed to a particular person or persons to do or abstain from doing a particular act or acts' and it does not empower a Magistrate 'to pass a general order.' Now the order asking Sardar Sardul Singh not to leave the municipal limits of Lahore is a general and not a special order, for the simple reason that what it really directs him not to do is not a particular thing but a whole host of such things. The effect of the order is that he cannot only not go to Nankana Sahib, for instance, but cannot go to Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and millions of other places, in respect of which no man can believe or assert that his going there would provoke a breach of the peace. For all these reasons we have grave doubts as to the legality of the order. But the question of the legality is the least part of the matter. There is every reason to fear that such orders are going henceforth to take the place of orders under the Defence of India Act, and it is clearly a matter of the greatest importance and urgency that the expediency or otherwise of this course should be thoroughly gone into by the Legislative Council."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*d*) The following is from the *Liberal* of 21st February:—"Sardar Sardul Singh is a gentleman of high education; and although he belongs to the advanced wing of the nationalist party, his methods of work have all along been peaceful. The section of the Indian Penal Code, moreover, under which the said order has been passed requires the District Magistrate to state 'the material facts of the case' on account of which immediate action is thought desirable. But the Magistrate has evidently ignored the law on the point and his action is, therefore, most arbitrary and unjust."

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

Sections 215 and 216 of the Cantonment Code.

11. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 25th February writes:—"Are sections 215 and 216, which place such large, arbitrary and Dracovian powers in the hands of Cantonment Magistrates and place individual freedom at the mercy of the C. I. D. and the Police, going to be expunged from the Cantonment Code? Does the Cantonment Reform Committee, now holding its meetings at Delhi and which proposes to revise the cantonment administration according to the spirit of the reform scheme, intend to remove this blot from the escutcheon of the cantonment administration.... The revision of the Cantonment Code is absolutely essential; the removal of the galling disabilities of the house-owners is the crying need of the hour; the establishment of real local self-government is a necessary requisite—all these reforms are badly wanted, but towering high above them, forming a dark background as it were, stand the black sections, the lawless law of expulsion without the least shadow of a trial, without whose repeal all talk of reform becomes mere sham, mere mockery and camouflage.... For the first time, said His Excellency the Viceroy in his great speech at Delhi the other day, the principle of autocracy has been abandoned.... But do the operations of the black sections in Indian cantonments confirm His Excellency's assurance?... The black sections bespeak a policy of coercion in place of conciliation, a policy of distrust instead of implicit confidence in the good sense of the people, who are as keen on the maintenance of law and order as the lowest underling of the police or any cantonment authority. Can anybody truthfully assert that with the sword of the black sections hanging over his head, he is a free citizen. Indians are asked to be proud of the fact that they are citizens of the British Empire. How can feelings of just pride arising out of the consciousness of free citizenship take hold of an individual when every moment of his life he lives in imminent risk of loosing his personal freedom."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Firing at disturbances.

12. The *Partap* of the 23rd February says that for some time past the authorities have been giving orders to fire on the occurrence even of ordinary disturbances. Before the people had ceased expressing indignation at the recent firing in Rai Bareilly and Behar there comes the news from Calcutta that the police have fired at the tramway strikers there. On the one hand, it is daily asserted that Government considers Indian lives also to be sacred; but, on the other, men are fired at even when the slightest disturbances takes place. And instead of calling upon those who shoot people to explain their conduct, Government forth-

with begins to pat them on the back. We ask Government, especially the Duke of Connaught, whether this is the way to make Indians forget the past. We may tell the responsible authorities that it is most improper that Indians should be murdered daily on the slightest pretext and the mean conduct of offending officers should be connived at, and that this can never lead to a good result.

The Press Act.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

13. (*a*) Referring to the proposed appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to examine the Press and Registration of Books Act, the Indian Press Act and the Newspapers Incitement to Offences Act, the *Tribune* of the 25th February writes :—"Everything would ... depend upon the composition and personnel of the committee .... For the first time since the Press Act had been put on the Statute Book, it was admitted on behalf of the Government that that Act was not the innocent victim of unjust attacks that its apologists had so often represented it to be .... Even the present admission did not go very far, for Sir William Vincent added in the same breath that that Press Act was not used to suppress any legitimate political work, but only to suppress political extremism or seditious agitation. The absolute untenableness of this position will, in the first place, be clear to Sir William himself, if he will remember that there are few Indian journals of any note in any part of the country which have not at one time or another been warned under the Press Act, while all the more respectable Indian journals, with a very few exceptions, have at one time or another, been called upon to furnish security. Were all these papers seditious ? Secondly, the Home Member seems still to be unable to grasp the real issue when he says that the Act has not been used to suppress legitimate political work. Why does he not see that the whole question here is, who is to determine what is or is not legitimate criticism, the officers of Government against whom the criticism is directed and who are clearly interested in seeing that no criticisms, except those of a milk and water type, are made in the press, or independent courts of law ? Thirdly, why should the Government take it upon itself to suppress political extremism, and allocate to itself the right to mould political opinion after a regulation pattern ? Are we all bound to hold officially approved views in politics, to think and feel and act as a Home Member or a Viceroy would fain have us do ? The Home Member went on to say that the Government of India were prepared to take any step to prevent misuses of the Act. The question, however, is not one of preventing misuses of the Act, but whether it should exist at all. The Indian public have made no secret of their deliberate opinion that nothing but its total repeal can satisfy them. The press must be as free in India as it is in England, and if the new era means anything, we cannot afford to have a single repressive or restrictive measure on our Statute Book which Englishmen would not tolerate in their own country."

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper says :—"If the Committtee is to inspire public confidence and to fulfil its purpose, it must include at least one representative of the press, and preferably of that section of the press which has suffered most from the existence of the Act. It is only the wearer of the shoe who knows where it pinches, and if the Government will have representatives on the committee to cross-examine and combat press evidence, the press itself should have a representative on the committee to cross-examine and combat official statements."

Thefts in Dera Ismail Khan.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

14. A correspondent writing to the *Partap* of the 19th February states that such serious cases of theft have been occurring at Dera Ismail Khan that a bare recital of them makes one's hair stand on end. Many persons have been wounded by the thieves, and the local public is complaining that the police do not take adequate steps in the matter. The people have now begun themselves to do the watch work at night. Even respectable and influential persons have been seen mounting guards.

Assessment of income-tax.

AROBBANS SUDHARAK (Lahore); Salig Ram, editor.

15. (*a*) One KHUSHI RAM, a *sahukar* of Bhagian, Sialkot district, writing to the *Arorbans Sudharak* of the 19th February states that recently he had to appear before the income-tax officer at a distance of 18 miles from his village. Two shopkeepers appeared before that officer on the occasion and began

to shed tears. They should not have been assessed with a tax, but the officer concerned did not exempt them on the mere suspicion that they had kept no regular account of their petty shops. One of them was so poor that the Tahsildar kept him in the lock-up in consequence of the tax not having been recovered from him. The amount assessed from him has now been remitted. Commenting, the paper wonders whether it is such things that constitute blessings of British rule. What feelings must the keeping of respectable people in the lock-up in connection with the collection of income-tax be creating in their minds? It is such happenings that are compelling the supporters of non-coöperation vigorously to push forward the movement. We wish that Sir Edward Maclagan's Government would issue instructions to subordinate officers to desist from doing things calculated to weaken the people's feelings of love for the British Government.

MUNICIPAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Din Muhammad, editor.

(*b*) The *Municipal Gazette* of the 19th February alleges that the people of Khanna, Ludhiana district, are in great trouble over the [excessive income-] tax imposed on them. Rigour is praised and injustice is done in connection with the assessment of the tax. Many Hindu shopkeepers, whose names can be given, were overassessed and filed objections, but to no purpose. One Dr. Nota Ram, the objection filed by whom was rejected, refused to pay the tax, saying, "This is wholly unjust and oppressive. We are not prepared to pay. Our houses and shops are open. Government may plunder them whenever it likes."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 21st February publishes a communication from one LABHU RAM, Secretary of the Congress Committee, Morinda [, Ambala district]. He reports that last year the local *mahajans* discontinued *begar* work and supplying provisions [for touring officers]. In their anger at this the officers in the district imposed such heavy income-tax on the *mahajans* that they were unable to pay. This was brought to the notice of the authorities, but to no purpose. The Tahsildar of Rupar began to realise the tax on the 14th February by means of attachment warrants, a penalty of annas 4 per rupee being also levied. He summoned the assessees and told them by way of threat that, thanks to British rule, they were living in peace; otherwise they would have been looted. Upon this some of them willy-nilly paid the tax and penalty, but the rest, who could not afford to pay the unbearably heavy amounts assessed from them, expressed their inability to meet the demand. Thereupon the Tahsildar ordered the *tahsil* Jamadar to go with two chaprasis and the same number of police constables and attach their property. Accordingly one piece of cloth, a bagful of tobacco, etc., belonging to one Munshi Mal, from whom a sum of Rs. 445 was due, were placed under attachment. Similarly, 36 articles such as a pair of tongs, wooden bellows, a charpoy, etc., worth about Rs. 20 found in the house and shop of one Labhu Ram, who had to pay Rs. 131-2-4, were attached. After stating that nothing else could be found in the man's possession, the writer says that it is most deplorable that under the rule of a Government, which claims to be just, even articles like the above possessed by a poor man, who cannot drink water or cook his food without them, should be mercilessly attached. Is it anything short of injustice to impose such a heavy tax?

HAMDARD (Lahore); Hakim Ashar, editor.

Assessment of land revenue.

16. The *Hamdard* of the 14th February publishes an open letter to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in the course of which it is said that the *sahukars* and traders, whose income is below Rs. 2,000 a year, pay no income-tax. After remarking that the same rule applies to Government officers also, it asks why oppression and tyranny should be practised upon, and injustice done to, poor *zamindars* in the matter. Land revenue also should be recovered from only those of them whose annual income is Rs. 2,000 or more.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Government and the drink evil.

17. The *Siyasat* of the 19th February says that certain recent events have made it thoroughly clear that Government wishes to obtain money by forcibly selling liquor. Contractors and merchants at Allahabad and several other districts recently refused to take contracts for the sale of liquor. Upon this the authorities imported some shopkeepers from other places to take up the contracts. Was the proceeding morally justifiable and will any sensible man concede Government's claim that it wishes to discourage the use of liquor? Would it be surprising if religious-minded Indians cease coöperation with a Government which [illegible]es people to drink.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

18. The *Siyasat* of the 20th February publishes a communication from "A SERVANT OF THE KHILAFAT." He refers to the Hindu-Muslim unity, and says that the Hindus have declared that they will no longer feel displeased with the Muhammadans if kine-killing is stopped. Muslim leaders and editors have not as yet made it clear, however, whether their co-religionists also have any cause for complaint against the Hindus. The practice of *chhut*, which according to most of the Hindu leaders, forms no part of the Hindu religion, wounds the feelings of the Prophet's followers. Their national and religious dignity receives a severe shock through the scornful treatment accorded to them by the Hindus. The writer appeals, in the name of *swaraj* and country, to the Hindus in general and their leaders in particular to give up *chhut*.

The Sikhs and Muhammadans.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

19. (*a*) A correspondent writing to the *Siyasat* of the 18th February complains that in Burdala, Shakargarh tahsil, Gurdaspur district, the Sikhs, who own the village, do not allow the Muhammadans to make calls for prayers After stating that the Sikhs behave similarly in several other villages also, the writer regrets that while shouts of Allah-o-Akbar are raised in meetings and processions, the Muhammadans should not have the freedom to make these calls in their mosques. They appeal to Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders, particularly to the Akalis, to secure them this freedom. Commenting, the paper expresses the hope that if the allegation is well-founded the Sikhs will promptly end the piece of injustice complained of.

PAIGHAM-I-SULAH (Lahore); Murtaza Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Paigham-i-Sulah* of the 20th February publishes a communication from one AHMAD ALI, stationery supplier, Hall Bazar, Amritsar. He says that certain Muslim places of worship are in the possession of the Sikhs, and that the thought of their desecration rends the hearts of the Muhammadans. The Sikhs should respect the religious feelings of the Musalmans and restore those places to the latter, in return for a price if they so wish. They should also cease preventing the poor Muhammadans from performing their religious, duties, *e.g.*, making calls for and saying prayers, in the villages or towns where the latter are in a minority. There are several villages in the districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozepore, etc., where they accord this treatment to the Muhammadans. They should do both these things in order to cement the union between them and the Prophet's followers.

The *kirpan*.

SIKH (Lahore); Bakhshish Singh editor.

20. The following is from the *Sikh* of the 20th February :—"The autocratic order of the Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, restricting the length of *kirpans* to be manufactured in his district at nine inches must be universally protested against it being neither according to law nor consistent with the Government policy of non-interference in the religious affairs of His Majesty's subjects. The district of Jullundur, though situate in the midst of the Punjab, is treated as if it were Peshawar or Bannu, as the application of the Seditious Meetings Act, restriction of *kirpan* size, etc., show. But will not Sir Edward Maclagan see to this ?

VII—MISCELLANEOUS.

Native States.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

21. The *Ittifaq* of the 20th February says that so far from helping their afflicted fellow-countrymen [in British India], the rulers of Native States seem bent on opposing them. If oppression has passed all bounds in Tonk, the Seditious Meetings Act has been enforced in Bahawalpur. If one Indian Chief is determined to harass his subjects, another is bent on prohibiting the entry of newspapers into his territories. Their names will disfigure the pages of the history of liberated India. They had better shake off their intoxication of rule and their pride of wealth and position and join the country and the nation, which will then regard them with feelings of respect.

Tonk affairs.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

22. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 18th February says that for some time past the papers have been publishing reports of tyrannies practised on the people in Tonk After stating that the local authorities have recently issued an order prohibiting the entry of all newspapers into the State, the paper publishes a

letter from a Tonk subscriber, who requests that no copy of the *Siyasat* should henceforth be sent to him, as it has been ordered by the State that any one found reading or taking in a paper will be prosecuted. Commenting, it asks whether the authorities in Tonk think that the oppression practised by them will not be revealed in the event of the entry of newspapers into the State being stopped. If they are labouring under this impression they had better forthwith expel it from their minds.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 18th February writes that, in imitation of British officials, the rulers of Native States have begun to resort to the revolting acts of imprisonment, internment, externment and military terrorism. Leaving aside this mal-administration, their private character is so bad that it makes one shudder to contemplate it. Continuing, the paper says that the Nawab of Tonk should shake off his sleep of negligence and keep in view the history of the martial-law administration in the Punjab. It does not become the Nawab to follow in the footsteps of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He should abandon his present ruinous policy, withdraw his orders against interned and externed persons, and introduce useful reforms in the administration of his State in order to win over the hearts of his subjects. In case the Tonk Darbar remains obstinate the result will be that people will continue in a state of excitement, which might prove dangerous for the peace af the State. The times are very critical. A wave of liberty is passing over British India. Indian Chiefs should act with great wisdom now and take steps to promote the welfare of their subjects to prevent the latter resorting to non-coöperation.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Lord Sinha.

23. The *Siyast* of the 23rd February writes that the moderates were very jubilant over the appointment of Lord Sinha as a Governor. Sensible people knew, however, that the elevation of a particular individual could not remove the ailment of India. What the people really require is a change in the system of government now obtaining in the country. That the nationalists were right in this opinion is evident from the fact that it is in Behar that the greatest oppression is being practised on Khilafat workers and non-coöperators, while orders are being issued there as are promulgated in no other province. We wish that not Lord Sinha but an Englishman had been responsible for these tyrannies. The elevation of such Indians as have sold their conscience [*lit.* outward and inside] to the English is injurious and not beneficial for this country.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Interpreters for the Punjab Council.

24. The *Tribune* of the 5th February writes:—"Not only in the selection of Council Secretaries, but even in such a matter as the appointment of interpreters for the Council, the vicious method of communal representation appears to have been followed. We understand that four persons have been appointed as interpreters, two of whom are Muhammadans, one Sikh and one Hindu. There would have been something to be said for such an arrangement if there had been three or four different vernaculars in which speeches in the Council were likely to be made, and if the line of division in this respect had corresponded to the line of religious division among the people. But that is not the case. There is only one vernacular recognised by the Council, and yet we must have four interpreters appointed—just to satisfy the communal principle. At this rate, where are we going to stop?"

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 26th February 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Near East Conference.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th February says that if the Near East Conference decides not to return Thrace and Asia Minor to Turkey, the holding of it and the participation of representatives from Turkey and India in its deliberations will prove of no use. It is necessary that importance should be attached to the opinion of these representatives, that the Government of India should specially ask the British Government to do so, and that the latter Government should adopt a fair and sympathatic attitude in regard to their views and demands. If the decision of the Conference goes against the legitimate desires of the Turks and their co-religionists there will commence a strong movement against the Allies in the Islamic world. The Turks and other Muhammadans have made up their minds that, happen what may, they will carry on a vigorous struggle until the Khilafat problem and that of the safety of Turkey are settled according to their wishes.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Commenting upon the French Premier's recent statement that Great Britain had made it clear to France that she had no intention to modify the Turkish peace treaty, the *Bande Mataram* of the 25th February ask whether any sensible man can deny even now that Great Britain and Great Britain alone is responsible for the rigour that is being practised upon Turkey.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st March says that even at the preliminary proceedings of the Conference the standpoint of Great Britain was different from that of France and Italy. It is generally known to people that, unlike France and Italy, she is opposed to a revision of the Turkish peace treaty. This being so, what meaning is there in Government's assertion that it has full sympathy with the feelings of the Muhammadans, and how can one credit this assertion? The Government of India asks the Muhammadans not to agitate against it over the Khilafat question, saying that it is its sincere desire that their demands regarding Turkey and the Caliphate should be acceded to, but that being under the British Government it can do nothing in the matter. Since, however, it forms part of the British Government how can it absolve itself from the responsibilities which devolve on it through the doings of the latter Government?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 1st March writes that there was a time when the Turkish peace treaty was regarded as a settled fact and none of the big men in India had the courage to raise their voice in support of the Khilafat. International conditions, the seriousness of the present situation and agitation by the united Islamic world have, however, forced British statesmen to recognise the importance of Kamal Pasha's Government and the Indian Khilafat Committee, both of which were once regarded as gangs of robbers, and to allow them the right of representation on the Near East Conference. The British Government is now agreeable to a revision of the treaty of Sevres in accordance with the demands of the Muhammadans. Continuing, the paper says that if the treaty is radically revised, the events will not be due to a regard for the sentiments of the Indian Musalmans. The real cause consists in France and Italy being opposed to the English as regards this treaty and in the power of the Turkish nationalists being so on the increase that the Allies can no longer afford to oppose them in the Near East. It is absurd to say, therefore, that the revision would be a favour shown to the Muhammadans of this country. This would have been the case only if the treaty had been revised when they sent a deputation to England, France and Italy. The paper then goes on to say that it still doubts whether the treaty will be revised in accordance with the Muslim demands, and that agitation in regard to it will, therefore, continue unabated. But even if it is granted that Turkey will be restored to her pre-war position the British Government should expect no subsidence in the movement for the freedom of India. It is not the Khilafat question alone which has made Indians uneasy: they wish that incidents like the Khilafat question and the Punjab tragedy should become impossible for the future. The restoration of the prestige of the Khilafat is a thing different from the question of India's freedom. The Hindus and Muhammadans unitedly demand *swaraj*, and even if the Khilafat question is satisfactorily decided, the agitation for *swaraj* will, instead of subsiding, gain still further in strength. The Muhammadans, whose attention is now divided between their country and faith, will then address themselves wholly to the cause of India's freedom. This will bind them and the Hindus still more closely together, and both will make [greater] efforts to free their country. The Muhammadans should remember that the freedom of India depends upon that of the Khilafat and *vice versâ*. Unless India is free, there can be no guarantee that Turkey will be safe from encroachment on the part of western nations. It is necessary, indeed, for the stability and permanence of Islam and the Khilafat that the whole of Asia should be free, so that the west may never dare cast [sinister] looks on the east.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

(*e*) The *Ittifaq* of the 2nd March says that it appears from a Reuter telegram that the French and [other] allied delegates [on the Near East Conference] cross-questioned the Greek delegates, but that the British delegates not only remained silent but even supported Greece, saying that the bayonet alone could cut the Gordian knot. This being so, the paper fails to understand why British statesmen took the trouble of inviting the president of the Indian Khilafat committee to attend the Conference. And when such are the honest intentions of the members of the British Government what meaning is there in issuing invitations to representatives of Islam? The Muslim deputation from India has not yet reached England, but British statesmen are already ridiculing Islamic sentiments. If the Conference is not to respect Muslim feelings, it has at least to revise the treaty of Sevres. But things are taking a strange turn. Have British statesmen taken leave of commonsense and wisdom along with justice and equity. Great Britain would be murdering justice if it interferes with the legitimate rights of the Muhammadans. There has been convened a conference to revise the treaty referred to, and representatives of the [Muslim] community are taking part in it. What is being attempted, however, is that the past decision should be ratified, nay, that something still stranger should be done! And British statesmen say that the path should be cleared with the sword! This means that, if possible, even the Angora Government should be upset. Is there in the world anyone so devoid of sense as to admit that to pat the Greeks on the back and advance towards Angora means a revision of the Sevres treaty? It is strange that while France and Italy are pressing for the treaty being thrown overboard, England should insist on the Islamic world being made to taste of the sword.

Egypt.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

2. Referring to the Milner report, the *Bande Matarum* of the 24th February says that the history of the world cannot furnish a single specimen of the sort of independance proposed for Egypt. Great Britain wants to keep troops in that country to ensure the safety of the Suez Canal. She has, however, never thought of maintaining 15 lakhs of soldiers at Washington for the protection of the British ambassador in America. Her policy consists in enslaving the whole world by degrees. But, in spite of this all, the grant of even the independence proposed for Egypt is being opposed in certain influential circles.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

India and independence.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 1st March contains an article under the heading "The Immediate Need for Independence" written by MR. C. F. ANDREWS, who writes :—"There is a book called Sir John Seely's *Expansion of England*, which, if possible, every Indian student should read himself. . . . To Sir John Seely, India during the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries is regarded as an instrument in this expansion of England. India is the passive, pliable material, by means of which England was able to stretch out her Empire over the rest of the world. What a fate ! What a destiny ! What a last indignity for three hundred million souls, to be made an appendage to the expansion of a small island called England. . . . 'There is . . . .,' he says, 'no Indian nationality. . . . Now if the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly, if without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist. . . . . The moment India began really to show herself what we solidly imagine her to be, a conquered nation, that moment we should recognise perforce the impossibility of retaining her.' I shall leave this passage to speak for itself. Does it not explain the psychology of the present movement ? For, what have we seen, on every side, as Mahatma Gandhi has gone from place to place and province to province ? Have we not seen just that very 'feeling of a common nationality,' on which Sir Jon Seely lays so much stress ? Have we not seen the 'notion created,' as Seely says, 'that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion' ? Have we not begun to realise in our humiliation, that we are regarded as a conquered nation ? Surely all these things have come to pass. May we not then hope, that the end is not far distant, that *swaraj* may be even now knocking at our very door, seeking to enter, and that it is we ourselves and not the British who are shutting it out ?. . . . He then goes on as follows :—' . . . We could subdue the Mutiny of 1857, formidable as it was, because it was spread through only a part of the army, because the people did not actively sympathise with it, and because it was possible to find native Indian races who would fight on our side. But the moment a mutiny is but threatened which shall be no mere mutiny but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end, as all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving our Empire. For we are not really conquerors of India, and we cannot rule her as conquerors.' . . . The attainment of Indian independence must essentially be based, not on any appeal to arms, not on any violence ; but on a complete realisation by the people as a whole of Indian nationality. In the light of this fact, cannot we understand what a God-given blessing it has been to India, at such a time as the present, to have Mahatma Gandhi in our midst ?"

(*b*) Continuing in the paper's issue dated the 4th March, Mr. Andrews writes :—"Sir John Seely has really told us the plain, unvarnished truth,—'Subjection,' he says 'for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration.' This sentence ought to be written on the heart of every Indian, with all the humiliation it implies. Until the humiliation is more deeply felt there appears no hope of remedy. . . . The period of 160 years, since the battle of Plassey, is far too long a time to be in subjection to a band of foreign rulers. . . . Such subjection, if Seely's historical maxim is true, cannot but lead to national deterioration. This is why the need for independence is so immediate. . . . God knows, there has been national deterioration enough ! . . . . We cannot sit down at ease, whilst this root malady strikes down still deeper into the vitality of the nation. The other terrible sentences of Sir John Seely, which must act like a goad in spurring on every Indian, who loves his country, to take action, are contained in the paragraph, where the historian declares that India has reached the stage of helplessness, when it would be cruelty for England to withdraw. 'To withdraw,' he says, 'the British Government from India would be the most inexcusable of all conceivable crimes.' Why ? Because,—these are his words,—'we (*i.e.*, the British) have made India incapable of depending on anything else.' And again,—'It is to be feared that the British rule may have diminished whatever little power of this sort India may have originally possessed.' I have quoted these blunt and harsh and unpalatable sentences, again and again, because I want to drive home to the mind the degradation, which India has reached by tamely submitting to a foreign rule all these years, without making any united effort to throw off the yoke of subjection . . . *National* India is as defenceless as ever she was before. And, I am afraid, an impartial historian would have to relate that national deterioration has been going on apace, in spite of Indian awakening and in spite of Indian progress in certain directions. I, for one, have come to believe, that the state of the peasantry in India, under the crushing burden of military expenditure, is growing steadily worse The Esher Report, which is already being acted upon in important details, shows the limit of Indian helplessness. A military budget which exhausts nearly half the national revenue in a country so desperately poor as India reveals still further the deadlock reached in Indian affairs. . . . Desperate diseases demand desperate remedies, not poultices and bandaging. Even if the dependence on England became more and more attenuated as year after year went slowly by, yet all the while the spirit of dependence would remain. And, if Seely's diagnosis of the malady which afflicted India was true, then we had no time to wait. For while doles of home rule were being niggardly meted out with the one hand, independence itself was being undermined, and the fatal habit of looking to England, in a defenceless sort of way, was continuing. The disease within was still active. Thus I came to realise, by the force of sheer practical experience, that the evolutionary process could not be relied on. . . . It therefore appeared to me more and more certain that the only way of self-recovery was through some vital upheaval from within. The explosive force needed for such an upheaval must be generated within the soul of India itself. It could not come through boons and gifts and grants and concessions and proclamations from without. It must come from within.

Therefore it was with the intensity of joy of mental and spiritual deliverance from an intolerable burden, that I watched the actual outbreak of such an inner explosive force, when Mahatma Gandhi spoke to the heart of India the mantram. 'Be free ! Be slaves no more', and the heart of India responded. In a sudden moment her fetters began to be loosened, and the pathway of freedom was opened."

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) Mr. Andrews continues in the *Tribune* of the 5th March—"'Indians,' . . . says [an Englishman], 'have only to refuse to work for Europeans, and the whole white Empire would be brought to an end within a month.' . . . The verdict of the most sober English historians is this, that Indian without a single hand being lifted to strike a single blow, can determine her own destiny. The sheer weight of numbers,—three hundred and twenty millions against a few thousands,—is so great, that if these numbers could once speak with one mind, their will must be carried out. . . . How to bring about an entire reversal of Indian sentiment from dependence to independence ? How to get rid of the inveterate fear of the Englishman among the common people ? How to create among the masses the motion that it was shameful to help the foreigner in maintaining his dominion ? . . . I disliked from the very first the pretentious and bombastic Pronouncement of August 1917, which arrogated to the British Parliament the right to judge the time and measure of each advance towards full responsible government. . . . Furthermore, the camouflage of equal seats for India, along with Australia, etc., on the Imperial Conference, and on the League of Nations, was too thin to deceive anybody. The one instance of Sir Arthur Hirtzel, of the India Office, signing the Treaty of Sevres, on behalf of the 'Indian Nation', is sufficient to show the depth of humiliation to which India has sunk under British Rule, owing to such hypocrisies. Again, in spite of 'White Australia' policies, South African Indian ghettos, and every other Indian racial degradation within the British

Empire, Indians are forced to remain in it, as an integral part whether they wish it or not. So, then, in the atmosphere of August Proclamation, Reform Councils, Imperial Conference, and Esher and Lovatt Reports, I have had none of my doubts answered. These things only appear to me to prolong indefinitely the dependence of India upon Great Britain. Indeed, they seem deliberately intended to do so .... On the other hand, I come back from this method of doubtful evolution to the more incisive method of Mahatma Gandhi. I can see that he cuts at the very root of the disease .... Such personalities as that of Mahatma Gandhi, which can inspire a whole nation, are rare, indeed, in human history. *Our* duty,—the duty of us, who are ordinary people,—is to use to the full the God-given opportunity, when it comes. Only with such an inner spiritual power at our disposal, can the vicious circle of dependence be broken, and the soul of India set free."

India and England.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

4. The *Siyasat* of the 28th February says that on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Indian Soldiers' Memorial at Delhi the Duke of Connaught acknowledged the valour and bravery of Indians in very glowing terms. The *Daily Telegraph* of London also has openly praised them for the military services rendered by them during the great European war. When they demand, however, that they also should be allowed to breathe the air of freedom they are told, "You are as yet unfit to live in open air. Your cage is of course being rendered narrower still to ensure your comfort and in order that in your desire for freedom you may not break your heads by jumping about in your cage. Pass your days in happiness and bless us, in that we have prepared such a costly cage for you as cannot be matched in the world." This is the reward for our devotion and the recompense for our sacrifices which are being given to us by the British Government and the despotic authorities in India. And still it is expected that on future occasions also we should become prepared to have our own heads, as also those of our dear ones, cut off for the protection of those who keep us caged. If this state of affairs continues we would say that it is difficult, nay, madness to expect this from us.

Non-coöperation.

PARKASH (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

5 (*a* The *Parkash* of the 20th February says that if the non-coöperation movement proves a success lakhs of people in England will begin to die from hunger. If such a day ever arrives—and it is certain to come in the case of Government making no effort to redress the grievances of Indians and the latter practising non-coöperation heart and soul—the blame will lie at the door, not of Indians, but of their rulers, who are fellow-countrymen of the English. In conclusion, the paper writes:—O Indians, continue to follow Gandhi. Your salvation lies in this.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Panch* of the 16th February [received on the 3rd March] says that the use of home-made cloth can very quickly take Indians to the goal of *swaraj*. Everyone of them should, therefore, take an oath to use only this cloth and not even to touch any English-made cloth.

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Syed Ahmad Shah, editor.

(*c*) The *Zulfiqar* of the 24th February says that all the movements hitherto started by Mr. Gandhi have proved dangerous and have resulted in loss of life. Is it wrong to say, it asks, that he and his followers were the originators of the Punjab disturbances of 1919? Do not the statements of the murderers of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri prove that the culprits were backed by Mr. Gandhi and the Caliphate agitators. After remarking that every other movement of his was clearly seditious and mischievous in character, the paper goes on to say that, in the course of his speech at the students' conference at Gujranwala, Dr. Kitchlew tried to inflame his hearers, and asks whether his words were not calculated to foment breaches of the peace among ignorant people. An attempt, it adds, is being made to raise an army of young men against Government and to inflame the general public and ignorant zamindars against the English by sending educated men to [agitate in] towns and villages. These agents are working with great zeal and nothing good can result from this. All agitators, whether agents of the Bolsheviks or Turkey, are doing their utmost to lower the prestige of Government by working under Mr. Gandhi [*lit.* Mr. Gandhi's *Sarkar*]. The Seditious Meetings Act being in force in

Lahore the agitators here are doing their work at their houses. During his recent visit to Lahore Mr. Gandhi asked people to go to villages and advise the villagers to use handlooms. So long as the rural population did not join us, he said, we could not achieve success. How could we say before this was done, he asked, that the whole country was with us. We should, therefore, send workers to towns and villages to warn the people of those places. Dr. Kitchlew also advised students at Gujranwala to relinquish their studies and spread themselves in villages. It is evident that these people will dye their hands with the blood of simple-minded rustics. Do not Mr. Gandhi and men sharing his views know what sort of acts ignorant rustics, among whom there are many habitual thieves, dacoits and *badmashes*, are likely to commit if their allegiance to Government is tampered with and open opposition is offered to the English? What results did the *satyagraha* movement lead to? We feel that these people are prepared to commit still further mischief. They will get rivers of blood shed and jails filled with ignorant people a second time.

(*d*) "A STUDENT" writes to the *Liberal* of the 28th February from Shikarpur (Sind):—"It is a matter of great sorrow that Punjabi students are going back to their schools and colleges. Do not they feel for the country? One of the causes of non-coöperation is to heal the wounds of Punjabi brothers, but it is regretable that they are not healing the wounds but making them worse. The Punjab has got many leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and others, who can engage them in the cause of the motherland. It would have been better not to have left the colleges than to return to them. By coming back you are showing your cowardice. Punjabis who are considered brave are behaving like cowards. What was the use of holding a conference and passing the resolution of non-coöperation unanimously? My request is, 'It is better to die than to go back to schools and colleges.' If your parents do not allow you to respond to the call of the country, why do you care for them? Freedom is never got by selfish persons. Great sacrifice is required for freedom. Don't think that by going back to schools and colleges we will not get liberty. Liberty we will get sooner or later, but by going back to colleges the words of Mahatmaji's that 'we will get liberty within one year' may prove wrong."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor,

The Behar Government and non-co-operation.

6. Commenting on the circular issued by the Government of Behar and Orissa to all district officers in that province on the subject of non-co-operation, the *Tribune* of the 1st March writes:—"The sting of the scorpion, they say, is in the tail, and the concluding sentence of the circular tells us that in addition to what it has done already, the Behar Government 'proposes to initiate active measures to combat the non-coöperatian movement at a very early date.' We do not know whether it is the crop of actions under the Criminal Procedure Code that has been taken in Behar during the last few days that constitute the active measures thus foreshadowed in the circular. In any case, we have a right to remind the local Government that it is going further than the lines laid down in the resolution of the Government of India, dated 6th November 1920, and which the Viceroy emphasised only the other day in his speech at the Calcutta club. The measures suggested by His Excellency were 'counter propaganda' and 'the removal of grievances' on which non-co-operators might draw. It is only if these failed, and there was an actual outbreak on disorder that both the resolution as well the speech of the Viceroy held out the threat of repressive action. Neither of these contingencies has occurred so far, and yet repression appears already to have begun. This is not only unfortunate in itself, but is bound to defeat the object which the Government has in view. The counter propaganda is not likely to have the smallest success, if it is accompanied by repression, and so far from grievances being removed by it, repression will obviously constitute formidable addition to the existing list of grievances. . . We have never been among those who expected a new heaven and a new earth to descend upon us as a result of Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor. . . Still it would be as well for Lord Sinha to consider if it is either right or proper that his Government should be the first to initiate a campaign of repression against a popular movement. His Government may not be more responsive to public opinion than other local Governments, but should it be less? Already in one matter, the composition of his Executive Council, the province has a grievance as com-

pared with every other province. It is also one of the minority of provinces in which repressive action has so far been taken, though mostly under the ordinary law, against public men of the front rank, and in which more such actions have been taken against public workers than in the rest of the country. It is the one province in which, as far as the public is aware, a circular like the one referred to . . . has been issued and more 'active measures' have been promised. If His Excellency imagines that as an Indian it is his duty to set an example to his brother Governors and incidentally to disprove the allegation that an Indian could not be a strong ruler in times of apprehended trouble, we would respectfully remind him that here as elsewhere the picture has another and a no less important side."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

Repressive laws.

7. Referring to the proposed appointment of a committee to examine the Press Act and other repressive laws, the *Zamindar* of the 3rd March says that, in the first place, it is wholly unlikely that the Act will be repealed before the advent of *swaraj*. But if it is granted for a moment that it will be removed from the statute book, this does not mean that the difficulties of editors and printers will then come to an end. Sections 153-A and 124-A of the Indian Penal Code are always handy to crush these men. Again, under the Press Act people only lose their security deposits or printing presses, but under the sections referred to an editor or printer is liable to seven years' imprisonment in addition to a fine. Continuing, the paper says that it is futile to try for the repeal of repressive laws, because their repeal or amendment can be of no use unless there is no change in the system of government. We object, not to the existence of these laws, but to the manner in which they are administered. Let there be no amendment in the Defence Act, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, but there should be a guarantee that they will not be used improperly. Such a guarantee cannot, however, be given so long as an unsympathetic and alien bureaucracy is in power in India whose sole object in life is to crush every voice raised for liberty and democracy under the cover of supposed administrative interests. Indians should not waste their time in trying to get these savage laws repealed: *swaraj* is the only remedy for all their ailments.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Punjab budget.

8. (*a*) In reviewing the Punjab budget for 1921-22, the *Tribune* of the 3rd March writes:—"The item of expenditure that must immediately arrests attention is the provision for defence. . . . Out of a total expenditure of 129 crores chargeable on Central Revenue, this particular item eats up no less than 62·20 crores, or practically one-half. . . . We are left to derive what consolation we may from the fact that His Majesty's Government has now decided that an investigation shall at once be undertaken regarding the combatant strength of the army in India by a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. . . . Unhappily, judging from past experience, there is nothing in this announcement to inspire hope in the public mind, even if there is no room for positive misgiving, because oftener than not these committee processes have only led to an increase in India's burdens. Next to the military burden the item that is of the greatest importance is, of course, the proposal for new taxation. Confronted by a heavy deficit, due mostly to an increase in ordinary expenditure which they thought they could not help, the Government had clearly no choice but to resort to fresh taxation. . . . In the circumstances, and proceeding strictly on the basis that more revenues must be obtained, the only important question is whether the proposals the Government have actually put forward are the best, the soundest and most equitable. The most important test in such cases is on whom will the incidence of the new taxes fall, on the poor man who finds his life already intolerable and is absolutely incapable of bearing any further burden or on the well-to do? It must be said to the credit of the Government of India that many of its proposals do satisfy this test. . . . The increase in the railway rates obviously stands on a different level, and unless care is taken to see that neither rates of fare for the poorer classes, already too high, nor those in respect of goods used, by the poorer classes shall be left uninterfered with, this proposal is bound to evoke a storm of indignant protest. Even stronger exception will be taken to the proposal to increase the postal rates, especially in respect of the quarter anna post card and the half-anna postage. These, and specially the first, are mostly used by

the poorer classes, and the Legislature owe it to itself and to them not to acquiesce in any proposal that unduly affects these classes."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) In its issue dated the 4th March the paper says that the budget shows a deficit, and comments as follows:—"The question that we have seriously to ask ourselves is, if expenditure grows at this rate, that is, at a rate wholly disproportionate to the growth in our revenues, how are we going to make our two ends meet? Already our balances, not made up, as Sir John Maynard was careful to explain, of savings made out of our ordinary revenues, but consisting almost wholly of capital realisations from the sale of land, have been very considerably reduced. At this rate in a couple of years we shall have exhausted all that we have, and shall have no choice, unless we elect, to be bankrupt, except to resort to fresh taxation, even if the objects of social improvement make no more rapid and substantial progress in the new era than they did in the old. The only course left open to the province, if it is to avoid the scylla of fresh taxation at a time and in circumstances when it cannot possibly bear it, and yet not to fall into the charybdis of bankruptcy, seems to lie in a severe retrenchment of all avoidable expenditure. Yet how and where is this retrenchment to be effected? Practically the only considerable item in respect of which it is in [the legislature's] power to insist upon retrenchment is that relating to Civil Works, which has grown enormously in the course of two years, and the growth of which is described by the Finance Member himself as 'startling.' . . . There is room for some retrenchment also under the heads General Administration, Police, Miscellaneous and several other departments, though not to the same extent as in this case. The least [the legislature] can do is to insist that not a pice of the balance shall be drawn upon to enable the Government and its officers to increase expenditure on objects which either can safely wait or by which the people are not directly and immediately benefited. The interests of economy must take precedence of those of official amenities or convenience, even though some of these may masquerade under the high sounding name of efficiency."

(c) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The more important of the transferred departments have not been denied their share in the general and all-round increase of expenditure. . . . Without expressing any opinion as to the details of the proposed expenditure on these objects, we may say at once that all these increases are substantial and if they are not adequate, as they obviously are not, we have to thank the general financial conditions as well as the system of dyarchy under which we live for the fact."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Nankana riot.

9. (a) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th February writes:—"The strangest and the most distressing part of the whole thing which pinches and galls us the most is the distressing (or shall we say wanton) indifference of the ubiquitous C. I. D. Ever since the Nankana Sahib fair in November last, aye even before it, the Sikh press had been constantly rending the skies with the cries that Mahant Narain Das had been manufacturing a large number of *chhavis* and *gandasas* with a view to arming his accomplices with these sinews of war to give a formidable attack to the Panth, who was determined to effect the reform of their historic *gurdwaras* at Nankana Sahib by pronouncedly non-violent methods. His own paper the *Sant Sewak* had openly thrown out the gauntlet. Is it not strange, then, that in spite of all this information at its disposal the vigilant eye of the Criminal Investigation Department of Government failed to detect the development of an armed attack organised by the Mahant and his party? The manufacture of *chhavis* and *gandasas* all seem to have escaped the vigilance of this astute and perfect department of the Government. Our own mind becomes all the more puzzled when we attempt to find an answer to the interrogation which forces itself up in our mind: How could the smuggling of fire-arms and ammunition be possible under the very nose of the authorities, and particularly the C. I. D., whose officers are so expert in smelling secrets? For it is alleged that just at the time when the Deputy Commissioner of Sheikhupura arrived at Nankana Sahib Mahant Narain Das, with Jathedar Lachhman Singh's head held by his *keshas* in one hand and a pointed pistol in the other, was seen riding at the head of about eighty mounted rifles or pistols. There must also have been a many times larger reserve force in the *gurdwara*. How could, we ask again, the possession by the Mahant party of so many fire-arms or

chhavis and *gandasas* be possible without the knowledge of the C. I. D.? . . . In the telegram of Bhai Amar Singh, the editor of the *Loyal Gazette*, occur the words 'widespread conspiracy by the Bedies and others alleged.' These suspicions he seems to have based on the statement which Mahant Kirpa Ram of Mall Sahib *gurdwasa* at Nankana Sahib is alleged to have deposed to the investigation police officer at Nankana Sahib and which statement that officer is reported to have refused to record in spite of protests from Amar Singh. . . . His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan . . . . promised [at Nankana Sahib] that a thorough, searching enquiry would be held and the offenders brought to book. . . . If the Government fails [to do so], which it will not we are sure, it cannot be blind to the moral effect which its failure even in a minor detail, will produce on the mind of the Indians in general, and the Sikhs in particular."

KESARI (Lahore); Sram Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 26th February says that the Government has declared its intention to inflict condign punishment on the murderers. We should fully hope that this will be so. But it is also the duty of Government to clear the position of those officers, who are not only openly suspected by all the Sikhs, but against whom the latter are openly preferring charges. Mr. Currie, Deputy Commissioner of Sheikhupura, was present at Nankana on the day of the occurrence. Did he make any attempt to arrest the Mahant and his men and to prevent them from shedding blood? This is a question which suggests itself to everyone. A satisfactory answer should be given to it; for, otherwise, the Sikh community will feel angry with the whole Government [*lit.* the whole Government will fall a prey to the anger and grief of the Sikh community]. It should call to account the officers who are accused or suspected of [having received] bribes.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*c*) The following is taken from the *Sikh* of the 27th February:—"The butcherly Narain Das maintained a regular workshop for the manufacture of *chhavis* (billhooks) and other arms for use against the Sikhs, the outturn of which can easily be judged from the four thousand *chhavis* that are reported now to have been found in his possession, besides sixty rifles and a large quantity of ammunition . . . The devil had got prepared a window in the centre of the front wall through whose perforated iron-sheet doors he could fire from inside, and if need be from outside, towards the interior up to a distance of 500 yards. Only the other day he received a supply of a full wagon of kerosene oil. And, as is well known, his preparations and movements were no secret. . . . But it is nothing short of a miracle, if not a mystery, that all this escaped the notice of the police, the magistrate of the station, the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner! . . . . Those who know that [Nankana] is a railway station, a well known grain market, at a distance of 30 miles from Lahore and that the Mahant and his proteges have very often been going to Gujranwala and coming to Lahore to see the officials, cannot be led but to only one conclusion that all the preparations went on progressing under official connivance. Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh says he enquired of Mr. Currie why he did not check or prohibit all that. In reply that officer is reported to have stated that he was aware of the preparations; but that he never believed it that such a high-placed Mahant enjoying an income of half a dozen of lacs would so run amock and thus expose himself to utter ruin in one day. Now how far from being satisfactory this reply is we leave it to the public to see. If these preparations were not meant to carry out what actully took place on the 20th February, what else were they for? It may be overlooked in case of a mere child, but, coming as it does from a Deputy Commissioner of Mr. Currie's standing, it exposes his position to still more serious objection. We ask does such a person deserve to be placed at the head of a district? Then his immediate superior was Mr. King, who, if similarly questioned, might say that he thought that the Mahant was manufacturing *chhuvis*, stocking rifles and munition and fortifying the shrine for defence against a threatened invasion by the Mari tribe in Baluchistan, or celebrations of his *anand* ceremony with his keep the *Mirasin*. But as the present administration of the Punjab is fortunately headed by a personage of Sir Edward Maclagan's wide awake nature, it is not too much to expect that in the fulfilment of his assurance of 'full justice' he will not fail to take notice of the conduct of the officials concerned. We hear, and a documentary proof of this is in the possession of Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh and was brought to the notice of His Excellency, that when the havoc was in full swing the Mahant gave Rs. 1,000 as bribes to a police officer, who . . . advised him to do away with all the corpses till 5-30. Another police officer is alleged to have received from the wretch Rs. 25,000 in reward for his connivance at his fiendish arrangements. Then can, in face of such glaring facts, any one think that the coldblooded massacre of so many Sikhs was not the result of an organised, deep-rooted plot, in which the official part is as conspicuous as that of private persons ? "

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 2nd March says that Sir William Vincent's tone in regard to the dreadful Nankana incident appears to have been a little improper. His regard for Government is such that he would not allow even a few hours for the discussion of an incident in which nearly two hundred valuable lives were lost and which has caused mourning in thousands of respectable families in the Punjab, made hundreds of children orphans and dozens of women widows. Not only the Punjabis but other Indians also expect much from Government in this horrible matter and cannot view the present attitude of Sir. William Vincent with approval. Sir William says that such matters should be discussed in local Councils, which show that the Government of India intends to leave even such important affairs [as the Nankana riot] to be dealt with by the very officers through whose mismanagement and negligence they take place. The position taken up by Punjab Government in respect of the shameful disturbance in question is objectionable in the extreme. No Punjabi, let alone the Sikhs, can ever consent so to leave the matter in the hands of the Punjab Government that the Government of India should have no responsibility in regard to it. At all events, Sir William Vincent's reply has not satisfied us. It is highly objectionable in the Government of India to adopt such an attitude, especially when the Sikhs are openly saying that they have no confidence in Mr. King, the Commissioner of Lahore, and Mr. Currie, Deputy Commissioner, Sheikhupura. Sir William also says that Government cannot do more than what the Punjab Government has so far done in the matter. But is the Sikh community satisfied with what the latter Government has so far done ? If the Government wishes to continue to be respected by the Sikhs and other Indians, it should do more than what it has as yet done, and Indians will force it to do so. No Sikh or other Indian desires that the accused should be unjustly dealt with, but it is most regrettable that a responsible officer like Sir William Vincent should have uttered the words he did. What the Mahant has done disentitles him to ask for justice, still we do not wish that injustice should be done to him. Nevertheless, the feelings of lakhs and crores of human beings, whom his savage general massacre has deeply pained, should also be respected. It is useless to try to muzzle them. Next the paper challenges Sir William's statements that the Nankana incident might be attributable to those Akali Sikhs who would rather die than raise their hands against their opponents; that probably the attempt forcibly to take possession of their *mandirs* and *gurdawaras* is responsible for the disturbance; and that the movement is run by the supporters of non-coöperation.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*e*) The *Sikh* of of the 3rd March writes:—"In the whole lengthy speech Sir William Vincent made on Nankana Sahib affair the other day in the Legislative Assembly we shall deal here with only one remark which must call forth unanimous protest from the whole community. 'At the same time,' said the Home Member, 'I must mention that for some time past there has been a movement in the Punjab to forcibly drive the Mahants out of the shrines for reason of their mishandling of the proceeds of the shrines. It is quite possible that this may be the cause of this particular incident.' . . . His Excellency the Governor, the Executive Councillers and the Ministers have visited Nankana Sahib and inspected each and everything, but as the investigations are still continued, the Government *communiques*, so far issued, are silent about the causes and the facts of the tragedy. Yet they have admitted that the corpses found were those of the Sikhs and that the party afflicted is the Sikh community, not the Mahant and his men, who are now in jail. That the two hundred men of the Akali *jatha* should all have been killed without there being not a single casualty among the Mahant's men belies Sir William Vincent and the Punjab Government in their very faces so far as their remarks of 'forcibly driving out the Mahants' and 'forcible possession' respectively are concerned. The real facts are and we challenge anyone to deny them that Bhai Lachhman Singh and his *jatha*, while on their way to a political Dewan at a village near Lyallpur with the *langar* (mess) whereof they were entrusted and for which they had collected six cart loads of edibles, stopped at Nankana Sahib with the object of paying homage at the great Guru's shrine, that they did ask and obtain the Mahant's permission to do so, that as they sat down and were going to chant *shabads* they were fired at, fallen upon with *chhavis*, etc., butchered in cold blood and burnt, some dead and others alive, and that they had clearly told the Mahant that they had come to pray and not take possession. And verily, if the latter had been their object, there would certainly have been a number of casualties on the other side too. But with all that there comes forward no less responsible an official than the Home Member of the Government of India to say that it was quite possible that this (movement of forcibly driving the Mahants out of the shrines) may be the cause of this particular incident. Then the rabid Mahant runs amock and does not spare any Sikh found anywhere within a couple of miles wide compass, leaving not even the innocent wayfarers. This is, we are sure, an additional but by far the stronger evidence against the Government view."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*f*) Elsewhere the paper says :—"It is stated that the health of Mr. M. M. L. Currie, officiating Deputy Commissioner of Sheikhupura (after whose arrival even at Nankana Sahib, from 12-30 to 4-30 P.M., the Mahant is reported to have continued his bloody havoc and was not arrested till about 9 P. M.) is far from satisfactory, necessitating special leave. There is nothing strange in this sudden news of the health for Mr Currie being far from satisfactory, for there must be some reason of his failure to have duly remedied the evil that resulted in such an unprecedentedly dark and bloody tragedy at the sacred shrine of Sri Gurn Nanak Dev. So we learn now that it was his 'far from satisfactory' health that disabled him to rise to the occasion and thus avert the massacre in cold blood. As he is going on special leave and thus will have nothing to do with the present investigations, we have no quarrel with him. Nor should we cavil at Mr. King being relieved of his office of Commissioner of Lahore and appointed Joint Chief Secretary, for this will keep him aloof from the actual investigations. We thank Government for thus meeting our wishes and hope that if true facts against any one of their officials, whether belonging to the police or some other department, demand their doing so, they will not then fail to rise to the top of the occasion with a view to doing the 'full justice' of which they have given us a definite assurance. Be it said to the credit of Messrs. King and Currie, and we would be too conscientious to ignore it, that full sympathy and co-operation with the Sikhs have marked the conduct and attitude of both in the present investigation."

(*g*) In another place the paper writes :—"We think the present situation justifies our offering advice to our brethren in faith. They should spare nothing to maintain their noble traditions of patience and forbearance renewed by cur martyrs and afterwards by our leaders at Nankana Sahib. So far should it be from their minds to do anything that may excite them or others so as to cause any disturbance of the peace."

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(*h*) The *Panch* of the 2nd March asks what had become of Government's secret police, who keep themselves occupied with petty matters. The villainous Mahant had long been making preparations for murdering Sikhs, but where had the Deputy Commissioner of the district been sleeping all this while? And where had the [police] Sub-Inspectors and Inspector in the *ilaka* gone to? The murder of about two hundred Sikhs was not the result of only one day's efforts. If truth and justice are not mere names the Deputy Commissioner of the district can in no way escape responsibility for this bloodshed. It is said that Thanedars and Inspectors in the neighbourhood had taken thousands of rupees from the wicked Mahant and had become his slaves, and that the rascally Mahant had their permission to murder and burn Sikhs. If this is not so, it is preposterous that such a crime should be committed in the *ilaka*, that the Thanedar should not visit the spot, and the Inspector should know nothing of the incident. If a Sikh has a *kirpan* more than one foot in length, Thanedars interfere with him and telegrams are sent to the Deputy Commissioner and reports submitted to the Superintendent of Police. No official gets any information, however, of the rascally Mahant distributing hundreds of *chhavis* and collecting numerous pistols, guns and cartridges. It is proved, therefore, that there was certainly something wrong in the matter.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

(i) Elsewhere the paper says that the Commissioner [Mr.] King also cannot escape responsibility for the bloodshed. His letter [to Baba Kartar Singh] had greatly encouraged the wicked and sinful Narainu [Narain Das] and led to the latter making vigorous preparations [for the massacre]. But even if this letter is left alone, it may be asked why he, as Commissioner, made no enquiry from the Deputy Commissioner in connection with the distribution of *chhavis* and the collection of guns, pistols and cartridges in the neighbourhood of Nankana. If the Deputy Commissioner was quiet owing to laziness and negligence or owing to there being something wrong in the matter, why did Mr. King also, who considers himself to be a very sagacious officer, remain silent?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(j) The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd March writes that there can be no doubt as to the Mahant's responsibility for the bloodshed. It cannot, however, be said for certain who were at his back and how far they share this responsibility. The general public holds Kartar Singh Bedi, and Mr. King responsible for the event and regards the local officials with suspicion. We cannot say how far these suspicions are well-founded, but there can be no gainsaying the fact that the Mahant made great preparations—collecting arms, effecting the necessary alterations in the building [of the shrine] and increasing the number of his servants—and that these were not such as could have been unknown to the police or the district authorities. It also stands to reason that a report about them must have reached the Commissioner, as he had been evincing interest in the dispute. In these circumstances, it is reasonable to infer that the present [? local] authorities were guilty of criminal negligence and displayed a spirit of utter unfitness, owing to which Government failed to avert such a serious incident at a distance only of forty miles from its capital.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(k) The *Tribune* of the 1st March writes:—"Our concern as well as that of the public is solely with the crime, and to insist with all the strength and emphasis in our power that the investigation shall be absolutely thorough and impartial, untainted by the smallest suspicion of bias or prejudice, and that when the facts have been properly ascertained exemplary justice shall be meted out to the authors of the savage and diabolical act."

(l) The *Tribune* of the 3rd March has the following:—"The Punjab Government thus concludes its latest *communique* on the Nankana Sahib tragedy:—'It is false to say that Government or its officers have done anything to justify the use of violence by either party, and Government is prepared to take all necessary legal action to vindicate any of its officers who is unjustly accused of having in any way connived at or being privy to the dastardly crime committed at Nankana on the 20th February.' While we do not in the least question either the right or the duty of the Government to take legal action to vindicate its officers when they are unjustly accused, and while we do not even remotely associate ourselves with any of the allegations that have been made against certain officers in the present case, we are constrained to say that an announcement like this at the present stage is obviously premature. When allegations are made against officials, the Government's first duty clearly is to hold an enquiry itself, and it is only when it is satisfied, that the allegations are unfounded, as it can be only after it has given necessary facilities to the accusers to come before it and substantiate the allegations, that an announcement like this would be both right and proper. Has the Government taken this course in the present case? If so, let it say so. Otherwise the impression which its announcement will create is that it refuses to believe that any of its officers can do wrong. Apart altogether from the question whether wrong has or has not been done in a particular case, this is an impression which in its own interest as well as in the interest of the people it should do everything in its power to discourage."

(m) In its issue dated the 4th March the paper writes:—"Surely it is permissible to one to ask, and we do ask, if the horrible crime that was perpetrated on the 20th February could have taken place without preparation extending over weeks, if not over months, if as a matter of fact the preparation had not been going on for a sufficiently long period, and if it was not the business of any official or officials to know what was going on, and to take necessary precautionary measures. It is not necessary to believe or assert that the preparation was for crime of the magnitude of what took place or, indeed, for any crime. It is conceivable that the original idea was only self-protection. Even then in a state of society such as that in which we live, when the task of protection of life and property belongs pre-eminently to the State, and the parties are not expected to fight the issue out between themselves, it was undoubtedly the business of some of the State's servants on the spot both to know what was going on and to be prepared to meet any contingency that might arise. The question which the Government must ask and answer is how it was that the preparations made in this case had gone unnoticed or, if it had not gone unnoticed, why no steps had been taken either to prevent the tragedy or at any rate to suppress it speedily and before much mischief had been done. Could nothing have been done earlier?"

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

10. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th February says that Sir John Maynard's reply to Raja Narendar Nath's question about the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in certain districts of the Punjab cannot satisfy the public. Does it herald the advent of the blessed new era to deprive all law-abiding people of the freedom of speech owing to the mistakes of a few men? In reply to Lala Ganpat Rai's question on the same subject it was stated on behalf of Government that the Act would not be withdrawn so long as inflammatory speeches continued to be made. In other words, the Punjabis should never hope that Government would withdraw orders prohibiting the people from speaking so long as they continue their efforts to obtain *swaraj* and do not feel content with the nominal reforms which have been granted to Indians in the form of the new Councils. If the authorities maintain their present attitude we are afraid lest non-Sikhs [*lit.* others] also should feel constrained to hold public meetings [in defiance of the Act] as the Sikhs have been forced to do in connection with the Nankana incident.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 28th February says that in reply to a question in the Punjab Legislative Council on the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in the Jullundur district it was stated on behalf of Government that the matter was an executive one and that in such matters Government was free to obtain the Ministers' consent or not. What are the Ministers meant for, however, if even in the new era Government can rule in the same despotic way in which it did in the past? Will the moderates go on saying even now that Indians have been granted a sufficient share in the administration of their country?

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Amritsar indemnity.

11. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd March says that the Punjab Council has decided by a majority of votes to remit the indemnity imposed on Amritsar in consequence of the 1919 disturbances. Sir John Maynard explained that if the Council decided to recommend to Government to remit the indemnity, the amount would have to be deducted from the grants for different departments. The resolution recommended that Government should pay the amount out of its accumulated balances, while His Excellency the Governor was pleased to say at the inauguration of the Council that he would accept its decision in the matter, the assurance having been repeated by Sir John Maynard. The explanation referred to means, however, that several important works will have to be postponed and that the public will suffer in consequence. To deduct the amount of the indemnity from the various heads mentioned by Sir John would be coldshouldering public interests, while it would constitute a new sort of oppression. This would also mean that the Government has taken back with one hand what it gave us with the other. It would signify further that, in spite of the introduction of the reforms, the bureaucracy continues to do its will, and that the decisions arrived at by the Councils are all useless, seeing that neither the bureaucracy attaches any importance to them nor do they exercise any influence on Government. In conclusion, the paper says that the amount of the indemnity should be debited to the accumulated balances with the Punjab Government or the Government of India, because it is in this way alone that His Excellency the Governor's promise can be redeemed.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

Firing on mobs.

12. (a) The *Zamindar* of the 24th February writes that while the Viceroy says that autocracy has been totally abandoned in India, the Duke of Connaught tells Indians that the British administration in this country has never been based on rigour and terrorism. We are repeatedly assured that the

lives and honour of the British and Indians will be equally valued and respected, but facts tell quite a different tale. Even if English mobs perpetrate acts of greater violence [than those committed by Indian mobs], *kankars* are not answered with brickbats in their case. If the mob near Kalighat [Calcutta] which was recently fired on had consisted of Anglo-Indians and not Indians and had thrown brickbats at the latter, the police would never have dared to fire on it. Since the commencement of the new era such incidents have been occurring in large numbers. Is it to such "blessings" of the reforms that the moderates have been referring.

PARTAP, (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the firing on the tramway strikers in Calcutta, the *Desh* of the 26th February describes how in the sailors' riot, which occurred in London a few months back, several policemen were shot and wounded, and how the police used only their batons on the occasion. Continuing, it says that this is what the police should do on such occasions. If a mob is maddened through frenzy, is it necessary that those also who have to disperse it should get excited? The same methods should be adopted here to disperse crowds as are made use of in western countries. We admit that Government holds Indian lives as valuable as European lives, but it should afford practical proof of this.

IV.—COMMUAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

The Hindu Muslim unity.

13. The *Zamindar* of the 24th February complains that the *Bharat Sewak* of Delhi is so hostile to the Muhammadans as to make one think that it will not rest until it has destroyed the Hindu-Muslim unity. Again, resolutions urging the stoppage of cow-killing are being moved in the Councils, while similar proposals are being passed by municipalities. The Hindus of the towns where they are in a majority are determined to get cow-killing stopped against law, procedure and practice. Nor is this all; the Hindus of the Punjab have started a vigorous agitation for the repeal of the Land Alienation Act. All such activities are calculated to injure the interests, religion and customs of the Muhammadans and to wreck the Hindu-Muslim unity.

ZULFIKAR (Lahore); Syed Ahmad Shah, editor.

Cow-killing.

14. (*a*) The *Zulfikar* of the 24th February says that a sort of unrest is being created among the Muhammadans of Lahore. The local municipal committee has, ignoring their feelings, needlessly wrought mischief likely to prove the forerunner of disturbances and serious bloodshed. It should forthwith cancel its resolution on cow-killing, and thereby nip the evil in the bud. What right has it to interfere in the religious matters of any community and frame a law asking the Muhammadans to act in contravention of Koranic injunctions? The rights of the Muhammadans have begun to be disregarded even now when *swaraj* has not as yet been obtained. They will be driven across the seas along with Englishmen seven months hence on the attainment of *swaraj*. We predict that if the resolution is allowed to stand there will be organised a party of Muhammadans which will act [*lit.* prove] contrary to it and the people who are now rejoicing over it will have to suffer pain in lanes, *kuchas* and bazars [? by cows being killed there], which will result in [*lit.* be] a great disturbance, the quelling of which will be most difficult. We would appeal to the Punjab Government promptly to direct cancellation of the mischievous resolution referred to.

AR-RAI (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

(*b*) One KABIR KHAN of Lahore writing to *Ar-Rai* of the 25th February says that the Hindus seem bent upon having cow-sacrifice legally stopped, while the Lahore municipality has tried to injure the useful movement for the Hindu-Muslim unity by passing a resolution against this sacrifice. The Muhammadans also should not now, in view of the teachings of their religion, keep quiet. Government cannot be so weak or imprudent as to listen to bigoted Hindus and turn the Muhammadans into its enemies by improperly pleasing the former. Continuing, the writer asks whether Muslim members of the Councils and municipal committees cannot even start a movement to have *jhatka* shops closed by law. While beef is nowhere openly sold in bazars, *jhatka* is thus sold in different densely inhabited parts of Lahore. The Hindus should leave the decision of the question of cow-sacrifice wholly to the Muhammadans; for, otherwise, the movement started by them will create the greatest unrest, and the side issues will not admit of the maintenance of peace in the country and will render the attainment of Home Rule an impossibility.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The *Kirpan*.

15. The following is taken from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th February :—" How autocratically some of the short-sighted officers of Government assume airs and powers which they have no legal jurisdiction to do would appear clear from the unlawful orders which the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur issued the other day requiring the manufacturers of *kirpans* not to manufacture *kirpans* longer in size than nine inches. Now, as far as our knowledge goes, the law which exempts the *kirpan* from the operation of the Arms Act is totally silent on the point of the specifications of the *kirpan*, which means that the Sikhs enjoy perfect liberty in the matter of selecting the size. When such is the intention of even the law of the land and legislature, we fail to understand from what other source the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur derives his authority or inspiration for issuing the orders he has done. Unlawful as such orders are they do not either add to or even maintain the public respect and regard for Government established by law. On the contrary, they rather undermine their prestige."

V.—EDUCATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Lahore Medical College.

16. "ONE WHO KNOWS" writes to the *Tribune* of the 2nd March :—" The members of the provincial medical service are considered quite eligible to be taken as I. M. S. officers as well as lecturers and assistants to the professors in the Medical School and College, respectively, but when the question of filling a vacancy on the professorial staff of the College arises, they, as a body, are deemed unfit and some I. M. S. officer without any experience of teaching at all and practically ignorant of the requirements of the civil side of the profession is imported over their heads in order to pick up necessary training and experience at the hands of his subordinates and then to find fault with them. . . . Practically each and every Assistant Surgeon serving on the College staff has got his own lamentable tale to tell. R. B. Dr. Bal Kishen Kaul, R. B. Dr. Hira Lal and Dr. Mir Hadayat Ullah (all three belonging to the provincial medical service) have been considered quite fit persons to be taken as Visiting Physicians and Visiting Surgeons, respectively, as well as university examiners for M. B., B. S. and M. D. degrees but when the claims of their being appointed as temporary professors against permanent I. M. S. incumbents are brought home, their names are rejected. . . . The College and the Hospital are practically the monopoly of the I. M. S. Hence an I. M. S. officer has to be necessarily appointed. I go further and say that the local Medical College and Hospital are the institutions meant in a way for the post-graduate study and practical training of I. M. S. officers at the expense of the subordinate staff and the public at large."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Lahore municipality.

17. LAJPAT RAI writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 26th February says that in order to make non-coöperation a thorough success it is most necessary that at the forthcoming election we should return to the Lahore municipal committee only men who practise non-coöperation and do not fear the authorities or Government. He suggests that candidates should be nominated not by the Provincial Congress Committee, but by some political body in Lahore.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Mayo Hospital, Lahore.

18. "ONE WHO KNOWS" writing to the *Tribune* of the 2nd March complains of the monopoly of the Albert Victor Hospital as part and parcel of the Mayo Hospital for Europeans and Anglo-Indians only. It then goes on to say :—" As far as I remember, before the time of Lieut.-Colonel Sutherland as Principal, [of the Medical College] well-to-do Indians, both Government servants and others, were admitted to that Hospital as paying cases and they were given all the facilities in the treatment and diet as Europeans and Anglo-Indians used to get. Moreover, the institution was kept under the management of some suitable Indian Civil Assistant Surgeon serving as House Surgeon and the students of the Medical College on duty in the Hospital were given cases to examine and report as they do in the Mayo Hospital and also permitted to attend all the labour cases admitted in that

Hospital. Slowly and steadily, rather imperceptibly things have changed under Lieutenant-Colonel Sutherland, for the worse, as far as the public and the students are concerned. No Indian is being admitted at present to that Hospital under the plea that, according to the King Edward Memorial Scheme, separate and independent Indian family wards (a gift of Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das) will be opened (not known when) to the Indian public seeking admission on payment. The practical result of this proposed arrangement has been that the respectable well-to-do public willing to pay for proper treatment and up-keep of their near and dear ones are made to run from pillar to post on coming to the Mayo Hospital without any good and ultimately they have to pay heavy fees as well as to undergo other exhorbitant charges at their private residences and still lack in the facilities available in a well-equipped-up-to-date hospital. And this is how things are being managed in this new era in an institution which has been built mainly from subscriptions paid by Indians."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Order against Pandit Rambhaj Datt.

19. (*a*) Writing about the order under the Defence of India Act directing Pandit Rambhaj Datt to abstain from attending or addressing any public meeting, the *Tribune* of the 2nd March says:—"It is all very well to say, as Sir William Vincent recently did in the Indian Legislature, that, pending the report of the committee which was to examine them, it was the intention of the Government not to use these measures except when they were forced to do so. The question is, who is to determine when the Government is or is not forced, that is to say, when the Government can or cannot help using these measures? So long as the Government itself is the judge, the public cannot possibly feel sure that it is judging aright. . . . . In the present case the public is entirely in the dark as to the reasons which have led His Excellency-in-Council to take this drastic action against a public man of the standing and character of Pandit Rambhaj Datt. To say that the Pandit has acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety is only to repeat the usual formula. It throws no light on the precise acts of the Pandit which the Government has in view, and yet it is only when these were known that the public could support the action of the Government if it deserved support. We deeply regret that the Punjab Government should once more have taken action against a popular leader under a measure which does not make it obligatory upon it to state its reasons in detail, and which precludes the possibility of a judicial enquiry into the correctness or otherwise of its conclusions by an independent and impartial tribunal."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 2nd March says that evidently the order served on Pandit Rambhaj Datt is most unreasonable. Government may perhaps be able to invent some weak reason for its objection to the Pandit's speeches, but what justice is there in ordering him to abstain even from taking part in any meeting? It is so stringent a proceeding that one cannot protest against it too much.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

A Peshawar complaint.

20. Referring to the imprisonment of Amir Chand Bombwal and Hakim Abdul Jelil Nadwi of Peshawar, the *Zamindar* of the 27th February states that the event has caused great excitement in that city. After remarking that, so far from paralysing national and political movements, such proceedings have a tendency to inflame them, the paper says that the Deputy Commissioner should not further provoke the fiery-tempered frontier people; for, otherwise, the consequences will not be good. That officer is at liberty to establish the prestige of his Government by means of guns, rifles, fetters and handcuffs, but such oppression cannot last for ever.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Non-coöperation.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 4th March refers to Lord Chelmsford's remarks about the non-coöperation movement in his recent speech at the Calcutta Club. Commenting, it says that since His Excellency was satisfied about the failure of the movement, where was the necessity for him to speak of counter propaganda and repression? If the movement is really dying out, where is the necessity for Government to waste lakhs of rupees on propaganda work and add to the work of executive officers by following a policy of repression? Strange are the ways of our rulers. They will not remove the causes which have resulted in non-coöperation, but would do away with the movement, which is an absurd and futile idea. His Excellency should know, moreover, that the movement cannot be suppressed with the aid of repression and counter propaganda, both of which are being actively tried even now. It is time that Government laid aside these mean weapons and came to an understanding with the Indian leaders, so that both India and England might live in peace.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 10th March says that it prefers non-violent noncoöperation to an armed rebellion, because, so far from helping in the establishment of a free Government in India, the latter will spread chaos and anarchy in the country. To practise non-violent non-coöperation would be the best way to establish a democratic Government in the land without shedding blood or creating the slightest disturbance. We wish to advance gradually and to improve the present system of administration without creating a disturbance. We wish to compel the British by means of non-coöperation to hand over our rights and dues to us. It may be asked why we cannot do so with the aid of coöperation. Our reply is that the attitude of the rulers shows that they are averse to listening to Indians, although they make verbal assertions to the contrary; and hence the need for non-coöperation. Those who do not support the movement and prompt the English to oppose us by saying that it will not succeed, are in reality laying the foundation of a rebellion, because if peaceful non-coöperation fails the result will be an armed struggle, whose dreadful consequences every Indian patriot and every friend of Britain and mankind shudders to think of.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) A correspondent writes to the *Tribune* of the 9th March :—"As a sequel to the Diwan held there in December last, a *panchayat* . . . was formed at Rurka Kalan (tahsil Phillaur) for the settlement of private disputes. It has been doing very useful work and has decided a large number of cases, civil as well as criminal, generally to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned. It, however, appears that the local authorities do not look with favour upon this attempt of the people to settle their disputes without having recourse to the expensive and generally ruinous machinery of law courts. Early in February the Treasury Officer of Jullundur, acting presumably under the instructions of the Deputy Commissioner, served a stamp vendor and two deed-writers, who had taken part in the deliberations of the *panchayat*, with notices to show cause why they should not forfeit their licenses [, which were forfeited in the end]. . . . . What has, however, caused particular sensation throughout the district is the prosecution of some prominent members of the Rurka *panchayat* for an offence under section 392, Indian Penal Code. The prosecution story briefly is that the complainant did some work, on payment, for the Deputy Commissioner's camp at Rurka Kalan on 13th January 1921 and that the *panchayat* on 16th January 1921, called upon him to pay a fine of Rs. 20 for having done so and kept him in unlawful confinement until the fine was paid. The complaint was filed on the 3rd February, *i.e.*, more than a fortnight after the alleged occurrence. The allegations in the complaint at the most disclose an offence of extortion which is bailable, but process was issued under section 395, Indian Penal Code, which is not bailable. . . . . It is understood that more effective measures are under contemplation to suppress the *panchayat* movement in the district."

(d) Commenting the paper says :—"In to-day's issue will be found two communications, one, '*panchayats* in Phillaur' and the other the text of a 'Standing Order Circular No. 11, *panchayats*,' issued by the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur. A bare perusal of these is sufficient to prove that the local authorities are bent upon pursuing a repressive policy with regard to the *panchayats*, a number of which, we are informed, have been established in the district for the amicable settlement of disputes without reference to law courts. The circular referred to above brands all such *panchayats* as 'illegal' and warns all persons holding a post under or drawing a pension from Government, who are found connected with such *panchayats*, to have nothing whatever to do with such bodies on pain of being 'severely dealt' with. We are not aware of any law under which the Deputy Commissioner is entitled to issue such an ukase; nor has the official concerned thought it necessary to enlighten the public on this point. Under the circumstances we have no hesitation in saying that we regard the action of the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur as wholly unjustified. Such repressive action as is contemplated by the circular in question is a striking commentary upon the recent statement of His Excellency the Viceroy that the era of autocracy in India is over. We invite the attention of His Excellency the Governor in Council to this matter."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Fresh taxation.

2. (a) Writing about the proposed new taxation, the *Partap* of the 5th March says that an increase in duty on the cotton fabrics will be certain to hit hard the poor and middle classes. After remarking that the proposed enhancement of the duty on sugar will still further send up the price of country-made sugar, the paper complains that both railway fares and rates of freight are to be increased, which is most objectionable. An increase in the rates of postage is also in contemplation, and all these proposals, as also the enhancement of customs duties, will injuriously affect the poor,

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(b) The *Desh* of the 5th March says that an increase in railway fares will hit the poor still harder. But it is the proposed increase in postal rates that is causing the greatest anxiety. If the price of a post card is raised to two pice, the increase will affect only Indians. Again, it is the Indian newspapers that will suffer if the privileged weight is fixed at five tolas.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(c) The *Kesari* of the 5th March says that Government has granted Indians the first instalment of *swaraj*. At the same time, however, it has saddled them with an annual expenditure of four crores of rupees. They had already been crying that the load placed by Government on their backs was very heavy. If they get two or three other instalments of *swaraj* they will become so sick of it that even their descendants will never utter the word. The paper then refers to the proposed new taxes and says that apparently the burden of all will fall on the poor and people of average means. Government is going so to increase postal rates, which are already very heavy for a poor country like India, as to startle every Indian. Their doubling will considerably add to the unrest prevailing among the people. The budget is now before the Legislative Assembly, and its Indian members should totally refuse to pass the budget unless expenditure is greatly curtailed. If Goverment does not listen to them they should leave the Assembly and gather together under the banner of non-coöperation. The people also should throw off their sleep of negligence and refuse to bear the burden which Government is going to place on their backs.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*d*) The *Vakil* of the 6th March says that fresh taxation will affect mostly the wealthy, which argues wisdom on the part of Government. The proposed increase in railway fares and postage rates will, however, be felt more by the poor than the rich and will, therefore, be condemned by the whole country. These fares and rates are already too high for the poor and people with an average income. We wish that the members of the Councils would strongly oppose the proposal to levy new taxes and not allow it to be passed. An increase in excise duties will be generally welcomed, but an exception should be made in favour of druggists. In conclusion, the paper says that the Imperial budget presented at the commencement of the new era, will fill the hearts of Indians with feelings of dismay. Their hopes of good days and prosperity after troubles extending over years have been dashed to the ground. The new era does not seem to have set in as yet.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*e*) Commenting on the financial statement introduced by Mr. Hailey in the Legislative Assembly, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th March says that the proposed additional and fresh taxation will adversely affect both high and low, and will be simply unbearable for the poor in these days of high prices. An increase in the railway rates of freight for firewood, food grains, fodder, piece-goods, pressed cotton, jute, iron ware, timber and oils will tell heavily on the poor and middle classes. As to the proposed enhancement of postal rates, it means that the increase of pay given to the Indian employees of the Post Office, which is, by the way, insufficient in view of the requirements of the times, will be met from this extra money coming out of the pockets of Indians. Government will thus take back with one hand what it has given with the other. Nay, it will even go further. The concessions regarding the importation of machinery and stores for cotton mills free of duty are to be withdrawn. This also will hit hard mostly the poor section of the population. Continuing, the paper says that there has been no retrenchment in the military expenditure side by side with an increase in taxation. And probably it is due to the expenditure on the army that poor India will be saddled with enhanced and fresh taxes. Such heavy military expenditure is in no way justifiable at a time when it is most essential that Government should practise economy and when a famine is raging in the country. The proposal for fresh taxation to meet this expenditure is most reprehensible. Government has tens of crores in accumulated balances invested in most profitable concerns, and if its income is insufficient to meet its expenses the deficit should be met from these balances. It has introduced reforms, which are said to be the first instalment of *swaraj*. But the proposal for fresh taxation takes away all their significance and leads Indians to think that there has been no change in the powers of the bureaucracy. The proposal is high-handed and likely to result in Indians being crushed under the burden of new taxes. Not only will it mean an unbearable and unexpected hardship for the poor and middle classes, but will also make their life a burden to them. It is the duty of all the elected members of the Legislative Assembly strenuously to oppose the proposal and urge that the deficit should be met from Government's accumulated balance.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*f*) The *Zamindar* of the 9th March says that judging from the estimated military expenditure India appears to be at war with the whole world. The fact of the matter is that the foundation of the bureaucratic Government rests on military strength. The prestige-ridden authorities do not wish to rule India on any just and peaceful principles. They wish, as before, to rely on military strength and a display thereof. The present expenses on the army are not being incurred because of fear of any foreign invasion of India. Mr. Hailey displayed much courage in stating the truth that, in view of certain factors within India itself, it was not justifiable to reduce the strength of the army. This means that sixty-two crores of rupees will be spent to save India from Indians themselves. The money, which will be recovered from themselves, will be utilised to destroy their liberty. There cannot be the slightest reduction in the military expenditure so long as the officials of the bureaucracy hold fast to the belief that the English can rule India with the aid only of the military, and are determined to crush the Indian movements for liberty with the gun and sword. While the war was going on the Publicity Committee used to issue posters and notices asking for contributions in aid of war loans, saying that every rupee given would be a bullet to strike the Germans with. Mr. Hailey's statement and military estimates clearly show, however, that now our money will be showered on our own heads in the shape of bullets. This being so, we ask our fellow-countrymen whether they will go on coöperating with the tyrannical and unsympathetic Government whose Finance Member is proclaiming by beat of drum that the earnings of unfortunate Indians will now be transferred to state coffers and used to crush by force the popular movement for liberty. The only remedy left to Indians in these circumstances consists in non-coöperation. Turning to the proposal for additional taxation, the paper says that the deficit is due to the expenses on the army having always been more than what is actually necessary. Indian finances cannot be placed on a satisfactory footing unless a proper limit is fixed to the military expenditure, which is impossible, however, so long as the present system of government remains.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

Repressive laws.

3. The *Panch* of the 23rd February [received on the 4th March], says that the fates are crying to Indians that, through treading the path of slavery for a long time past, they have reached the last stage of troubles and miseries. It is now time that they trod the path of freedom, bearing in mind that a step once taken should not be retraced. No nation in the world is so weighted with repressive laws as the people of this country. These laws invest Government officers in India with such vast powers as to admit of their doing whatever they like. The fact is that the treatment which Indians receive under Government's repressive and improper laws puts justice, truth, virtue and civilisation to the blush. The children of the soil have already been deprived even of their elementary rights and are in great trouble because of the above treatment. They have awakened a little and wish to enjoy here the same right of freedom as is enjoyed by other peoples in their own countries.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The Nankana riot.

4. (*a*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 27th February remarks that it is generally known in Nankana Sahib that the Mahant spent lakhs of rupees on bribes. Government should, therefore, appoint only such officers to enquire into the case whose honesty is above suspicion. If thorough inquiries are not made into the riot and all the accused persons are not arrested and duly punished, there will be kindled an inextinguishable fire of indignation among the Sikhs. After remarking that Government will not be able to free itself from the responsibility for this, the paper says that the eyes of the whole Khalsa Panth are fixed on the Nankana case. Many big *raises*, honorary magistrates and others are said to be implicated in the conspiracy regarding this general massacre of Sikhs. All conspirators should be arrested without regard to their worldly status, and Government should fearlessly support justice. It should see in particular that the police display no negligence in obtaining proof against the criminals.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper asks from Government what proceedings it took when report after report was made to Mr. Currie, Deputy Commissioner of Sheikhupura, that the Mahant had been arming the *badmashes* of the *ilaka* with *chhavis*, which he had been manufacturing at a rapid pace. If even one *chhavi* is found in the possession of a person, he can be imprisoned for two years; but no proceedings were taken against the man who manufactured hundreds of *chhavis* without a license. We have been told that when Sikhs reported the matter to the Deputy Commissioner, he told them that he had been doing all this in self-defence. The question is whether any person can keep arms without a license in order to defend himself. If this is so, where is the necessity for the Arms Act? It is generally rumoured among the Sikhs that many officers were aware of the preparations made by the Mahant, but that they did nothing in the matter, with the result that two hundred innocent Sikhs were most cruelly murdered.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd March publishes an article written by Lala GIRDHARI LAL of Amritsar, who says that in view of the past laziness on the part of the police, the present indiscriminate arrests of hundred of men is noteworthy. The world knows, he adds, that the police are always on the lookout for such opportunities [? to decide] who should be punished. He warns the Sikhs to be on the alert in the matter of police rigours, of which the people have had sufficient experience recently. All those who took part directly or indirectly in the general massacre at Nankana should be got adequately punished. The Sikhs should not also hesitate to have both high and low officers [concerned], be they Indians or Europeans, punished. The correspondent writes with regret that, as in the case of the Tarn Taran incident, Mr. King had a hand in the Nankana affair also. This accusation is being openly brought against him, and was made even when His Excellency the Governor went to Nankana with the Ministers. Even if it is admitted that the Mahant is a most highly-placed and influential man, still it can be said that he could not have committed what he did without the help of the higher authorities. He may undoubtedly be considered to be more guilty than these [officers] on account of his having taken part in murder and destruction, still the other persons responsible for the occurrence cannot deserve lighter punishment than him. The public demands that the higher officers and other culprits should be equally punished.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(d) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 4th March writes :—" His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan . . . promised to do his best to bring the offenders to justice. He also uttered other words of consolation, for which we are grateful to him. But the lacerated heart is still bleeding and bleeding profusely withal. The other officers of the Government do not try to apply the healing balm to them. They rather lacerate the wounds every now and then and aggravate the pain all the more. We would be accused of having failed in the discharge of a public duty if we did not enter an emphatic protest against the manner in which certain officers of the Government, both provincial and central, are committing themselves and prejudicing an impartial investigation of the conspiracy. The other day when Bakhshi Sohan Lal moved an adjournment of the meeting of the Legislative Assembly to discuss the Nankana Sahib tragedy, Sir William Vincent rose to a point of order and said that 'the administration of law and order was a provincial matter and the Punjab Government had adequate machinery to deal with it.' We doubt not the exactness of the statement, but the failure of the Government to anticipate the trouble, knowing full well all the time, we must expect, the huge and horrible preparations that Mahant Narain Das had been making to give the Sikhs a formidable attack with almost all the available sinews of war, has raised serious doubts in the public mind as to the willingness at least, if not the capacity and capability, of the Government to take the necessary preventive and precautionary measures. Speaking of what the Punjab Government had done, after the tragedy, and how the shrine had also been placed in the hands of a committee, consisting of many respectable Sikh gentlemen, Sir William Vincent said that 'the Government could have done nothing more.' We assure Sir William Vincent that the Sikhs are not an ungrateful community. They fully appreciate what the Government has done and what it has promised to do in future, also to bring the guilty to justice. But allow us to say that with all this they cannot shut their eyes to certain commissions of the Government which prejudice the successful unearthing of the widespread conspiracy by the Mahant and others and tend to give a direction to the investigating police officers along which they should proceed. If this surmise of ours be not correct, we would ask Sir William Vincent to explain what does the frequent use of word 'affray' in his otherwise sympathetic speech signify ? Further on the speaker 'appealed to the Assembly to say nothing at this stage that might *prejudice the case against the offenders, who were rightly or wrongly involved in the affray and would be shortly on their trial.*' The italic in the above quotation are ours and have been so marked out to show the solicitude and regard which Sir William Vincent appears to evince for 'the offenders, who were, rightly and wrongly, involved in the affray.' To Bakhshi Sohan Lal and for the matter of that the Legislative Assembly not only did he appeal to say nothing that would prejudice the case of the callous murderers and cold-blooded assassins and conspirators—the Mahant and his accomplices—but also gave the House a twofold impression. One that it may be that offenders were rightly involved or it may also be that they were wrongly involved, and the other that it was an 'affray,' which word, in the language of the law, means a fight between two or more persons which takes place in public. Now the reader can understand the significance and the implied object of the words employed by Sir William Vincent. Are they not indicative of a direction to the investigation at its very commencement? Does not this very appeal by Sir William Vincent and for the matter of that, the Imperial Government 'to say nothing that would prejudice the case against the offenders' prejudice the case of the Sikhs? Is the Government justified in so aggressively betraying, unintentionally it may be, its solicitude for the culpable murderers and abominable cannibals? . . . Justice and fairplay demand that Government should observe strict neutrality and not give any direction or lead, openly or impliedly, directly or indirectly, to the investigating police, particularly when the public had reasons to suspect that the Mahant had conspired to perpetrate so inhuman and diabolical a massacre which sends a shudder of dread in human frame and which no civilised Government can, consistently with its justification for existence, countenance with the least consideration for leniency and concessions. And has not Government repeatedly given this direction by repeatedly using the word 'affray' in almost all its *communiqués*, etc., and orders issued? Even in the order of prohibition issued to B. Sardul Singh Kavishar, B.A., by the District Magistrate of Lahore [there has] been used the word 'affray.' . . Sir William Vincent remarks:—'At the same time he must mention that for some time past there had been a movement in the Punjab to even forcibly drive the Mahants out of their shrines for their mishandling the proceeds of the shrines. It was quite possible that this might be the cause of this particular incident.' Now here mark what does the proposition 'this' used above qualify? It means that it may be that the Sikhs went to drive forcibly the Mahant out of Nankana Sahib and this might be the cause of the particular incident. What a sad commentary on official mentality! These conclusions he appears to have based on 'his recent experience, while in Lahore, of this movement in connection with shrines' as also on a reply which he received to a communication that he addressed to the Punjab Government 'to the effect that a movement to get forcible possession of shrines was on foot and that in case of Tarn Taran it had resulted in some casualties.' Now it would be apparent from the above words of this responsible Government officer, that one note of employment of force rings throughout. This is neither true nor warranted by the true state of affairs. We again enter our emphatic protest against the commitments to which the Government and its officials are so recklessly exposing themselves and thereby, to be charitable, indirectly prejudicing the case of the proven inoffensive Sikh reform party. In the first place, the Sikhs have never used force, in its legal sense in taking care of their own *gurdwaras* and shrines and looking to their proper control and management and relieving the corrupted and debauched among the Pujaris and Mahants of their charge. Their tactics have always and ever been exclusively persuasive and singularly non-violent. Not in a single case have they used force in the sense implied by the Government. On the contrary, they will have passively suffered the onslaughts and murderous attacks of the Mahants and Pujaris given them unprovoked. Even in Tarn Taran their religious rigidity confined their activities to lovingly and amicably persuading the Pujaris of that temple of the Sikh Panth to agree to work under the Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, which includes all the 36 prominent Sikhs who were duly acknowledged and accepted by the Government. The Pujaris surreptitiously attacked the Sikhs, but it is an acknowledged and a patent fact that the Akali Dal raised not even a finger in retaliation. . . Even in the Golden Temple they raised not a finger when some of the hired Nihang Singhs were worked upon to attack the Sewaks at the Takht Akal . . . . Then what justification, we beg to ask, has the Government to avail itself of every possible opportunity to advertise and thereby mislead the public into the belief that the Sikh reform movement is a movement of force and coercion? Is it not, we ask again, painting the honest attempts at self reform of the Sikh reform party in grossly and misleading colours? . . . We are extremely sorry the present action of the Punjab Government inclines to show that it has taken the role of shielding some of the individuals, who happen to be European Government officials, about whom there prevail feelings of strong suspicion in the public mind. We do not say that they are correct. Time alone will establish their veracity or otherwise. We wish they were misplaced, but surely it ill-becomes a constitutional Government thus to give the people to believe that it wants to shield and extricate one of its officers from any possible developments of the case. Ever since that unfortunate letter of Mr. King written to that son of Sir Baba Khem Singh Bedi, whom the Panth has now cursed and who should henceforth remain unnamed in these columns, saw the light of day, it is the first time that Government has accepted the full responsibility for its issue .... May we beg to be enlightened, why the Government took so much time in accepting the responsibility and why it did not do so immediately when the letter was adversely commented upon in the public press and [on the platform ? We are glad the Government has at last declared that 'it is false to say that Government or its officers have done anything to justify the use of violence by either party and that Government is prepared to take all necessary action to vindicate any of its officers who is unjustly accused of having in any way connived at or been privy to the dastardly crime committed at Nankana on February 20 last' .... Brothers, the arm of the Government is long enough and strong enough to catch hold of and pulverise any body and every body who, it thinks, goes against it, or its individual officers and so you should shut your mouths lest the irony of fate may not drag any one of you to the squeezing clutches of law. Is not a military display of arms enough to take life out of us ? But with all this we sincerely deplore that Government and its officers should fight shy of encountering public accusations and charges in the ordinary course of law. The present system of Government is despotic in essence and spirit ; its laws have been so framed as go to uphold and maintain its own supremacy, caring only, as a secondary thing, for the rights and liberties of three hundred millions of God's people. It can pass any orders and bring into being any ordinance that it desires. Thus it is clear that the Government is all powerful and the subject races have no other alternative but to acquiese in its doings, however repugnant be they to public sentiments."

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar) ; Gian Singh, editor.

(e) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"The latest *communiqué* issued by the Government runs thus :—'... The police investigation at Nankana is *progressing slowly*. Government regrets to state that further search has revealed the fact that about 130 *persons* were killed on February 20. The statements so far recorded indicate that among the murderers were *Sikhs from the Majha*. The investigation is being *greatly hampered by the presence at Nankana of crowds of persons who have come to see the site of the tragedy*. Among these crowds are bad characters, whose presence has alarmed the inhabitants of neighbouring villages to the extent of causing many of them to desert their homes. To meet this situation a detachment of cavalry has been detailed to patrol the affected area and it is hoped that this will restore confidence.' We have italicised the words to which we take strong exception. We ask why the police investigation is 'progressing slowly' ? Why not vigorously and expeditiously ? Would not this slow progress furnish the culprits time enough to make good their flight. The seriousness of the situation demands that Government should proceed with all possible vigour and expedition .... It is a deplorable feature of the press *communiqué* under note that Government has carefully abstained from mentioning that the killed were Sikhs. It only styles them as persons and not Sikhs, which means that there is left much room for confusing matters. But look at the diplomacy of the expression that while the Government has carefully avoided to introduce the word Sikh when it names casualties, it has not scrupled so ingeniously to say 'that among the murderers were Sikhs from the Manjha'—the centre and source of the activities of the Akali Dal. We quite understand the significant import of the double wedge stroke on the poor Sikhs. Is it not, we beg to ask, a foretaste of what the police is to be at in the Majha to embarrass the Akali Dal ? We wish the Government would open their minds on this point as well and remove the fears raised. We do not agree that either the investigation is being hampered by the presence at Nankana Sahib of crowds of persons who come to see the site of the tragedy, or that the presence of 'bad characters' has 'alarmed the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to the extent of causing many of them to desert their homes.' On the contrary, if we may be permitted to say, our belief in the veracity of the above statements is very halting and dubious, and they seem to us to be a subterfuge for the Government to detail a detachment of cavalry and an apology for unsatisfactory police investigation. It is most probable that it is this 'military display of arms' by the Government that must have struck terror in the hearts of the villagers and obliged them to desert their houses."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*f*) The *Sikh* of the 6th March writes:—"We frankly admit that the attitude of the Punjab Government, particularly of His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan himself, since the very moment that the report of the tragedy reached them has been quite as it should be in such a case under such extraordinary circumstances. . . . They are so attentive that no sooner does the public make an objection than there comes out a *communiqué* to clear their position. But while we ought to appreciate the appreciable features, is it not our duty in the interests of Government on the one hand, and the public we represent on the other, to point out sincerely what appears to be defective in this connection? . . . . We venture to point out that their *communiqué* No. 4, dated the 27th February . . . . . contains much that is open to serious objection. The conclusion that among the 'crowds of persons' who have come to see the site of the tragedy, there are 'bad characters whose presence has alarmed the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to the extent of causing many of them to desert their home' is, we are afraid premature, and seems to have been arrived at without a thorough enquiry. The information, if we mistake not, is based on the reports of the officers, police or civil, who, while they so glaringly neglected their duty to Government on the one hand and His Majesty's subjects on the other in connection with the murderous preparations of the Mahant resulting in this massacre of so many lives, are now endeavouring to show how vigilant and alert they are . . . The panic in neighbouring villages is not due to the presence there of bad characters! It is due to the event itself—the darkest one ever heard of—and the situation—investigation, etc., consequent thereupon. . . . . But be this as it may, a thorough enquiry is absolutely desirable in such cases and we do not object as much to the action—the detailing of a detachment of cavalry to patrol over the affected area—as to the hasty conclusion of the Government. Then comes the historic—not notorious as the people call it—letter of Mr. King to B. Kartar Singh. Now as the entire responsibility for it has been taken by the Punjab Government. . . . there can be no denying that [the] declaration . . . . . exonerates Mr. King from all blame about the letter, and we would advise our readers not to attribute any motive to that individual officer. . . . . We quite agree with the *Tribune* in the view that the Government announcement that 'it is false to say that Government or its officers have done anything to justify the use of violence by either party' is obviously premature, for it has been made without holding a regular enquiry and giving necessary facilities to the accusers to come forward and substantiate their allegations. As Government has done nothing of the sort, its decision is *ex parte* and we are afraid it might prejudice the investigation. But are not the officers as much subjects of His Majesty as the people and have not therefore the latter a right to complain against them?"

(*g*) The *Sikh* of the 10th March writes:—"Those who stand in need of the latest evidence of the Government conduct being fluctuating will do well to read one after the other, the *communiqués* issued by it *re* the Nankana Sahib tragedy." Next it quotes from these *communiqués* and concludes as follows:—"This shows the unsatisfactory progress of this investigation on the one hand and fluctuations on the part of Government on the other. Let us see what result the present impression produces; . . . . It is based on the reports of those who, while they were too happy go lucky to notice the murderous preparations of the Mahant to perpetrate the darkest tragedy ever witnessed by this sacred land, are now straining every nerve to show how vigilant they are. Look at this picture and on that! While Ismail Bhatti is reported to be still at large with all his followers, his tribe are creating artificial alarm by evacuating [Nankana]. The term 'Majha Sikhs' used by Government in one of the *communiqués* in misleading. In fact they were mercenaries from Majha engaged by the Mahant for his murderous attack."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*h*) The following occurs in the course of a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 6th March by M. K. GANDHI:—"The purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it. The perpetrators, whether they are Sikhs, Pathans or Hindus are our countrymen. Their punishment cannot recall the dead to life. I would ask those whose hearts are lacerated to forgive them, not out of their weakness—for they are able in every way to have them punished—but out of their immeasurable strength. Only the strong can forgive. You will add to the glory of the martyrdom of the dear ones by refusing to take revenge. Moreover, those who are non-co-öperationists may not have recourse to British law courts even for getting murderers punished. . Let the Sikhs beware. The Government will no doubt try to win them over to them by showing that they alone can punish the guilty. Law courts of an evil Government are traps into which the unwary run unwittingly. But if we have not yet visualised the wickedness of the system under which we are governed and therefore at a crucial moment will not avoid the existing law course, let us not thoughtlessly blunder into having our own committee side by side with the Government committee of inquiry . . . . It was common knowledge that the Mahant had been preparing for a long time, and practically openly, to give battle. He had arms. He had collected ammunition, he was surrounding himself with ruffians. Government officials could not but have known of the preparations. You, therefore, naturally suspect that high officials contemplated with equanimity, if they did not encourage, the perpetration of a heinous deed. You are anxious to find out the exact truth. A moment's reflection must convince you that even if it is found that some Government officials were guilty of such complicity, the discovery takes you and India no further than where we stand to-day. You and practically the whole of India want to sweep the whole of the Government out of existence unless the system under which it is being carried on is radically altered. It would be wrong to divert the attention of any section of the nation from the main or the only issue which is before the country." Commenting, the *Tribune* says:—"Whatever one may think of the present form of government and intensely anxious as we ourselves are to transform the Government into a national Government, it seems to us to be perfectly obvious that while it continues it would not be a good thing for the country to make it, whether by our omission or commission, either difficult or impossible for it to deal with ordinary crime and especially crime of the particular kind perpetrated in this case. The punishment of criminals is absolutely essential for the very existence of society and so long as India has not evolved a national Government of its own, it is only the present Government which has the means and the power to effectively cope with this work."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(i) The *Sikh* of the 10th March thus comments on Mr. Gandhi's advice:—"The Mahatmaji is known to be a greatest devotee of the *Gita*. But how inconsistent is this advice with the spirit of Lord Krishna's sermon to Arjna is too clear to call for a demonstration. If murderers and cannibals were to be forgiven and their deeds forgotten in the way Mahatma desires us to do, the whole human society would turn into chaos and a man's life would not amount to more than that of an ant which anyone might take with impunity. The wretch of a Mahant, incumbent of a holy shrine, blinded by his licentious pursuits and selfish desires butchers in cold blood about 200 innocent pilgrims and thus overfloods the sacred precincts with human blood, and the Mahtmaji, upon whom we were counting for a thorough enquiry and full support, admits all the facts of the tragedy, but advises us to forgive and forget! And why? Because the murderers are Indians. It clearly means that if they had been foreigners, Englishmen or Europeans, he would not have thus advised us. . . . . Then if the *swaraj* which the Mahatmaji preaches with such an unbounded enthusiasm is to mean that even a butcherly murderer of 200 innocent lives should be let unpunished, then the sooner we bid adieu to such a movement the better. At least a Sikh mind cannot be convinced of its sublimity."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

The Press Act.

5. The following is from the *Liberal* of the 7th March:—"The Press Act of 1910 is an obnoxious measure that continues on the Indian statute book in spite of the uproar that has been raised against it ever since it became law. It is a wilful infringement of the rights and liberties of a civilised people, and the sooner it is repealed the better both for the governors and the governed. . . . Whereas an amendment of the Act in essential points would have met with the approval of the people four years back, nothing but its complete repeal and removal from the statute book can arrest their imagination now. We are told we have entered upon a new era of our existence. We are also

assured that the basis of a democratic form of government has also been laid in the form of new Councils. We are promised a further instalment of reform, if the present experiment proves a success. But what is all this reform to us, when we are deprived of our preliminary right of freedom of thought? We have waited long enough to see that the justice that has been withheld from us for so long is after all vindicated and the wrong done to an ancient civilisation set at rest. But we find we have waited in vain. There can be no independence in a country where the press is not free and independent. To free a country from the paths of slavery, you have got to free its press. . . . . The Indian Press Act is a dark blot on the sense of independence of the English nation, and the Government will be well advised to avail itself of the earliest opportunity to wash its hands clean of it."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Action against political agitators.

6. (*a*) Writing about the order prohibiting Mr. C. R. Das from entering Mymensingh, the *Tribune* of the 6th March says:—"The order . . . . is under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and not under the Defence of India Act. It is difficult to understand, except on the theory of inspiration from above, why the magistracy all over the country are having simultaneous recourse for political purpose to a section which obviously was never intended to deal with political workers. Had the Defence of India Act been wholly abandoned, there would have been some semblance of an excuse for the course they have been following. As a matter of fact, it is still being used in every case in which it suits the purpose of the authorities to use it. . . The application of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, to political workers is illegal. That view has now been confirmed by a high legal authority [Mr. Das], one of the highest in the country, one whose competence to express an opinion on the subject even the Government cannot deny. . . . 'I know' he says . . . 'that the order is absolutely illegal.' In the face of this opinion, which, by the way, loses none of its force because Mr. Das happens to be an interested party in this case, and having regard also to the fact that the whole of articulate India has from the first declared that this is the only view of the matter consistent with commonsense, it is the clear duty of the Government to reconsider its whole position in this matter. The duty is all the more imperative because those to whom the section is being applied are deprived, by the very nature of their creed, of the only means they would ordinarily have of proving the illegality of the orders, namely, by breaking them and then taking the matter up before a higher authority."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 8th March thinks that the magistracy seem bent upon committing all sort of illegalities under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code in order to crush the non-coöperation movement. They are determined to trample, in the name of law and order, upon our fundamental rights of citizenship. They are taking advantage of ordinary laws to crush our movement for freedom. Every means is being employed to terrorise this country and create prejudice against this movement. To issue tyrannical and autocratic orders under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code amounts to ridiculing law. The magistrates are either beside themselves with rage or the local Government, which does not assume the responsibility for this repression, has invested them with extensive powers. By distorting [the spirit of] the section referred to the magistrates have assumed such political powers as are not vested in Government itself. They have created such a serious situation in the country as demands careful consideration from the people. The liberty of speech is the fundamental and common right of all citizens, and if it is wrested from us we are left no better than animals. If we cannot hold meetings and talk to our countrymen about affairs affecting our country, public life and liberty will come to an end, which is what Government desires. The magistracy are attacking our liberty of speech and right of holding meetings. We should oppose the attack with great perserverance, and the Congress and other national societies should allow the people to disobey all illegal orders issued by the executive.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 4th March writes:—"Mr. Sardul Singh, Kavishar, B. A., Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Rambhaj Dat have been served with notices under the Defence of India Act not to make any speeches in public. Besides Mr. Sardul Singh has been prohibited to leave Lahore. With the exit of the Duke from India repression has set in. Perhaps Sir Edward Maclagan [has] grown envious of Sir M. O'Dwyer."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*d*) Commenting upon the Punjab Government's order prohibiting Dr. Kitchlew from speaking at public meetings, the *Kesari* of the 5th March states that some people say that next the Government will attend to Lala Lajpat Rai. It is also being asked how long these national leaders will continue to obey such tyrannical orders. Has not yet the time come for them to practise *satyagraha* in regard to these.

The Delhi burial case.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Khan, editor.

7. In criticising the judgment in the Delhi burial case, the *Zamindar* of the 6th March says that the surprising injustice and rigour displayed by the [District] Magistrate of Delhi has still further tarnished British justice. The relations of the deceased Khan Bahadur repeatedly declared in the course of the trial that no insult had been offered to his dead body, and that they did not wish to take proceedings against the accused. But the bureaucracy, which loves prestige and autocracy, was not prepared to let the accused alone. It is wholly useless to comment on this dishonesty on the part of the authorities, seeing that the incident is not the only one which affords proof of the spirit of prejudice and malevolence which actuates British courts. The whole history of our national movements is replete with such instances.

Jail food.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The *Tribune* of the 12th March refers to some of the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee on the subject of jail food, and comments as follows:—"Many of these recommendations are obviously good as far as they go, but they are couched in such general and, therefore, necessarily vague terms that it will be no matter for surprise if the wily jail staff in many cases succeed in defeating the object of the Committee. Further, the most important question in this case is that of supervision and control, and unless the recommendations made by the Committee under those heads bring about a material improvement in the present supervising and controlling staff, the prisoners will in practice continue to be treated much as they are. The most perfect dietary on paper will do no good in practice if the carrying out of the scheme rests with a corrupt jailer, who would make as much out of the transaction as is humanly possible and would give good food to the prisoners only on the days that some high official was expected to come and inspect the food."

Financial Commissioner in the Punjab.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. "A TAXPAYER" writes to the *Tribune* of the 9th March:—"The new *régime* has brought in two ministers and two executive councillors as persons responsible with the Governor for the administration of the province. Well, we have got to pay for this new form of government in the shape of money. Quite a host of new posts carrying handsome emoluments have been created not that they were not necessary. But the point which I want to press is that in this creation of new posts care ought to have been taken to see if some old posts have not become obsolete and that we got as much of work from everybody as we paid for. Governments in other provinces are setting their houses in order and we have got the Government of the Central Provinces abolishing the one post of Financial Commissioner. Now that a Home Member and a Finance Member with two ministers have come in, much of the work that used to be done by the two Financial Commissioners here can be transferred to them both and the posts or, if that be not possible, one of them can be abolished. I do not see why what has been done in the Central Provinces cannot be done here in the Punjab, and if the Government here has not seen its way to the abolition of at least one of the two posts, some public-minded member of the Punjab Legislative Council should move for an early abolition of the post."

IV.—COMMNUAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Sikhs and Hindus.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

10. (*a*) "A HINDU" writing to the *Kesari* of the 5th March refers to the scratching off of the pictures of Hindu gods on the walls of the Baoli Sahib, Lahore, and says that the proceeding has greatly shocked the Hindus, some of whom, as also Sanatnist Sikhs, are thinking of instituting a case against the Sikhs concerned. The writer most respectfully requests the leaders of both communities to do nothing likely to undermine the [inter-communal] union on which the progress and prosperity of Indians depend. Commenting, the editor says that he does not know what remarks to make against the Sikhs who have

committed the improper and deplorable act in question. The incident will strain the relations between the Hindus and Sikhs, brother turning against brother.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) One SARDAR KHAZAN SINGH writing to the *Kesari* of the 7th March states that there were many pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses, as also of Sikh Gurus, on the wall of the *samadh*. The walls being in a bad condition it was proposed some time back to have them covered with marble slabs. The pictures of Sikh Gurus were the first to be scratched off, others being touched only after that. The writer assures the Hindus on behalf of his co-religionists that this was not done to insult, or wound the feelings of, any one. He hopes that this statement will satisfy the Hindus.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The Hindus and Sikhs of Peshawar.

11. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 8th March says that the situation at Peshawar is steadily growing worse. The local Hindus have devised many plans to bring about there an event like that of Nankana Sahib. It is not known why the Deputy Commissioner takes no step to prevent the [apprehended] disturbance. If anything like what has happened at Nankana Sahib takes place at Peshawar also, the local officers would not be able to escape reponsibility for it.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The *kirpan*.

12. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 3rd March states that the Punjab Government has permitted the wearing of the sacred thread by Hindu prisoners. Is it not a matter for regret, however, that Sikh prisoners have not as yet been allowed to keep the *kirpan*, which is one of the religious emblems of the Sikhs? It is not known why Government should not accord equal treatment to [the different sections of] the people in connection with religious matters. This gives rise to agitation.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Kashmir.

13. The *Banda Mataram* of the 8th March says that in the course of his speech at Jammu the Viceroy told the Maharaja that the Resident in Kashmir would render every help to His Highness. This means, comments the paper, that changes in the State should take place according to the orders of the Resident. If the Government of India wants to confer full powers of administration on the Kashmir Darbar, it is necessary to remove the Resident from the State. The presence of Residents in Native States is an act of high-handedness, but in the case of Kashmir it may be said to be still more so. The Maharaja's ancestors bought Jammu from the British Government and he should, therefore, have full powers in regard to its management. His Highness should have full authority to employ or dismiss any one and no outside pressure should be brought to bear on him in the matter. Continuing, the paper says that the proposal to allow the people a hand in the administration of the State is a step in the right direction.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Imperial Bank appointments.

14. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 12th March:—

"Our contemporary of the *Hindu* has unearthed an advertisement in the columns of the London *Times*, calling for applications for the posts of bank assistants for the Imperial Bank of India. The starting salary for the posts is Rs. 550 rising to Rs. 1,120 in 12 years. As our contemporary points out, one of the various arguments advanced in favour of the scheme for an Imperial Bank was that it would secure additional scope for Indian talent. Why, then, have the posts been advertised in Great Britain? We doubt not more applicants of British origin will be forthcoming than there are posts. But what attempts have been made by the Bank authorities to secure indigenous talent? Were the posts advertised at all in India, if so, in what papers and when? How many applications were received and were the applicants altogether unqualified for the posts of bank assistants? These are pertinent questions, and we hope some enterprising member of the Indian Legislative Assembly or the Council of State will interpellate Government on the subject.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,

LAHORE:
The 12th March 1921.

Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Allies and Germany.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

1. Referring to the recent occupation of certain German towns by the Allies, the *Kesri* of the 14th March says that the attitude adopted by Germany will be certain to win her the whole world's sympathy. No country sympathised with the Germans so long as they practised tyranny and oppression; but now that they are the aggrieved party the larger part of the world must sympathise with them. And it does not surprise us in the least to see that independent journals in England itself are opposing the allied occupation of German cities. The event shows that they regard Germany as deserving of pity. They ask that she should not be compelled to comply with terms which are beyond her means to fulfil.

Relief for the Muhammadans of Thrace and Smyrna.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 13th March publishes an appeal for money for relief to the Muhammadans of Thrace and Smyrna. It says that the Turkish Government cannot help its oppressed brothers, seeing that its treasury is becoming empty owing to encroachment by the the allied and other civilised Governments. The Turkish ministers are quite helpless in the matter. Once they requested the Allies' high commissioners for permission to raise a loan for the above purpose, but the request was refused by these heartless and false claimants to civilisation. The Punjab Khilafat Committee has fixed the week from the 11th to the 18th March for the collection of funds in aid of the Muhammadans referred to. It is the duty of the Musalmans of this province to give lakhs of rupees to save their brethren in Thrace and Smyrna from starvation.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The proposed legislation about *wakf* properties in the Punjab.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

3. Referring to the proposed legislation in regard to *wakf* properties in this province, the *Punjab Darpan* of the 16th March, says that the communities concerned believe that *gurdwaras*, temples and mosques are their respective properties. Government interference with them and the enacting of the law referred to will displease every one of these communities. Every community can itself make more useful laws in regard to its religious matters.

By passing the law in question Government will greatly weaken its reputation and make the people regard it with feelings of distrust.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishana, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

4. Referring to an Anglo-Indian paper's remark that during his visit to India the Prince of Wales will enter villages to observe the real life led by the people, the *Partap* of the 13th March says:—"We shall accord a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness if he comes to India as a guest and would see our real condition not through the spectacles of the bureaucracy but with our eyes. Otherwise, his visit will, like that of the Duke of Connaught, be boycotted.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5. The *Partap* of the 16th March says that when Mr. Gandhi saw that the bureaucracy was not prepared to concede India's legitimate demands and remove her reasonable grievances, he brought the weapon of non-coöperation into play. After remarking that he has succeeded in keeping the people from resorting to violence, the paper writes that Government cannot be said to have avoided violence. The Government of Behar and the United Provinces have begun openly to favour a policy of repression. Arrests, internments, etc., have begun to take place in the Punjab, Madras, Bengal and Central India also. Mr. Gandhi has now the right to ask the country to have recourse to *satyagraha* or civil disobedience. Government should consider whether the policy which is being pursued in different provinces in these days is conducive to peace. If repression is not to be given up from any other consideration it should be abandoned at least from fear lest it should make Mr. Gandhi victorious.

ITTIFAQ (Lahore); Ghulam Muhammad Khan, editor.

India's military expenditure.

6. The *Ittifaq* of the 12th March says that a sum of 62 crores has been provided for military expenditure during 1921-22. This is the first delicious fruit borne by the reforms which have recently been received by Indians. The people of this country have long been complaining of the cost of the army, but the more general the complaint has been growing the more this expenditure has been increasing, while the budget for the next year is very generous in the matter. Two years have passed since the war ended and the question of reducing armaments has been considered all over the world. But military rule is to continue to prevail in India and there will be no reduction in her military expenditure, which will, indeed, grow still further. Next the paper refers to Mr. Hailey's opposition to a reduction in the strength of the army, and says that the Finance Member was quite right in this, seeing that a state of war exists in India and the non-coöperation movement is daily on the increase. Any addition to [Government's] military power will therefore be a source of satisfaction [to it], because it is just possible that a few days hence no Indian may be willing to enlist in the army. It is strange that an army should be maintained to control us against our will and with our money. This being so, we fail to understand what significance reforms and concessions can have.

AKALI (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

Repression.

7. The *Akali* of the 14th March says that many people are of opinion that as long as the Duke of Connaught was in India Government temporarily laid aside its repressive policy in order to pull the wool over his eyes, but now that His Royal Highness has gone it has again taken up the old weapon. Commenting the paper says that there is much truth in this view. It is significant that repression has begun to be practised simultaneously throughout the country. But happiness can be obtained only after suffering rigour. As for *swaraj*, one cannot suffer too much for it. Blessed are the brave men who make their lives fruitful by suffering troubles.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sacha Singh, editor.

The Nankana riot.

8. (*a*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 7th March says that Sir Edward Maclagan promised at Nankana in the presence of thousands of people that he would gratify the Sikhs by inflicting deterrent punishment on the culprits. We have to test this promise by coöperating with His Excellency. If the Sikhs are to be unjustly treated even after their subjection to such oppression, the community can use the weapon of non-coöperation.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 11th March:—"The zeal and earnestness with which the investigation is being pushed on for unearthing the deep laid conspiracy that resulted in the diabolical massacre of about a couple of hundred Sikhs . . . . fills our hearts, as also that of the entire humanity, with strong misgivings as to its [leading to] any tangible and satisfactory results. Although His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan in the fulsome humanitarian flow of solicitude for afflicted Sikhs had assured them that he would do his best to trace out the offenders and bring them to justice, yet what we find being done in actual practice does not seem to conform to the assurance given. Our men on the spot have reasons to complain that the police investigation is not proceeding on the lines on which it ought to have done. The right track is not being followed. Instead processes of delay and protraction seem to be the rule. The police seem to be unwilling to bring the true state of things to the public gaze. The culprits are not being apprehended with that promptness which the seriousness of the case demands. The case is *primâ facie* one of deep laid conspiracy. The investigation seems to fight shy of it. And the reason of it all is not difficult to understand. The *Loyal Gazette* says that in this conspiracy are involved men of riches and weight, men of influence and authority. The real facts would thus never see the light of day so far as police investigation is concerned. The ends of justice would therefore not only be defeated, but justice would be turned away and evil and oppression for the time at least would stalk about in haughty triumph. The Sikh leaders and the Sikh community had placed, on the assurance given by His Excellancy Sir Edward Maclagan, full confidence in the Government and had decided *volen nolen* to assist the investigation with all possible help. But it has transpired that the police have put on quite a changed complexion and have tried to run in and grind down those who can throw any lurid light on the true state of the happenings at Nankana Sahib. To substantiate the above statement we refer to that part of the resolution adopted unanimously by the Siromani Gurdwara Committee at a meeting recently held at Nankana Sahib, which deals with the treatment meted out to Bhai Uttam Singh. Is this one fact not sufficient enough to give a lie direct to the police-inspired press *communique* of the Government issued the other day . . . . which said that 'a number of instances are being reported (by the police) of looting and intimidation by the bad characters... ...'? If the assertion of the Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee be acceptable at its face value then may we ask: Is not this act also tantamount to intimidation by the police? Then how would the Government explain the analogy between the police and the bad characters? Not only his. We understand that, though about three weeks have since rolled by, the police have not been able to chalan the case as yet. We also understand that in the face of glaring broad day, premeditated and calculated massacre and by reason of that being a *primâ facie* case of conspiracy, the police have not been able to establish any theory as yet. And stranger still is the fact that even before the case should have been challaned that blood-thirsty hound, (who quenched his thirst by actually licking the blood of the martyrs) and arch murderer, Deva Das, with a number of his associates, has been set at liberty to hound and prey down more victims to his unsatiated wrath. And since he has reached Nankana Sahib the 'intimidation and looting by bad characters' and series of other excesses have become more frequent. What should we understand by it? Has this arch murderer once again been 'let loose upon us' to use the words of Mahatama Gandhi? Mr. King has been exalted, most probably in recognition of his meritorious services in this connection, to the office of Joint Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, from which position of vantage he would perhaps be able to exert his hypnotic influence on the members of the Punjab Legislative Council to the best of his advantage. Then the cursed sons of the late Baba Khem Singh Bedi, whose culpable share in the conspiracy is strongly suspected, have not only been not touched, but one of them has been allowed to escape scotfree to England—also on some secret mission we suspect. Mr. Currie, the Deputy Commissioner, who was immediately responsible for the tragedy, has been afforded a good riddance to proceed home on sick leave and save his skin. That Mr. Currie and Kartar Bedi sail in the same boat is not a strange coincidence. We are sorry that these and numerous other details, which are manifesting themselves in the unbroken chain, have rudely shaken the confidence of the Sikhs in the Government. They have thus decided by common consent to non-coöperate with the Government in this particular instance at least and to have the enquiry conducted by their own men with Mahatma Gandhi added to the enquiry committee. We are doubly sorry the Government have not only lost a golden opportunity of winning over the Sikhs by insuring the dispensing of unhampered and untampered justice to the Sikhs at the cost of a little of its much exploded prestige, but has, by reason of its having failed at the very start, exasperated and disappointed the Sikhs. Since the above was in type we are glad to learn from the *Punjab Darpan* that the conference of the selected Sikhs responsibles invited by the Commissioner of Lahore division at Lahore on the 8th and 9th instant has resulted in a definite understanding. . . . . The new Commissioner Mr. Langley . . . . assured that the police would be directed to proceed vigorously and impartially with the investigation, for which we are grateful."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*c*) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"The promptness with which the Punjab Government seems to have been possessed all at once in issuing press *communiqués* now-a-days bearing on matters connected in any way with Nankana Sahib sometimes sickens the heart when its criminal ignorance of Narain Das and his accomplices' murderous reparations presents itself before the minds eyes. The police, which is so wide awake now to the little happenings in the vicinity, has yet to explain its sleepiness over the Mahant's organised preparations to take the blood of the innocent Sikhs. In this connection the following press *communique* issued by the Government is significant. It runs :—'A number of instances are being reported of looting and intimidation by bad characters in the neighbourhood of Nankana, where large number of persons continue to collect at the scene of the recent tragedy.' We should be really very sorry if such should really be the case. It is more deplorable that Government press *communiques* should make an unholy attempt to connect these cases of 'looting and intimidation by bad characters' with the crowdings at Nankana Sahib where the good Sikhs go to pay their debt of homage to the innocent martyrs. If the Government expert police is really incapable of guarding against the criminal inroads of the badmashes we should like to suggest to the Government its replacement by a Sikh national corps of volunteers to be created by it, and put an end to all these complaints. It is police incapacity which is accountable for looting and intimidation. Why does not the Government warn the police to put an end to the unscrupulous campaign of intimidation? We assure the Government of His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan that the best way of putting an end to such criminal breaches of law and order is to hold the police, and also the military, responsible for them. There is no other and better way of achieving this result."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Sikh* of the 13th March writes :—"In our last issue we pointed out several fluctuations in the attitude of the Punjab Government since they gave assurance of 'full justice', confirmed further in His Excellency the Governor's message to the Punjab Legislative Council. The sudden development betrayed by the *communique* of the 27th February last in which the Government so unjustifiably offered to hold briefs for its officers and held out a clear and definite threat of taking 'necessary legal action' to vindicate any one of them who is 'unjustly accused of having in any way connived at or been privy to the dastardly crime,' showed that the matters had now taken a new turn, and that the promised 'full justice' would be thrown as far away as possible by the folk concerned. For our part we not only apprehended this turn, but we were quite sure of it on the basis of our past experience. The proper and just course for the Government was to keep the suspected officials (even those who, however high placed, were justly or unjustly accused or suspected of connivance at the murderous preparations of the Mahant which, though they were quite known to the public and the press, who did not failto report them to the authorities, remained unknown to the Police, the C. I. D., the Tahsildar, the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner, and for that matter to the Punjab Government) aloof from the investigation, consider and enquire into the questions put by the public and the press about them, and then announce its decision. But even then in an unprecedented case like this, the *dhamki* of 'necessary legal action' would not have been justified. The Government had also to clear its own position as to why it allowed itself to become a party or identify itself with the other party against such a great community as the Sikhs by authorising Mr. King to issue an objectionable letter to B. Karter Singh Bedi, who further published and circulated it broadcast. As the tragic episodes of Tarn Taran and Nanakana Sahib have most strongly corroborated it, we have nothing in our possession to refute the assertion that that the very letter encouraged and emboldened the wicked Pujaris and Mahants to assume first a defiant and then a murderous attitude. We admit that there is nothing in the letter itself which may mean anything else than a mere advice as to legal procedure. But what justifies the Government in playing the role of a legal adviser at the expense of the other party? Those who, like Sir Edward Maclagan, have a thorough knowledge and life-long experience of the Punjab people—whom even most ordinary encouragement can incite to violence—should always take exception to such a course. But still there can be no denying that it was adopted and that under the 'full authority of the Government' of Sir Edward Maclagan, which, not content with the blunder already committed, declared also its preparedness 'to take necessary legal action to vindicate' its officers. Now what has been the effect of it? The same as was expected and apprehended, for a few days after that a *communique* conveyed to us the report of intimidation and looting by the Sikhs, who, it is alleged, also desecrated an image of Shiva. But we had already received the news of the despatch of cavalry and troops again to Nankana Sahib and were therefore awaiting a *communique* in confirmation and justification of the same. At the same time we went on receiving report after report of the unsatisfactory progress of the investigation and of officers threatening those that dared accuse any one of the police or executive officials concerned. This however did not tell upon our equanimity and we thought that it was a mere superficial ripple in the wave and would, as such, subside soon leaving for the Government a clear way to be able to attain the stage of 'full justice' they had so emphatically promised. But no; the latest report that we receive frustrates the hope, as may be judged from the . . . . resolution passed by no less responsible, representative and reliable a Panthic body than the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee." Then follows a translation of the resolution, which, among other things, asks the Sikhs to expect nothing from Government in the case. Continuing, the paper says :—"The resolution speaks for itself. . . . It is a very sad commentary on the attitude of Government officers appointed to the enquiry and not a less sad reflection on the Government itself in view of its emphatic promise of 'full justice'. . . Will the needful evidence be discouraged in this way? Will investigations remain anything but satisfactory? Will officials be tolerated to do all they can to save their own skin and that of their fellow Government servants? Will not Government hear anything against its own men? Will the offenders go on being released and will many of them be not arrested? Will the Mahant get the benefit of this failure of the police investigations, and, therefore, will this the darkest and most diabolical murder of about 200 lives in the sacred temple of Sri Guru Nunak Dev ever recorded in history, which the Government have themselves admitted to be 'savage' and 'dastardly,' be let unpunished? These questions we put to none else but Sir Edward Maclagan, with the addition :—Can any Government be worth its name if it fails to do full justice in such a matter? Can it in future sucessfully maintain its influence and enforce its law if such be the case? If not, the right course for it is to spare neither an official nor a private individual who may be found guilty, and the only way to ascertain the guilt or otherwise of the persons suspected is to tolerate an impeachment under law. The Sikh community, it is admitted, have the strongest claims upon the British Government, which, they complain, have not so far been adequately recognised. Now, if in such a serious matter, too, the Government fail to satisfy them nothing in future could bridge the gulf."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(e) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 17th March :—"Just as our last issue was out we received a small *communique* informing us of the visit of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner to the *Kiare Sahib* shrine. . . . having resulted in the arrests of Bhais Kartar Singh Jhabhar and Uttam Singh, millowner (the same gentleman who, according to the resolution passed by the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, incurred official displeasure for making some statements against the officers concerned and was therefore subjected to the disgrace of *parcha chak*) and nine others. The event, synchronising as it did with the Manak and Sadhuram *dharamsalas* arrests, caused a great sensation, but those who had seen the previous *communique* saw nothing strange or startling in that." Then follows the Sikh version of the arrests, and the paper continues :—"Then disarmament of the Sikh began. None was allowed even to keep a walking stick. . . . It is said that Sikh ladies were not spared. An old woman was surrounded by about seven bayoneters who wrested and snatched her hatchet from her hand. Although the Government *communique* clearly assures us that proper arrangements will be made for the maintenance without interference of the 'customary worship or offices performed', the shrines of *Kiare Sahib* is under lock and key . . . . There can be no denying that instead of getting 'full justice' against the Mahant for his butchering in cold blood about 200 sacred lives, the Sikhs themselves are being arrested everywhere, justly or unjustly it is for the world to decide."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*f*) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"That the present are very evil days for the Sikhs (whose sufferings and sacrifices for their religion have passed into proverb) who can deny? They are incurring the greatest displeasure and indignation of the Government authorities, who now seem to be setting upon them with all the repression at their command. Now what should the Khalsa do? . . . He should bear all the trouble with his characteristic patience and forbearance . . . . He need not be offensive even in self-defence. He should bear all hardships passively and patiently without even the slightest murmer . . . . Let no *gurdwara* or shrine be touched without the orders of the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee . . . . And needless to say, such peaceful and patient conduct will sufficiently assure the world of our absolute innocence against all sorts of repression."

(*g*) The paper also publishes the following letter from S. GANDA SINGH, Head Master, Khalsa High School Peshawar :—"The stepmotherly treatment being accorded to the Sikhs is indicated by the recent Government *communiques* issued regarding the Nankana Sahib tragedy, stating the presence of 'bad characters' in the neighbourhood, seizing houses, molesting women and desecrating Hindu images. They are very magnified and therefore misleading. The position of the Government becomes untenable when it feels nervous at the mere 'presence' of the devotees of Guru Nanak congregating in thousands at a sacrilege having been committed. The Government did not care in the first instance to make the slaughter impossible, by checking and prohibiting the preparations of the Mahant, continue though they did for weeks and months together. Now that the inevitable has happened, it is attempting to press and suppress all sentiments and legitimate exhibition thereof. From this follows the inference that Government likes no reform nor prosperity to a nation, but would rather see them stagnate in the nadir of national degeneration and slavery. Sham is all talk of reforms, farcical the affairs connected with the reformed legislature. Government ought, at this juncture, to win the hearts of the Sikhs, lacerated as they are, rather than disappoint and trouble them by indifference and coercion. The only advice, after this, that we can offer is that if Government cannot make amends for its past blunders, it should keep strictly aloof from the religious affairs of the Sikhs. Have not the Sikh 'men' in Peshawar been seized and maltreated by Hindus; have not Sikh *gurdwaras* in Peshawar been 'desecrated'; have not the Chief Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, witnessed these things with their own eyes apparently with utter indifference? What do the Government mean by offering 'all of sour and nothing of sweet' to the Sikhs? A solitary image in a *gurdwara* at Nankana Sahib alleged to have been broken (parhaps) succeeds in eliciting a *communique*, but the wholesale changing of the Sikh *gurdwaras* of Peshawar into most undesirable forms is never taken notice of? It behoves Government to show perfect magnanimity in allowing religious tolerance to Sikhs. Their *gurdwaras* should be left to the Sikhs or the Sikhs would not leave them. The bereaved and most seriously afflicted Sikhs are crying for justice for their butchered brethren. But Government retorts by hurling uncalled-for blame to disappoint them."

AKALI (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and political agitators.

9. (*a*) The *Akali* of the 14th March says that the bureaucratic authorities have discovered section 144 [of the Criminal Procedure Code] to arrest the political wave [which is now passing over the country]. This section can be used to stop meetings and processions, restrain people wearing the *kirpan*, from entering a court together, prevent a person from going from one city to another, expel him from a city or *ilaka*, and intern him in a city or prevent him from going to any part of the world.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the withdrawal of the order prohibiting Mr. C. R. Dass from entering Mymensingh, the *Partap* of the 11th March says that the bureaucracy can, if it wishes, learn a lesson from the incident. People, it adds, feel prompted to break the law when illegal orders are issued in large number. Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was never intended for the purpose for which it is being used now. If District Magistrates do not abandon their present attitude, people will begin to disobey their orders.

The penal settlement of the Andamans.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The *Tribune* of the 15th March writes :—" The Indian Jails Committee, while not suggesting the entire abandonment of the Andamans as a place of deportation, have recommended that 'deportation to the Andamans should cease except in regard to specially dangerous prisoners and any others whose removal from Indian jails is considered by the Government to be in the public interest.' The recommendation is obviously as halting as it is inadequate, and the last words are so indefinite that there is nothing in them to prevent the deportation to the Andamans of even those classes of prisoners who ought under no circumstances to be sent there Nor can we derive much comfort from the announcement just made by Sir William Vincent in the Legislative Assembly that 'the Government had decided to reduce the settlement in the Andamans to between 1 500 and 2,000 of the worst criminals and to abandon the settlement altogether in course of time ' . . . 'In course of time ' is a beautifully vague expression, and so is 'that the worst criminals.' Why does not the Government resolve to take steps immediately to prevent any further deportation to the Andamans, and announce its readiness within, say, the next year or two to put an end to this 'Hell on earth ? ' Surely there are no political considerations involved in the matter."

Martial law prisoners.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 18th March :—" No clearer or more convincing proof of the unrepresentative character of the Punjab Legislative Council could have been afforded than by the defeat of Mian Shah Nawaz's resolution demanding that all martial law prisoners still in jail should be released, and, in the event of the Government not being prepared to take this course, that a committee be appointed to revise the sentences passed on such prisoners. The resolution was, on the face of it, as modest as modest could be and fell far short of the demand which all sections of opinion in the province have now for over a year and a half been urging with equal strength and earnestness. And not only opinion in the province, but opinion in the country as a whole, has been virtually unanimous in this matter, the only difference being as to whether the prisoners should be released merely as a matter of clemency or also and chiefly as a matter of justice. Such a man as Sir Umar Hayat Khan, it will have been seen, did lend his support to a similar resolution in the Council of State. And yet this is the resolution which in the Legislative Council of the very province which is directly concerned in the matter and which naturally feels far more strongly on the subject than any other province can possibly do, was partly rejected without a division, and partly by a majority. . . . . Look at the matter from whatever point of view one may, the Punjab Council has covered itself with singular ingloriousness by its attitude in this crucial matter. Nor can we help saying a word about the mover himself. . . . . By moving his resolution without first assuring himself that he was going to have the support of the majority of his colleagues, he has not only done no good but has, though undoubtedly without meaning it, rendered a disservice to his province. He has made it possible for the bureaucracy to say, and the bureaucracy is never slow to avail itself of such opportunities, that in continuing to detain the martial law prisoners in custody it has the support of the majority of the very men whom the province, most vitally concerned, has returned to the Legislative Council."

Indemnities.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

12. The *Partap* of the 13th March asks whether the indemnity imposed on the people of Wazirabad, Hafizabad and Gujrat will not also be remitted. Since the remission has been made in the case of Amritsar, will it be just in any way to treat these towns differently ? Their residents will naturally continue to complain and repeatedly raise the question.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Inter-communal unity.

13. The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th March publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI, who wishes to impress on the Panjabis that no one can be a good Hindu, Muhammadan or Sikh unless he first becomes a good Indian. We cannot obtain *swaraj* so long as we preach to the three communities that their political and economic welfare and interests lie in keeping themselves aloof from one another. It is necessary that, in order to obtain *swaraj*, they should rise above the idea of separate individuality. Continuing, the writer touches on the Hindu-Muslim unity and appeals to both communities to trust each other. Our unity, he says, is not unreal: it is the dissensions among us that are. We should cultivate a spirit of unity and good will, and should so perform our duties and so administer the country as to make it impossibe for any foreign nation to interfere with us. We should form one nation in India, abandoning all idea of our being separate nationalities. Our rulers have always sought to impress upon us that our religious freedom can exist only with them. They cast a similar spell over the Irish people also, but it has now been broken. The Hindus should bear in mind that they are doomed to perpetual slavery if they do not trust their Muslim brothers and purge their minds of doubts and misgivings in regard to the latter.

KESRI (Lahore) Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Sikhs and Hindus.

14. The *Kesri* of the 14th March states that it is being complained that cases of insult [by Sikhs] to Hindu gods and goddesses in Hindu temples are becoming very frequent. The Sikhs should see that such incidents do not occur in future, while they should express their disapproval and condemnation of those that have already taken place. The Hindus should be assured that no further insults will be offered to their gods and goddesses. They also want that full reparation should be made for past insults.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The *kirpan*.

15. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 11th March writes:—"The terms in which the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sundar Singh has replied, on behalf of the Government, to the interpellations of Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh bearing on the manufacture of *kirpans*, are very disappointing. This in fact means going back on the order exempting the *kirpan* from the Arms Act. For could not the Sikhs wear *kirpans* of not longer dimensions than now specified? We are sorry the Hon'ble Member has not been able to fully represent the cause of the *kirpan* of the Sikhs. There should have been placed no such invidious restrictions on the size of the *kirpan* as have been done now. Sri Takht Akal Sahib, Amritsar, still preserves some specimens of the *kirpans* worn by the Gurus and the Sikhs of times following. Could not they give the Government the necessary direction? We enter our strong protest against the unwarranted restrictions placed on the size of the *kirpan*."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 17th March writes:—"Great dissatisfaction and indignation is prevailing in the Panth about the queer statement made by the Hon'ble S. B. S. Sundar Singh Majithia in the Punjab Legislative Council in reply to a question . . . . about the recent prosecution of *kirpan* manufacturers in Lahore . . . . The enforcing of size for one of our religious symbols is interference pure and simple in our religious affairs from which Government had better refrain, if they wish to be faithful to the promises made by our Sovereign. One may, however, remark, that they have been worldly wise enough to give us such a disappointing reply through a Sikh member."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Tonk State.

16. The *Kesri* of the 13th March says that reports about the oppression practised in the Tonk State have been coming in for two months past. The British Government is very anxious that the Armenians should not be oppressed by the Turks, while it feels for the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Arabia also. It does not, however, care for the oppressed people in Tonk, who are becoming tired of life and are tyrannised in different ways.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

"A pro-drink campaign."

17. The *Tribune* of the 16th March has the following:—"The *Police Gazette* of Behar and Orissa had the following in a special issue:—'In these days when the teetotalling campaign is gaining considerable ground and 'pussyfootism' is

becoming the accepted creed of an increasing number of people, it is well to point out the value of wine, both as a food and as a medicine. Many great men of the past were wine-drinkers—Moses, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, Shakespeare, Watt, Gladstone, Bismarck, Tennyson, etc. A man who drinks wine with his meals should take less solids than the man who drinks only water.' The authorities in India have always been solicitous about the maintenance intact of their excise revenue. But this is the first time that any of them have gone so far as to carry on actual propagandism in favour of the drink habit. And the strangest part of the thing is that so far the only province where this is known to have been done is the province which has a distinguished Indian as its Governor. Who will explain this extraordinary phenomenon ?"

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Afghanistan.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

1. (*a*) Referring to the reported agreement between the Bolsheviks and Afghans, the *Kesri* of the 17th March says that Afghanistan also has preferred the Bolsheviks to the English. Persia and Afghanistan are situated near the borders of India and it is really deplorable for the English that these countries have made an alliance with their [of the English] admitted enemies, the Bolsheviks. This is ascribable to the policy which the English are following in regard to Muhammadan kingdoms. They should change this policy as soon as possible.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 18th March says that Jamal Pasha has been appointed war minister in Afghanistan, and an alliance has been concluded between the Afghans and Bolsheviks. After remarking that facts and reports go clearly to show which way the wind is blowing, the paper states that, according to Reuter, the *Times* has received from Riga information to the effect that an Afghan deputation headed by General Kaiser Muhammad Khan has reached Moscow and assured the Russian republic that if the Bolsheviks intend to invade India, Afghanistan will not stand in their way. We are at a loss to understand what has become of the admitted political sagacity of British statesmen. The whole world is at present bent upon opposing the British Government. Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, Ireland, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia and all independent states in the central east are hostile to the English. Even the allies of the last-named—the French and Italians—are not satisfied with them. Afghanistan alone stood in the way of the Bolsheviks spreading their movement in Asia. This obstacle also has been removed and the Bolsheviks and Turkish liberals can now freely invade India. God alone knows what the world will have to witness in consequence of the high-handed, unwise and strange policy pursued by Great Britain. At any rate, there has now been left no likelihood of the maintenance and stability of the British imperial prestige in India. British statesmanship has become bankrupt.

Indians in South Africa.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. Commenting on the report of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission, the *Tribune* of the 25th March says:—"The Enquiry Commission seeks to perpetuate the existin

policy of separation and segregation with all their racial discriminations against Indians, with this difference that the method it advocates is 'voluntary encouragement' and not 'compulsion.' It is difficult to see how any Asiatic or Indian resident in South Africa can be expected to voluntarily place himself under the disabilities he has all along been complaining of. We are forced to the conclusion that there is absolutely no difference beween the end and aim of the anti-Indian agitators of South Africa and the policy recommended by the Enquiry Commission, and that the 'voluntary encouragement' is a mere euphemism for indirect compulsion. . . . It will be seen, therefore, that an Indian subject of the King in South Africa, though born and bred there, is no better than an alien—a mere Asiatic—who has to live by the sufferance of his European fellow-subjects, in such localities as may be assigned to him and practise such trade or art as may be allowed him within certain defined enclosures—separated and segregated like an outcaste, and never rising to the full height of freedom. All the same, he has to pay taxes and meet other obligations of a citizen of the State and Empire equally with his European superiors. In spite of the strong case made in favour of them, the Enquiry Commission recommends not the repeal of the objectionable laws but the carrying out of segregation and separation in a particular manner. It can be no satisfaction to Indians in South Africa that no compulsory segregation, separation or repatriation will be continued, but that their rights as free citizens will be restricted under a different name and in some other form. They have to carry on trade and agriculture only within a certain zone fixed for them by their white competitors and they can only own such property as will be allowed by the latter. Whatever may be the process by which these may be carried out, the restraints and restrictions are still there and they only give the status of helots to Indians. How this decision can be reconciled with the various statements of British Ministers that India is already an equal partner to the Empire we fail to understand. India must strongly protest against the recommendations of the Enquiry Commission and must be unceasing in her efforts to secure to her sons abroad perfect equality of rights and privileges with the European subjects of the King."

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore);
K. N. Roy, editor.

The Emigration Bill.

3. The *Tribune* of the 1st April writes:—"At a recent meeting of the Legislative Assembly Mr. Innes introduced a new Emigration Bill making certain important changes in the present policy of the Government of India which, as the people are aware, has failed to protect the interests of those Indians who have emigrated to the Dominions and the British Colonies." . . . Next the paper summarises the provisions of the Bill and concludes as follows:—"While welcoming the change in the Government of India's emigration policy and its anxiety to secure to future emigrants equality of status in the Dominions and the Colonies we hope that no scheme of State-aided emigration will be adopted unless and until the question has been thoroughly examined from the people's point of view by their trusted representatives and spokesmen in and outside the country."

KESRI (Lahore);
Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

4. Referring to the intended visit of the Prince of Wales to India the *Kesri* of the 17th March says that His Royal Highness is coming as the guest of the Government of India, with which the people do not wish to coöperate. It is to be feared, therefore, that they will be unable to accord him the hearty welcome which his exalted position requires. Were the Prince to come as their guest, however, they would spare no pains to accord him such a welcome. Besides, what is His Royal Highness coming to India for? If, like the Duke of Connaught, he has only to praise Government officers, we are doubtful about his visit proving a success. If, however, he is to look into Indian affairs from the Indian standpoint, then his visit will prove successful and is a desideratum.

TRIBUNE (Lahore);
K. N. Roy, editor.

Lord Chelmsford.

5, (*a*) The following occurs in a long article in the *Tribune* of the 29th March on Lord Chelmsford's viceroyalty:—"That Lord Chelmsford was not a Viceroy of the better sort scarcely needs saying. No one, not even his blindest admirer, could find in him a trace of the qualities of head and heart that distinguished a Canning, a Ripon or a Hardinge. . . . What most discerning people discovered long ago was that Lord Chelmsford, as Viceroy, was scarcely better than soft clay which changes its form and shape not according to its own will but according to the will of the potter who may for the time being have it in his hands..... If Lord Chelmsford has been one of the least notable of Indian Viceroys, his viceroyalty has been among the most noteworthy. No previous viceroyalty indeed has been half as brimful of events of the greatest and most far-reaching importance as the one on which the curtain is about to drop..... But what part has Lord Chelmsford himself played in bringing about this wonderful transformation?.... He has never encouraged, far less sought to aid, it. He has only provoked it.... It is God, who in all these cases, has turned the evil in his policy and measures to his good, as God always does when the time for great changes in human affairs is ripe..... The one exception to the otherwise dismal record is His Excellency's part in the formulation of the reform scheme..... We cannot pretend to feel sorry, even in a conventional sense, for the termination of a viceroyalty so little redeemed either by a knowledge of the people's needs or by a sympathy with the people's true aspirations, or by a noble endeavour to render unto the people the things that are theirs, their birthright of equality and freedom."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(b) The *Sikh* of the 31st March writes:—"It will be generally recognised that personally the retiring Viceroy is endowed with many virtues. But as a statesman, his career must be pronounced a gloomy failure. No doubt, he 'coöperated' with Mr. Montagu in carrying through the reforms. But the exact share and the manner and method of his coöperation can be readily estimated when we consider the terms of the despatch of the Government of India on the scheme, and their striking divergence at several important points from the report which he jointly signed with Mr. Montagu.... The most splendid office under the British Crown has, under Lord Chelmsford's incompetence, had its lustre dimmed to an extent without a parallel even in the theatrical collapse of the Lytton regime. He leaves the finances of the country in utter chaos, the good faith of British rule openly doubted, and the orientation of Indian politics showing marked signs of departing from its traditionary direction. On one matter, it should be said in fairness to His Excellency, the retiring Viceroy has taken a strong line. It is in respect of the position of Indians overseas.... The gratitude of the country is due to His Excellency for this service."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Government and non-coöperation.

6. (a) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 27th March:—"What is or rather has of late been the policy of the Government of India towards the non-coöperation movement?.... To quote from Sir William Vincent's speech [on the subject in the Legislative Assembly] one of the latest instructions to the local Governments is that they are to 'vigorously prosecute under the ordinary law all persons making seditious speeches'. Obviously there is no question here of either impending or actual outbreak of disorder. Men have only to make what the bureaucracy is pleased to regard as seditious speeches to be vigorously prosecuted. And since neither the criminal law and procedure of the country, nor the atmosphere in which trials are held, nor the spirit and temper of the judiciary have undergone any immediate alteration as a result of the reforms, this means in plain English that the local Governments are to be able to prosecute and to obtain the convictions of whomsoever they choose, and the liberty of independent public men, whether critics of the Government or passionate advocates of complete freedom for their people, is to be as much a matter of sufferance on the part of the bureaucracy as it has been during the last forty years or so.... And the immunity from prosecution which public speakers and writers enjoy to-day may be jeopardised any moment if a fit of temporary madness takes possession of high officials as it did only two years ago in our own province. And the worst of it is that prosecution is not the only method of repression open to officials. There are provisions in the ordinary law—section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code for instance—which are just as repressive in their tendency as actual prosecution, and the effect of the Government of India's action in giving to the local Governments the *carte blanche* it has done is naturally to encourage them to resort to these sections whenever they can. No one can say that the local authorities in any province, with the sole exception of Bombay, have been slow to avail themselves of the particular weapon thus placed in their hands.... [Lord Chelmsford] made his Calcutta speech

nearly a month after the Government of India had issued its latest instructions to the local Governments. In other words, at the very time when His Excellency was telling his audience in Calcutta in effect that the Government's present policy was summed up in the words 'carry on a counter propaganda' and 'remove every grievance that it is possible to remove' the local Governments were in possession of instructions from the Government of India, one of which meant neither more nor less than complete freedom to them in the matter of repressive prosecutions and other repressive actions, provided only these were taken under the ordinary law. Who will reconcile the two actions of His Excellency, his sanctioning a policy of possible repression as head of the Government of India in January and his disavowal of any present intention of following a repressive policy in a post-prandial speech in February ?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. ROY, editor.

(b) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"'Government's policy,' said Sir William in winding up the debate, 'is this. Meet the legitimate demands of the people. Strengthen moderate opinion. Make the reforms a reality. Remove agrarian and other grievances. We go out of our way even at the sacrifice of efficiency in order to satisfy legitimate demands, but at the same time where we have disorders and incitements to disorder, either direct or indirect, we should punish them.'... Where the present policy does seem to differ from the more wholesome policy of the November resolution is that while in that resolution an outbreak of disorder, impending or actual, was made a condition precedent to repressive action, in the present case the condition laid down is 'incitement to disorder, direct or indirect', which is a much more vague thing. Why this change for the worse ? But there is a more important and even more pertinent question to ask. If this is the Government's present policy, how are the recent measures of local Governments and local officials to be defended ? It was for no disorders or incitements to disorder that action was taken against Mr Yakub Hassan in Madras, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and Babu Rajendra Prasad in Bihar, Mr. C. R. Das in Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai in the Frontier Province, to name only the more prominent of the persons against whom action of one kind or another has been taken ... And secondly, what about the proclamations under the Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab and under both this Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Delhi ? The resolution which the Council accepted at the instance of the Home Secretary was that 'the Government should, as far as possible, avoid resorting to any proceedings under exceptional legislation in dealing with the non-coöperation movement.' Now clearly the Government can neither take shelter behind the words 'as far as possible' nor assert that the proclamations in question had nothing to do with the non-coöperation movement. The latter would be obviously untrue, and the former obviously disingenuous."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(c) The *Partap* of the 18th March says that the policy now pursued by Government is taking the country nearer to *satyagraha*. If the District Magistrate, Mymensing, can order a patriot like Mr. Das not to enter the bounds of his districts, if Jowahir Lal Nehru can be prevented from entering Sultanpur, if Srimati Satyawati can be prohibited from speaking on female education, and if Mr. Muhammad Ali and Maulana Sherwani can be ordered to make no speeches in the Aligarh district, then we are justified in arriving at the conclusion that Government wishes to crush the non-coöperation movement with the aid of repression. This being so the country has no other alternative than to wield the weapon of *satyagraha* and refuse to obey such improper orders. Continuing, the paper says that it is undoubtedly difficult to understand the policy which Government is pursuing in these days. It says that non-coöperation has proved a failure ; but if this is really so, why is it resorting to repression ? And if repression has so far failed to suppress the movement, will it prove more successful now ? Government should give up its present policy, at least from the thought of not adding to the difficulties of the new Viceroy.

(d) Elsewhere the paper refers to a recent press *communique* issued by the United Provinces Government on the subject of non-coöperation and says that Government is clearly bent on openly crushing the movement. The editor does not object to the United Provinces Government urging its servants warmly to oppose the propaganda : he merely says that justice demands that the supporters of non-coöperation also should have the fullest freedom to spread their movement and should not be subjected to repression.

Muhammadans and Non-coöperation.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

7. The *Vedic Magazine* for March has the following:—"The treaty of Sevres is going to be revised and Mr. Chhotani and Dr. Ansari—two staunch and out and out non-coöperationists—have been selected by the Government of India to represent India at the inter-allied conference. What a notable triumph of non-coöperation!... We are confident that even if the demands of the Muslims in regard to Khilafat are fully met, Muslims will not turn away from the non-coöperation movement. They will not kick away the ladder which alone has enabled them to scale certain heights. Non-coöperation will continue so long as *swarajya* is not obtained, for short of complete Home Rule there can be no guarantee that grievous wrongs such as those of the Khilafat and the Punjab will not be repeated.

Indians and self-government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

8. The *Bande Mataram* of the 31st March states that Sir William Vincent remarked in the course of his recent speech on non-coöperation that as Indians were unable to defend their country they could not receive self-government. Commenting, it says that the country was disarmed and Indians were not taken into volunteer corps even on repeated requests. They were rendered effete, cowardly and helpless in every way, and are now tauntingly told that they cannot defend themselves. They can, in spite of being in a state of such helplessness, save the English on battlefields in France, but cannot defend themselves! Can there be greater injustice than this? If the fetters of India were removed, her sons were allowed to join a national army and military colleges were opened in every province, she would show what she is capable of accomplishing. Indians would not only defend themselves with the sword, but would also protect England against every danger.

India's military expenditure.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

9. The *Kesari* of the 18th March says that the people of India have been crying that the present military expenditure is unbearable for them. They pray to be relieved of the burden, but Government goes on adding to it still further. Next the paper refers to the Commander-in-Chief's recent remark in the Legislative Assembly that Government could lessen the cost on the army only when India was immune from a Bolshevik attack. But what we have so far learnt about Bolshevism enables us to assert without fear of contradiction that it is not troops that are required to check the movement. This object can be gained only by promoting the prosperity of the ruled. Government thinks that it has made India safe and protected her against the Bolsheviks by increasing her military expenditure. It ignores the fact, however, that by doing so it is creating such unrest in the country as spells greater danger than even Bolshevism. The Commander-in-Chief further stated that Government would consider the question of reducing the military expenditure only when a satisfactory treaty had been concluded between Great Britain and Afghanistan. It is strange that poor Indians should suffer even for misunderstandings between the two countries or through the failure of the Afghan and Indian Governments to agree on certain points.

The Punjab Legislative Council.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The *Tribune* of the 31st March writes:—"The playing off of one community and set of interests against another, of Brahmans against non-Brahmins, of Hindus against Muhammadans and of both against Sikhs in the Punjab, and the creation of separate rural and urban constituencies for the first time in the constitutional history of India were regarded with apprehensions, which could not be said to be altogether unjustifiable, by the political classes.... There is no doubt that the Councils would have been much better, had the non-coöperation movement not deprived them of the services of some of the best brains of the country, and had the fixing of the franchise and the grouping of constituencies been fairer and more rational. But that does not mean that the new Councils are not a distinct advance on their predecessors. Both these remarks are specially true of the Punjab, where the bureaucracy did its utmost to neutralise and circumscribe the effects of a popular and direct franchise and where the non-coöperation movement kept most of the popular and capable leaders—whose number was all too small—away from the Council.... It was hardly to be expected that the best men would be returned to the Council. Nor could it be expected that the members could take concerted action in all important matters. Among the members

of the Council, there are several who cannot intelligently follow the proceedings, much less form a reasoned opinion on several questions that come up before it for discussion. Some of these members are absolutely illterate and cannot even sign their own names, and several are innocent of the English language..... Among other things, this state of affairs has led to at least one distinct disadvantage, *viz.*, the duplication of proceedings. The speeches delivered in English have to be translated into Urdu for the benefit of these members, which necessarily involves a waste of the valuable time of the Council. The inevitable result of this procedure is that several important resolutions have been left over for want of time.... As was but natural, the most important result of separating the rural from urban areas has been that, wherever possible, attempts have been made in the Council to fight out important questions on a rural *versus* urban basis. On several questions, the interests of the zamindars as contra-distinguished from the interests of the townspeople have been used as the battle-cry by several rural members, and not without some effect. It was on this basis that certain items of expenditure proposed to be incurred in connection with fresh settlements of certain districts were disallowed, and several members expressed the view that the zamindars were already paying more into the Government exchequer than they got from it. As a matter of fact, it would not be a matter for surprise if the Council, constituted as it is, were to insist on some sort of a permanent settlement of land and decide that all additional burden of taxation should be laid on the urban areas..... This tendency to accentuate the all but artificial distinction between the interests of the rural and the urban population of the province is fraught with great danger, and ought to be put down before it assumes a definite and organised shape, which would jeopardise the best interests of the province and the smooth working of the Council. In spite of all these reactionary influences pulling in the opposite direction, it must be admitted that the Council has got some good members, who would have been an acquisition to any Council, and has come to certain creditable decisions. But these members, who put the people's side of the case before the Council, have to fight against great odds, in spite of the fact that the Council has a non-official elected majority."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

The Nankana riot.

11. (*a*) The *Vedic Magazine* for March writes :—"[The Mahant] had, we are told, arms, he had collected ammunition, he was surrounding himself with ruffians. Government officials ought to have aquainted themselves with this state of affairs. The bureaucracy cannot claim that it has advanced the bounds of liberty. But it does claim that it is the only agency in India which is competent to maintain law and order ; in fact, it is in the name of law and order that some of its members defend repressive legislation and seek to devise fetters for the bodies, intellects and souls of the Indian people. Was it not the duty of the local officials to watch the movements of the Mahant, especially when it was known even to the man in the street that mischief was brewing which would, if not prevented in time, result in some tragic occurrence? The Punjab Government ought, in the interests of the reputation of the bureaucracy, to order an exhaustive inquiry. If no inquiry is held, the suspicions of the Indian community will not be allayed. As regards the Sikhs, we think that those of them that are strict non-cooperators cannot, with any consistency, seek the protection of British courts of justice even at this critical moment. If British courts cannot be let alone, we cannot carry on any effective progamme of non-coöperation. We know that the Sikhs are being asked to perform a very great sacrifice, but the goal of national destiny cannot be attained without enormous sacrifices."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) "N. S. G." writes to the *Sikh* of the 20th March under the heading "Government beware!":—"While the Government should have left no stone unturned in diagnosing the evil remedying it even at a great expense of its power or prestige, it not only piously wishes to see the non coöperation movement die a natural death but is giving it a keen edge, perhaps unintentionally, by adding to the wrongs and blunders it has already committed. In the case of Muslims, the ground for non-coöperation already stands there and their Khilafat question is yet unsolved to their irritation and anger. The Congress or Hindu leaders wanted nothing short of *Swaraj* or Home rule, the Punjab wrongs spurred them to cry for it in no time by means of non-coöperation. So long the recognised Sikh leaders had stood aside with all the host of their living following. But because the Government has not recognised the gravity of the Nankana Sahib tragedy as it ought to have and is giving weight to imposters whose name we only read the other day in newspapers aspiring to win name and fame, it is only alienating the sympathies of those who have been for coöperation throughout. The greater wrong (at Nankana Sahib) than the Punjab wrongs is exercising the Sikh heart to its utmost capacity and is on the verge of breaking it. A stitch in time saves nine. Let Government attend to all the horrible atrocities enacted at the most sacred of all the sacred places for the Sikhs of Guru Nanak, and punish all the culprits, including the officials if they are guilty of dereliction of their duties, before it is too late. . . The Sikhs are a religious-minded people. They will yield to none, when the places of their religious worship are openly disgraced and most sacrilegeously treated by any people on earth. . . We fear that the Government may not make another error of judgment and drive the coöperating leaders to take to non-coöperation."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(c) The following is extracted from the *Sikh* of the 24th March:—"Would that Sir Edward Maclagan examined the *communiques* [charging Sikhs with intimidating and robbing people, desecrating the images of Hindu gods and even mosques and molesting women] side by side with the public reports and realised what an injustice has been and is being further done to an innocent community with all his assurance of doing 'full justice.' Poor people! They have lost about two hundred brethren in faith, and are themselves being persecuted instead of getting justice against the murderers. They are now at the mercy of the police officers against whom they have openly made complaints of partiality."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Factories Act.

12. One M. R. SURAPH writes to the *Tribune* of the 26th March:—"Factory-owners must have noticed that the Factory Act is going to be amended so as to bring all small factories under the operation thereof. The existing Boiler and Factory Acts are not already insufficient to hamper the progress of indigenous industries. . . Small industries were so far safe. Now the Factory Act is going to be amended to fill up the gap and to bring all small industries under the same. . . . It is high time, therefore, that factory-owners should raise their voice and make a strong united protest against the amendment. . . . The said amendment is very detrimental to small industries and must not be allowed to be carried. . . . The amendment should rather be to the effect that the said Act should not be applied to factories employing less then fifty men *on an average* (not on *any one day* in the year as was provided in the Act.)"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Salaries of railway officials.

13. The *Tribune* of the 20th March writes:—"Generally speaking, the discrepancy between the salaries of officials in the higher appointments and those of the workers in the subordinate grades in India is more marked in all departments than is the case in any other part of the world, but the Indian railways are the worst offenders in this respect. During the debates on the Provincial and Imperial budgets one hears a good deal of stress being laid on the need for retrenchment in the interests of economising the administrative expenditure. The railway department affords a useful field in respect of which our legislators may profitably exercise their argumentative powers and financial skill, not necessarily in the way of effecting a curtailment under the salaries head, but with the object of securing a more equitable distribution of the total amount allocated to that head." Next the paper goes into figures and continues:—"It is up to the railway authorities either to give some satisfactory explanation of the discrepancy revealed by the above figures or abrogate the practice of giving preferential treatment to Europeans and Anglo-Indians at the expense of the children of the soil. . . There are two departments where racial discrimination, particularly in the higher appointments, is practically as rampant to-day as it was a quarter of a century ago. The commissioned ranks in the army are all but in name, closed to the Indians on "political" grounds, the higher posts in the railway department are reserved for Europeans on economic grounds, using the last term as denoting financial gain to Europeans at the expense of Indians.

HAMDARD (Lahore); Muzaffar Hussain editor,

Patwáris.

14. The *Hamdard* of the 15th March writes that Patwáris have to suffer great hardships in their old age in consequence of their getting no retiring pension.

The paper suggests that they should, like railway employés, receive bonuses on retirement.

IV.—COMMNUAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor,

The *gurdwara* movement.

15. (*a*) The following is form the March number of the *Vedic Magazine*:—"The Nankana tragedy was, no doubt, prompted by fear on the part of the pampered and voluptuous Mahant that his *gurdwara* would be forcibly taken possession of by Akali parties. That there are abuses in the administration of Sikh *gurdwaras*, which loudly cry out for reform, is beyond question. But the point is whether organised society can go on, if sections of the population were to right their wrongs, without processes of law and by show of force. If non-coöperation had not been decided upon, the Government was the only agency competent to redress the grievances of the Sikhs against their Mahants and to decide all disputes as to rights to ecclesiastical property. Now the only reasonable course is to wait till the attainment of *swarajya* or to secure this worthy object by bringing the pressure of organised public opinion upon the Mahants. If the Khalsa proletariat can be effectively organised, the Mahants can be brought to their knees in no time."

BRAHMAN SAMACHAR (Lahore); Vidya Ratan Prachar, editor,

(*b*) The *Brahman Samachar* of the 9th March complains that the *gurdwara* movement is intended, in the first place, to oust all Mahants who do not wear long hair and are Brahman or Khatri by caste, and to replace them by *kesdharis*. After remarking that the second object in view is to remove all images of Hindu gods from *gurdwaras*, the paper says that so far *gurdwaras* had been regarded as the common sacred places of the Hindus and Sikhs, but that now they are going to be imbued with the neo-Sikh spirit. The cruel and savage deed of the Nankana Mahant deserves condemnation by all, still is it not right that the passing of *gurdwaras* into the hands of neo-Sikhs would not be good for orthodox Hindus? Have they or their newspapers ever considered the consequences to which the unreasoning movement in question is likely to lead?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor,

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 17th March says that it is painful to see that Sikhs desirous of purging their *gurdwaras* of debauchery are being sent to jail. Do not Indians, asks the paper, enjoy even enough religious freedom to remove evil-doers from *gurdwaras* and replace them by virtuous men? If Government does not grant this right to the Sikhs to-day, this means that the Hindus and Muhammadans will be unable to change *pujaris* and *imams*, respectively [to-morrow]. If Government wished to interfere in the affairs of *gurdwaras* it should have done so when the Mahant of Nankana was building a castle to slaughter Sikhs under the very nose of its officers. It is now exceedingly shameful on its part to arrest Sikhs on the plea that they are causing disturbances in the neighbourhood of Nankana. It says that since it is framing a law relating to *gurdwaras* and other *wakf* properties the Sikhs should keep quiet. This means that because a law is about to be passed the Sikhs should, for the present, allow evil acts to be done in their *gurdwaras*. If any disturbance has so far been caused it has been the work of Granthis and Mahants, who wish improperly to retain permanent possession of *gurdwaras*. Government should have arrested them and not law-abiding Sikhs. The paper then congratulates the Sikhs on the courage displayed by them and suggests that they should continue their efforts to take their *gurdwaras* out of the hands of evil and wicked men without minding the present arrests.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor,

(*d*) The following occurs in the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 18th March:—"In view of apprehension of the possibility of *attacks* (mark the significance of the word 'attacks' being made on other well-known shrines and the possibility of such 'attacks') being met by violent resistence, the Government has authorised District Magistrates to attach the shrines under section 145, Cr. P. C. In this connection we ask the following questions of those who have shown their unusual readiness to attach the religious institutions of the Sikhs to Governments:—

"(1) In view of the Government's apprehension as to the possibility of 'such attack being met by violent resistance' would the Government please show what steps it has taken to disarm beforehand those who contemplate violent resistance.

"(2) Has it searched the houses of the possible violent resisters and taken possession of the arms of violent resistance?

"(3) Has it bound down with bails those who, it expects, contemplate to offer violent resistance?

"(4). A reply to these queries has become incumbent upon the Government by reason of its having made elaborate military provisions to guard against any possible 'attacks,' which implies a slur on the peaceful Khalsa.

"Apart from this there is a question about the legal jurisdiction of the law of the land to encroach upon the domain of religion. We have not studied the law very minutely on this point and so we cannot give our verdict from a legal point, but from the terms of the repeated royal proclamations we have no hesitation in saying that religious freedom stands beyond the jurisdiction of the law of the land. . . . To us it seems that all these attempts to apply the mundane laws to the domain of religion and spirit are only a prelude to strenuous efforts which are contemplated to be made to bring these religious shrines of all the subject races somehow or other under the control of the Government and within purview of its enacted laws. This would amount to going back on the pledged word of the sovereign to maintain strict neutrality in the religious affairs of the Indian peoples. . . . We wish our countrymen Hindus, Muslim, Sikhs, Jains and Christians—to fully realize the far-reaching consequences of any legislation to curtail our religious liberties which would shortly come up for their discussion. It is deplorable that Government should be so very anxious to secure its upper hand even in the religious affairs of others."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(e) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"We enter our strong protest against the indiscriminate campaign of prosecution of the Sikhs on which the paternal Government has embarked. Highly respectable and absolutely innocent devoted Sikh workers have been accused and arrested under offences of an abominable nature. The sooner the Government called a halt to this ill-advised campaign the better for both the ruler and the ruled."

(f) In its issue dated the 25th March the paper refers to the provision of Rs. 1,15,217 for temporary additional police 'rendered necessary by the disturbed state of the central Punjab particularly by the disputes regarding the management of the *gurdwaras*', and comments as follows:—"We know it is the primary duty of the Government to maintain law and order but surely it is no duty of the Government to first rake up old sores and then step in to apply the healing balm. This is no honest game. Since the Government has authorised District Magistrates to take up action under section 145 and attach the *gurdwaras* where they are satisfied there exists reasonable ground of disturbance of the public peace, the police and local authorities have found a congenial occupation and their activities have grown brisker than before. Now in order to create these reasonable grounds the debauched, and profligate Pujaries and Mahants are being encouraged to put in petitions against those who superseded them on the basis of which they may take action for crushing, with a vengeance, the *gurdwara* reform movement."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(g) The following occurs in the *Sikh* of the 24th March:—"It seems that Government have on further consideration regretted and repented their action in removing the restrictions on Namdharis; so they were thinking of imposing something similar if not more troublesome and humiliating, on the whole Sikh community in lieu of what they had withdrawn in case of that tiny sect. They are therefore to be congratulated on their successfully passing, with the help of the Hindu and Muhammadan members of the Punjab Legislative Council, a demand of Rs. 1,15,217 for the maintenance of extra police for the preservation of peace in the central Punjab (Sikh Punjab) as well as in connection with the Sikh *gurdwaras* . . . Would that the Muhammadan supporters of the resolution realised that the cause of Sikh *gurdwaras* was as dear to us as the Khilafat cause was to them and were just enough to remember the hearty support which the Sikhs had given them in the latter."

(h) Writing in the *Sikh* of the 24th March PRINCIPAL JODH SINGH says:—"*Gurdwaras* as distinct from Sikh charitable trusts must be managed according to the principles promulgated by the Sikh religion, and if the reforms fall short of that, the trouble will surely increase. The Sikhs cannot and will not accept a compromise, because it is a question of religion and not of politics; therefore, before taking legislation in hand it is clearly the duty of the

Government to ascertain clearly what Sikh religion ordains in these matters. I, for one, do not admit that there are any sects in Sikh religion. But supposing there are, *gurdwaras* belong to the whole community and not to sects, and the just representation of each sect on the management will be according to the number of Sikhs that compose that sect. Certainly if tomorrow a man creates a new schism and gets a handful of men as his followers he could not claim equal rights. With those who have thousands and hundreds of thousands in their folds, Sikh *gurdwaras* are not trusts in the ordinary sense of the term. They belong to the whole community and if it ever comes to ascertaining the wishes of the community in the matter, numbers must tell. I would therefore, request the Government to ascertain carefully what sects, if any, there are in Sikhism and what is the number of the adherents of each ?"

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*i*) " A SIKH " writes to the *Sikh* of the 31st March :—" Government can very well interfere to preserve peace and order, but to interfere in such matters as Nankana Sahib, Lahore, Manak, etc., has distinctly been an interference in religious matters. In other words, the Government have been trying by this interference to strengthen the Mahant party, who have proved unfit and worthless beings. The *gurdwara* movement has purely been a religious one and to interfere in that is clearly violating the ' Royal Promise ' given in Her Majesty Queen Victoria's announcement after the Mutiny of 1857. If the Government do not allow the Sikhs to manage their *gurdawaras* in a befitting manner who else will be entrusted with this work ? The Sikh hearts have been burning and will no longer bear any kind of interference from any community. The Sikhs have suffered sufficiently for their negligence in this matter. If the Government are very fond of interference why do they not pay any attention to those *gurdwaras* which have been locked, etc., by bigoted Hindus simply to injure the feelings of the Sikhs ?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

(*j*) The following is taken from a communication from SARDAR JOGENDRA SINGH published in the *Tribune* of the 24th March :—" Long inaction on the part of Government had resulted in the belief that the Government was not likely to help [the Sikhs] by passing new laws for the better administration of the *gurdwaras*. A band of Sikhs under the name of Akali Jatha resolved to force a decision and to suffer the consequences if necessary. All great movements seek freedom from laws and conventions which have lost the spirit and the breath of life and the nobility of the ideal is generally the justification of such movements. . . . The Government recognised the justice of the Sikh cause and abstained from interfering, but was not quick enough to enact new laws. . . The result was the tragic events at Nankana Sahib which no one could have anticipated or foreseen. . . . I would submit . . . . that while Bhai Kartar Singh and other gentlemen [arrested] may have come technically within the purview of the law, yet the criminal element in their acts is very different from that which would lead to the application of sections which have been enforced . . . . I would, therefore, strongly urge that bail should be allowed to all men recently arrested and no prosecution started pending settlement. I am convinced that there would be no difficulty in obtaining an assurance that there would be no further attempt to force possession, particularly if the Sikh community is satisfied that steps are being taken to place the administration of *gurdwaras* on a suitable basis. The release on bail of these gentlemen would be most acceptable to the Sikhs and would be a proof of the sympathy of Government with them in the difficult position of which they have been placed."

(*k*) The *Tribune* of the 25th March writes :—" The one alternative before the Government, ... is to proceed resolutely to enact a measure suited to the emergency that has arisen. And happily this is the alternative which the Government has chosen. But the course has two obvious implications. The first is that the new law must be not only intrinsically just and equitable, but must be acceptable to the parties concerned. The second and no less important implication is that in dealing with the persons charged with the perpetration of excesses during the last few weeks, the Government should not fail to take into account the circumstances under which those excesses were perpetrated, the inadequancy of the law which the Government itself recognises, the strong desire on the part of the community that the Gurdwaras should be purified and reformed, and last but not less the crime at Nankana Sahib, which has apparently unhinged some minds. . . . Bail should be allowed to all persons who have been recently arrested and no more prosecutions should be started pending settlement.... It is their [the Sikhs'] clear duty to co-operate with the Government in enacting a law which while meeting their own purpose, shall be consonant with enquiry and shall have due regard for the just interests of communities. If they fail to do this, they will put themselves as much in the wrong as the Government will put itself if it either remains inactive or fails to strengthen their hands by taking the preliminary steps we have suggested, and will have only themselves to thank if the Government, baffled in its just purpose, has no choice left but to enforce the existing law. Secondly, pending the enactment of the new law they must make a resolute effort to suspend the activities associated with *gurdwaras* movement and all attempts to force possession should cease."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*l*) Writing about the proposed *gurdwara* legislation to the *Tribune* of the 26th March PROFESSOR TEJA SINGH says :—" 2. Intervention by Government or any non-Sikhs in the management or administration of *gurdwaras* will be considered as an encroachment on the religious liberty of the Sikhs and cannot be tolerated.

" It appears from recent pronouncements that the Government intends to appoint Commissioners, similar to the Charity Commissioners in England, to enquire into cases of dispute and, if necessary, to take charge of *gurdwaras*. This will be only a veiled extension of the present defective law, under which *gurdwaras* are being attached and which treats the whole Sikh Panth, the rightful owner, as a mere party against its servants, the mahants. The effect of such legislation will be that instead of one Sarbarah, whom the Sikhs have with great difficulty ousted, there will be many Sarbarahs; and instead of one Golden Temple, the Government will be controlling all Sikh temples. It will also be possible for non-Sikhs to be nominated, which is an outrage on Sikh faith and sentiment.

" 3. The Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is the central representative body of the Panth for the control and management of the Gurdwaras. This committee should exercise the rights of the Panth with regard to the Gurdwaras. It will, of course, work through Sub-Committees who may be allowed considerable latitude like the proposed Commissioners. Recognition of the position of the Siromani Gurdwara Committee is an essential condition to a satisfactory solution of the present problem.

" 4. One thing that is apt to be forgotten by the Government is that the Sikhs are anxious to exercise generosity along with equity towards all concerned with Sikh Gurdwaras. It should not be supposed that all incumbents, worthy or unworthy, will be ejected without consideration of their past work and present conduct ...

" 6. In order to facilitate the success of the proposed legislation, it is necessary to begin with a clean slate. The new law should be ushered in with the release of all the Sikhs arrested in connection with the *gurdwara* reform movement."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*m*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th March writes :—" While we recognise this honest attempt of those who wish to help the Sikhs in successfully carrying out the process of reformation of the doleful condition of their *gurdwaras*, we cannot help saying that no satisfactory provision has been made for giving the supreme and absolute authority to the Gurdwara Committee in adjudging disputes arising between the Pujaries themselves and between the Pujaris, Mahants, etc., and the Gurdwara Committee. We think the only tentative arrangement provided is that in case of such disputes arising they will be discussed and settled by a Board consisting of two members of the Gurdwara Committee, two members of the contending party and one Sikh Government official of not lower status than that of a senior Sub-Judge. In a way this arrangement leaves the final decision of such disputes in the hands of a Government official. We do not think the Sikh community would like, after all their heavy sacrifices, that Government should still retain its hand, somehow or other, in the control of their *gurdwaras*. We wish arrangements could be made to save the paternal Government the necessity which could give it the complexion of interference in the religion of the Sikhs by the Government."

(*n*) The following is from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st April :— " The world at large and particularly the Sikhs were given to believe that Government meant to withdraw their hand from the control and management of the centres of religion of the Sikhs. But who ever suspected that Government was to return armed with suffocating grip and squeezing arm of law. The Bill which the Punjab Government wishes to introduce and pass during the ensuing week fully inclines to confirm us in our misgivings. The Sikhs have been utterly disillusioned in their fond hopes and trust on Government. Government would under the new Act exercise complete control over our *gurdwaras*, 'disputed' ones of course. Is it the honest way of redeeming the Soverign's solemn pledge not to interfere in the religious affairs of his subject races? The Bill virtually sets at naught the absolute and supreme authority of the Guru Khalsa over their own centres of religion. It nullifies the title of the Gurdwara Committee to manage the *gurdwaras* and places all authority in the hands of the Government. The Bill, if passed, would mean the usurpation of power and authority. This is disgusting in the extreme. The Sikhs would regard the infliction of this abominable piece of legislation on them as a tyranny of most crucifying nature. We are sure the Sikhs would be no party to the passage of this anti-Sikh Bill, as it is, into act and not sign their own death warrant that would keep their hands and minds free to act in the best interests of the Panth."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

*Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

I. C. S nominations.

16. Writing about the coming Punjab nominations to the I. C. S., the *Tribune* of the 2nd April says :—"We do hope that communal considerations will not in any manner or degree weigh with the [Selection] Board as a ground for discrimination whether in favour of or against particular candidates. Last year the nominations made by the Board did seem to involve a discrimination against candidates belonging to one particular community, and that community, by universal admission, educationally the most advanced in the province. Such discrimination, however unintentional, was bound to produce the most unfortunate impression on the public mind, especially as some of the candidates, whose claims were overlooked, were highly deserving, and the opinion was freely expressed that although Sir Michael O'Dwyer was gone his spirit lingered behind, and that it was a punishment for its participation in the agitation of 1919 that the Hindu community was being made to suffer. Such an impression, highly regrettable at all times, is bound to do the greatest injury at the present time, when a new constitution has just been inaugurated; and it behoves the Board not only to do nothing that may strengthen this impression, but to do everything in its power to wipe it out."

Departmental Notice.

There was no issue of the Punjab Press Abstract for the week ending 26th March 1921.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 2nd April 1921.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1921.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. H. Hardy	*Civil & Military Gazette* Press, Lahore; 3,490.
2	**Tribune**	Do.	K. N. Rey	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 6,276.
	WEEKLY.			
3	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh, B.A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 888.
4	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	*Liberal* Press, Lahore; 1,000.
5	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 600.
6	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
7	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
8	**Sikh**	Lahore	Sohan Singh	Caxton Printing Works, Lahore; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
9	Cantonment Advocate	Ambala	Dwarka Parshad	Model Press, Ambala Cantonment;
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. B. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,850.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 700.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 462.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 300.
14	**Vedic Magazine**	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 465.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Aftab †**	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
17	**Bande Mataram**	Do.	Lajpat Rai	*Bande Mataram* Press, Lahore; 5,000.
18	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,270.
19	**Ittifaq†**	Do.	Ghulam Muhammad Khan	*Ittifaq* Press, Lahore; 490.
20	**Kesari**	Do.	Sham Lal, Kapur	Lal Steam Press, Lahore;
21	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,289.
22	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,500.
23	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 650.
24	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishen Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 400.
25	**Sidaqat†**	Lahore	Ghulam Haidar Khan	Sadhu Press, Lahore; 500.
26	**Siyasat**	Do.	Habib Shah	*Siyasat* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
27	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 700.
28	**Zamindar**	Lahore	Abdul Majid Khan	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore; 6,145.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
29	**Akhbar-i-Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mitter Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 1,475.
30	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 917.
31	Paigham-i-Sulah	Lahore	Murtza Khan	Muslim Ahmadia Printing Press, Lahore; 327.
32	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,695.
	TRI-WEEKLY.			
33	Bharat	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar;

†Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONTINUED.			
	WEEKLY.			
34	Ahl-i-Hadis	Amritsar	Sana Ulla	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,325.
35	Al-Hakam	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	S. Yakub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 500.
36	Al-Munir	Jhang	Ghulam Husain	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang; 1,525.
37	Ar-Rai	Lahore	Fateh Muhammad	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
38	Arorbans Sudharak	Do.	Salig Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 750.
39	Arya Gazette	Do.	Khushal Chand	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,225.
40	Brahman Samachar	Do.	Vidya Rattan	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 877.
41	Desh Upkarak	Do.	Thakur Dat Sharma	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
42	Dharm	Do.	Karam Chand Bahl	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
43	Faruq	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Qasim Ali	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 450.
44	Gulzar-i-Hind	Lahore	Ahmad Ali, Chishti	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
45	Himala	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 6,200.
46	India*	Gujranwala	Shamsher Singh, Khanjar, B.A.	People's Press, Lahore; 500.
47	Intikhab-i-Lajawab	Lahore	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 2,156.
48	Islah	Ludhiana	Sayad Yaseen	*Islah* Press, Ludhiana;
49	Ittihad	Amritsar	Maula Bakhsh, Kushta	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar; 300.
50	Jat Gazette	Rohtak	Molar Singh	Hariana Press, Rohtak; 691.
51	Jiwan Tat	Lahore	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 549.
52	Kapurthala Akhbar	Kapurthala	Zahid Husain	Jagatjit Press, Kapurthala; 300.
53	Kashmiri	Lahore	Muhammad Din, Fauq	George Steam Press, Lahore; 763.
54	Khalsa Akhbar	Do.	Sardar Singh	Mubarak Press, Lahore; 1,300.
55	Loyal Gazette	Do.	Amar Singh	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 3,000.
56	Municipal Gazette	Do.	Din Muhammad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 440.
57	Nur Afshan	Ludhiana	Rev. Dr. E. M. Wherry	Mission Steam Press, Ludhiana; 500.
58	Paisa Akhbar	Lahore	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 3,530.
59	Parkash	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,545.
60	Phul	Do.	Mumtaz Ali	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
61	Rajput Gazette	Do.	Sukhram Das	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,123.
62	Sadiq-ul-Akhbar	Bahawalpur	Muhammad Bashir	Sadiq-ul-Anwar Steam Press, Bahawalpur; 440.
63	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 630.
64	Sanatan Dharm Patrika	Lahore	Diwan Chand	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
65	Sharif Bibi	Do.	Fatima	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
66	Tahzib-i-Niswan	Do.	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,400.
67	Union Gazette	Do.	Shams-ud-Din	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore;
68	Victoria Paper	Sialkot	Brij Lal	*Victoria* Press, Sialkot; 1,000.
69	Virat	Gujranwala	Banke Dial	*Virat* Press, Gujranwala; 650.
70	Watan	Lahore	Akbar Shah Khan	Rafa-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 780.
71	Zulfiqar	Do.	Ahmad Shah Shamshi	Shamshi Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
72	Zamindar	Do.	Abdul Majid	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore;
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
73	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Abu Turab Muhammad Abdul Haq.	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 500.
74	Mukhbir	Do.	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar; 200.
75	Punjab	Lahore	Haji Shams Ali Shah	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.

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* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1921—CONTINUED.

	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
76	Al-Faqih ...	Amritsar ...	Hakim Miraj Din ...	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 300.
77	Al-Quraish ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 300.
78	Mister Gazette ...	Lahore ...	Ali Bakhsh ...	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 200.
79	Nur ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 417.
80	Paigham-i-Sarin ...	Lahore ...	Dogar Mal ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
81	Rajput Hitkari ...	Do. ...	Waswandhi Ram ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 875.
	MONTHLY.			
82	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra ...	Amritsar ...	Moti Ram ...	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 200.
83	Al Aziz ...	Batala ...	Ghulam Mohy-ud-din ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar; 500.
84	Al Burhan ...	Lahore ...	Muhammad Sibtain ...	Rafa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore; 325.
85	Anwar-us-Sufia ...	Do. ...	Hafiz Zafar Ali ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 800.
86	Bhatia Sewak ...	Do. ...	Mukand Lal ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 550.
87	Brahman Rai Patrika ...	Do. ...	Girdhar Rai, Bishwasi ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
88	Isha'at-i-Islam ...	Do. ...	Kh. Kamal Din ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
89	Masihi ...	Do. ...	...	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore;
90	Mehra Sudhar ...	Do. ...	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A. ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
91	Makhzan* ...	Do. ...	Ahsan Ullah, Tajwar ...	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 750.
92	Martand ...	Do. ...	Ram Lal ...	*Martand* Printing Press, Lahore; 1,065.
93	Mastana Jogi ...	Do. ...	Rai Sahib Sufi Lachhman Parshad.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
94	Oruj ...	Do. ...	Gian Singh ...	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore;
95	Prem Bilas ...	Gujranwala ...	Mittar Sen ...	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala; 800.
96	Qasid ...	Lahore ...	Najam Din ...	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
97	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Do. ...	Pir Bakhsh ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
98	Sanatan Dharm Parkash ...	Ferozepore City ...	Manohar Lal ...	Muir Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore Cantonment; 500.
99	Sat Sang ...	Amritsar ...	Gobind Ram ...	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar; 800.
100	Shiv Shambhu ...	Lahore ...	Gauri Shankar Lal ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 570.
101	Sufi ...	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 7,500.
102	Tarjuman ...	Lahore ...	Tirath Ram ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 226.
103	Tashhis-ul-Azhan ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Muhammad Zahar Din ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 700.
	GURMUKHI.			
	DAILY.			
104	Akali	Lahore	Partab Singh, B.A., B.T. ...	Mubarak Press, Lahore; 2,700.
105	Punjab Darpan ...	Amritsar ...	Sucha Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 950.
106	Ranjit*	Lahore	Sohan Singh ...	Caxton Printing Works, Lahore;
	WEEKLY.			
107	Bir ...	Amritsar ...	Mehtab Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 500.
108	Khalsa Samachar ...	Do. ...	Vir Singh ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,700.
109	Nayak	Do. ...	...	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar;

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st MARCH 1921—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
110	**Panch**	Lahore	Ram Singh	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 1,000.
111	**Panth Sewak**	Amritsar	Chanda Singh	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,000.
112	**Punjab Darpan***	Do.	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 950.
113	Sant Sewak	Lahore	Sant Beant Das	Partap Hari Press, Lahore;
114	**Satjug**	Do.	Nidhan Singh	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 776.
115	**Sikh Sepoy***	Ferozepore City	Tek Singh	Upper India Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozep City; 1,000.
116	**Sri Guru Nanak Darshan.**	Amritsar	Sant Sumer Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,000.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
117	Nirguniara	Amritsar	Khalsa Tract Society	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 1,200.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
118	Jat Sepoy	Rohtak	Kesari Devi, B.A, (Hindi)	Star Press, Delhi; 150.
119	Jyoti	Lahore	Vidyavati Seth, B.A.	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore;
120	Sewak	Do.	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 250.

* Ceased.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Greece and Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd April writes that Greece does not approve of the revision of the Turkish peace treaty as proposed by Mr. Lloyd George, and has attacked Kamal Pasha's troops without waiting for the decision of the Near East conference. She has been guilty of gross ingratitude to the Allies in defying them, for which she should have been punished by the latter. It is to be regretted, however, that, instead of reprimanding her, Great Britain has proclaimed her neutrality at the very commencement of the fighting started by her. The Allies, especially England, ought to have started military operations against the Greeks and thereby set up a good example to the world. Since they try to protect the rights of Turkey's Christian subjects, they should also punish Greece for her insolent and refractory conduct referred to. They are, however, silent and neutral, which is certainly unjust.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 29th March states that the *Pioneer's* special correspondent now cables from London that in consequence of the renewal of fighting by the Greeks it is being proposed in Paris that Britain, France and Italy should unite to hold them back. Great Britain, however, is not likely to consent to this. She is displeased with the Turks on account of their representatives not having accepted the "generous" terms proposed by her. Her unwillingness to prevent the Greeks from taking the offensive should afford no cause for complaint, seeing that she has, from the very beginning, been hostile to Muhammadans and the mortal enemy of the Turks. What [good] can we expect from her ?

Persia and Afghanistan.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 5th April says that if the British Government complains of Persia and Afghanistan not gladly seeking its friendship, the reasons for their conduct are quite evident. The Bolsheviks are free from the greed which characterises capitalists, nor do they wish to extend their possessions. Accordingly, they have, most magnanimously, given back to Persia the islands and *ilakas* which the Czar wrested from her in 1893. After referring to certain other concessions which they have granted to her, the paper states that they have also returned to Afghanistan all the territories which had been occupied by Russia during the last century and have promised her an annual subsidy of one lakh roubles. The British Government should now honestly say whether the Persians and Afghans have committed any fault in severing their relations with the English and making friends with the Bolsheviks. If the English also had acted in a magnanimous spirit the Bolsheviks would never have been afforded an opportunity of ensnaring these countries. It is to be regretted that no trace of generosity or toleration was to be found in Lord Curzon's Anglo-Persian agreement. If, like the Bolsheviks, the English also had let Persia and Afghanistan remain independent, had made over to these countries the territories demanded by them and had concluded agreements with

them in a spirit of honesty, the Persians and Afghans would never have practised non-coöperation with them and gone over to the side of the Russians. Lord Curzon and his colleagues should feel ashamed at sight of the enlightened, noble and lofty spirit displayed by the bloodthirsty Russians.

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sundar Singh, editor.

The *gurdwara* legislation.

3. (*a*) In its combined issue dated the 18th and 25th March [received on the 5th April] the *Khalsa Akhbar* refers to the proposed *gurdwara* legislation, and says that so far Government had some hand in [the management only of] the Golden Temple, but that now it will take possession of all the *gurdwaras*. After remarking that the desire [*lit.* object] of the officials to prevent the Sikhs from obtaining possession [of these places] will thereby be realised, the paper asserts that this desire on the part of the officials was in no small degree responsible for prompting the Nankana Mahant to commit a general massacre. The Sikh leaders should hold a conference to devise means to save their community from ruin. We should practise complete non-coöperation with Government, and all Sikh councillors should tender their resignations.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 3rd April summarises the provisions of the Gurdwara Bill, and writes :—"(*i*) That the members of the Board will be appointed and nominated by the local Government deprives the feature of two-thirds being the Sikhs of all its beauty and usefulness. The Government authorities may follow the definition of "Sikh" coined by Sirs Arur Singh and Gurbaksh Singh Bedi for them and thus may not refrain from taking in a Ganda Singh of Sialkot and an Harnami Shah of Amritsar, thereby adding insult to injury. The members ought to be returned by the Panth.

"(*ii*) There is to be made absolutely no reference to any representative body of the Panth—the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the Chief Khalsa Dewan or the Sikh League—in the procedure prescribed.

"(*iii*) If the Act is to have a retrospective effect and applied to such shrines—the Golden Temple, Tarn Taran, Nankana Sahib, and others—as are already under the control of the Panth, the result can better be imagined than described. The legislation will then simply negative the object it is said to be meant for.

"Let us hope that the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council will not let these defects go unchallenged. At any rate, the proposed legislation means direct interference by Government in our religious affairs."

AKALI (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

(*c*) In its combined issue dated the 3rd and 4th April the *Akali* writes that in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the Sikhs never consented to State interference in religious affairs. Under British rule, however, a sycophant was always appointed manager of the Golden Temple. No Sikh can bear to hear the tale of the evil doings and practices carried on in the most sacred place of the Sikhs in consequence. It is difficult to see why this treatment is reserved for the Sikhs: other communities have always kept their religious places in their own hands. The Sikh community deserves to be pitied. It tried to secure the removal of one religious place from the control of Government, but is going to suffer all its *gurdwaras* to pass out of its hands. The Gurdwara Bill has been published and will have become law in a week's time. Government is forging fetters and shackles for the Sikh religion, and it now rests with the Sikhs to allow any interference with their *gurdwaras* by orders of any one except God. In drafting the Bill prominence has been given [to the supposition] that Mahants, Pujaris and others constitute a party opposed to the Sikhs. As a matter of fact, however, they have always been servants of the latter, who can dismiss them at any time. But Government allows evil-doing Mahants of every description to pay no heed to the Guru Panth by seeking the refuge of laws like the one under contemplation and to enjoy themselves in any way they like. That law alone can be accepted by the Khalsa which is framed by the whole community. If, however, Government wishes to enact a law regarding the religious places of the Sikhs it should be one approved by the community. Even a Sikh Government can have no right to pass such a law in accordance with its own wishes. Even under the Sikh rule such laws could be made only by the representatives of the community. The Sikhs are not prepared to accept a board of managing committee which is not composed of their coreligionists elected by the Panth. Is it not tantamount to interfering in the religious affairs of the Sikhs that Hindus and Muhammadans should be appointed by Government to manage Sikh religious places?

The Sikh sense of self-respect can never tolerate that these places should be made over to non-Sikhs in accordance with the wishes of a Christian Government. The Sikhs should, therefore, unite their forces and prepare themselves [? for action] by the 1[illegible]th April inasmuch their religious places will now pass out of their hands, not for a temporary period, but for ever, under cover of inquiries to be made by a board. If they do not wish that there should appear hundreds of Arur Singhs to manage their *gurdwaras* and that their religious usages and practices should be moulded by Government, the whole community should declare with one voice that it will not obey a law like the one now on the anvil.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 4th April regrets that the Punjab Government should have been unable to secure the services of some true Sikhs to drafts the Bill. It entrusted the work to Mian Fazl-i-Husain and Mr. Joseph. The matter is purely religious, and however capable and learned the gentlemen named may be, both of them are not fully acquainted with the Sikh religion and traditions. It would have been better if, in view of their incapability in this respect, they had not undertaken the task. Continuing, the paper asks whether the proposed law will help in the realisation of all the wishes which led the Sikhs to commence a struggle to take their *gurdwaras* out of the hands of the present Mahants, etc. After remarking that the provisions of the Bill will prove wholly insufficient to meet these wishes, it says that the movement was started with two objects—firstly, to purge *gurdwaras* of the debauchery carried on there by Mahants, and secondly, to spend the income from these *wakf* properties on the community, *e.g.*, on educating its children and supporting Sikh orphans, widows and the like. If neither of these objects can be gained, how is it possible to satisfy the Sikhs, who are prepared to sacrifice their all and suffer every hardship in order to better the condition of their *gurdwaras*? The Bill provides that the income from *gurdwaras* shall, first of all, be utilised for maintaining the present Mahants and those dependent on them. It is nowhere laid down, however, that only those Mahants who bear a good moral character and strictly follow their religion shall be maintained. The law proposed by Government cannot be called satisfactory in this respect and is incapable of improving the moral character of Mahants.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*e*) The *Liberal* of the 4th April has the following:—"SARDAR KHAZAN SINGH, bar.-at-law, Lyallpur, writes to us as follows:—'I have read carefully the proposed Sikh Gurdwara and Shrine Bill which is coming before the Legislative Council within a few days and have come to the conclusion that its effect will be entirely against Sikh interests and detrimental to the Sikh cause. I, therefore, request all the Sikh gentlemen who may have to play some part directly or indirectly in the proposed drama to have nothing to do with the passing of the said Act; otherwise they shall be responsible to the Panth and Guruji."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*f*) The *Tribune* of the 5th April writes:—"If the Sikhs are either not in a mood to consider the Bill just because their men are in custody, or are opposed, as a matter of principle to Government interference in a matter which they consider is and ought to be exclusively within their communal jurisdiction, the Hindus are actually alarmed by the measure which they consider would be deeply prejudicial to their communal interests. 'It proposes to legalize illegality;' 'it is a measure of spoliation pure and simple;' 'it seeks to please the Sikhs, who have shown that they can be inconvenient, at the expense of the more submissive Hindus', and lastly, 'it is a concession to force and to threat of force,' are some of the comments which leading Hindu gentlemen have been heard to make in regard to the measure.... Both the Sikh and the Hindu objections, radically as they differ as regards the points of view from which they are urged, have this in common that in their extreme form they are equally opposed, not only to the present proposal, but to any proposal that the ingenuity of the official draftsman might suggest. Both appear to hold that the matter is not one in which Government interference or control can be tolerated in any form or measure.... In either case, a revision of the Bill with a view to divesting it of some of its most objectionable features may serve a useful purpose.... The first and most important objection to which the Bill is open lies on the surface. The Bill proposes to make emergent provision for 'the administration and management of certain Sikh *gurdwaras* and shrines,' but nowhere does it state what is or is not a Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine. This is a serious defect, not only because a proper definition of the expression is of the essence of the matter.

where the main object is to deal with disputes regarding these *gurdwaras* and shrines, but because the machinery which the Bill proposes to create is capable of exercising its responsibility properly and impartially only when it is definitely known that the *gurdwara* or shrine about which the dispute has arisen is a Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine. Two-thirds of that body are to consist of Sikhs, and obviously where the very communal character of a shrine is disputed, and the question to be decided is whether the shrine in question is a Sikh or a non-Sikh shrine or whether, as is so often the case in this province, it is a shrine of a mixed character, not only is such a body not competent to come to a finding, but even if it did, that finding would not be likely to carry weight with any one except the Sikhs themselves. . . . Two things, therefore, are essential. In the first place the words 'Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine' should be defined, and, secondly, a machinery entirely different from the proposed Board and constituted on a basis of rigid impartiality as between communities should be provided for dealing with the prior question, whether a particular *gurdwara* or shrine falls within that definition. This machinery can only be a court of law entrusted, it may be, with summary jurisdiction, but proceeding on the strict basis of evidence. When this has been done, the objection to the two-thirds majority of the Sikhs on the Board will disappear and it will not only be possible for the Legislature, but even its duty, to consider the Sikh claim that they should have even a larger majority on the Board and that this majority should consist of their own nominees. But even this clearly will not go far enough. There is unfortunately a division among the Sikhs themselves—otherwise there would be no question of disputes regarding the management or administration of Sikh *gurdwaras* and shrines—and it would be too much to expect that the Board's findings would always give satisfaction either to the reforming Sikhs themselves, unless all the two-thirds Sikhs on the Board will always be their nominees, or to the other section or sections. In the circumstances, it seems to us essential that the dissatisfied party should have the right to seek redress in the ordinary civil courts. As this will not interfere with the Board's activities and will not prevent the Board from attaching and taking possession of the shrine and providing for its administration or management, pending the result of the appeal to the ordinary courts, there is no valid reason why any one should object to it."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*g*) Elsewhere the paper says:—"Whatever may be the fate of the Gurdwara Bill, one thing seems to us to be clear. The Government must definitely abandon the clause, relating to the advancement of the Sikh religion, from the scope of the Bill. That is a clause which a Government committed to strict neutrality in religious matters is not entitled to incorporate in any legislative proposal, and we are not sure that the Sikhs themselves are at all likely to concede this right to the Government."

(*h*) The following is taken from a letter contributed to the *Tribune* of the 5th April by SANT SINGH, a Vakil at Lyallpur:—"Clause 4 lays down that the effect of declaration of a *gurdwara* to be a disputed one is to place the *gurdwara* under attachment, while in clause 5 provision is made for the appointment of a Board under whose management the *gurdwaras* are proposed to be placed. The idea of attaching a *gurdwara* is repugnant. The *gurdwaras* are sanctuaries and as such cannot be permitted to be managed by any temporal power . . . Such interference will justly be resented as being uncalled-for interference in the religious freedom of the community. The Sikhs claim, and on this claim the whole of the present agitation is based, that the *gurdwaras* belong to the community and not to any individual member of it. If the Government really means to put down this agitation it shall have to recognise this principle. So long as this principle is not given effect to, no scheme of legislation is likely to succeed. . . . Clause 13 lays down that the income of these *gurdwaras* and the properties attached therewith shall be applied to the necessary expenditure connected with the maintenance of the *gurdwaras*—'religious worship and the performance and conduct of religious and charitable duties, ceremonies and observances of such *gurdwaras*,' and all other purposes which the Board may consider necessary for the maintenance of the *gurdwara* and furtherance of the object and intention with which it was founded . . .' In the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill it is clearly laid down that 'in future these gurdwaras and shrines shall perform their proper functions, *viz.*, the maintenance and furtherance of the Sikh religion' . . . . The present legislation does not allow the funds of the *gurdwaras* to be used for the educational and social advancement of the community. As a matter of fact, every *gurdwara* in pre-British times was the centre of educational activity. Even now the Sikh Educational Conference has been passing resolutions calling upon the people to use their *dharmsalas* for imparting education. To restrict the application of funds to such a degree makes one really doubt the good intention of the legislation. The chief objections to the present legislation can be summed up thus :—

"1. The legislation does not confer any power upon the Sikh community to enable it to control and reform the *gurdwaras*. It merely transfers the management from the Mahant to a Board in whose selection the community is given no voice and who is not made responsible to the Sikh community.

"2. Whereas in the case of the Mahants who are at present managing these institutions it is within range of possibility to bring them round and make them agree to the introduction of reforms as well as to the application of their income for the social and educational advancement of the community, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to transform the Board into such a thing for the simple reason that the Board shall have to be guided by rules and regulations which can only be changed by moving a very difficult machinery of legislation.

"3. This legislation places all the *gurdwaras* under the control of the executive Government, which is never a desirable thing."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*i*) SANTOKH SINGH of Amritsar writes to the *Tribune* of the 5th March :—"The first question that naturally arises is, can the provincial Government enter into such a policy of interference in Sikh religious affairs, without serious violation of the long declared policy of non-interference ? . . . The legislation, as proposed, places all effective power in the hands of the local Government and its nominees and leaves the community to whom the shrines belong quite powerless. . . . We were dealing with one *sarbrah* and had to spend more than fifteen years of regular protests for removing him, but in these reformed days, we are going to be confronted with so many of these *sarbrahs* to deal with everywhere. I ask why this botheration about the Board. Cannot the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee serve its purpose ? Why not leave the Parbandhak Committee alone to manage its own affairs ?

(*j*) In its issue dated the 7th April the paper writes :—"The Bill . . . involves issues which are hotly contested, and it is much to be regretted that the public cannot in the present circumstances have the opportunity of expressing its considered opinion on these issues, and the select committee itself cannot profit by such expression of opinion . . . We have been assured again and again that neither the Sikhs nor the Government want by this Bill to affect the rights and interests of other communities. If so, it ought not to be difficult to make this clear in the Bill itself, in other words, to so word the provisions in the Bill and introduce such limitations and safeguards in it as to make it impossible for any one to work the measure to the prejudice of non-Sikh communities."

A Round Table Conference.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

4. Referring to the resolution on a round table conference moved by M. Muharram Ali, Chisti, in the Punjab Legislative Council, the *Zamindar* of the 27th March says that it has no confidence in such conferences, as they never lead to good results. The utmost that can be done is that Messrs. Gandhi, Muhammad Ali, Ajmal Khan, C. R. Das, Shaukat Ali and Moti Lal Nehru and one representative of the Sikhs should discuss the situation with Lord Reading, Messrs. Chintamani, Shastri and two or three official and non-official representative men. It should not be expected, however, that the non-coöperation movement will be temporarily suspended in the meantime. The movement is a religious one, and we cannot suspend it even temporarily unless the nation's demands have been fully met. It is idle to expect Indians, especially the Muhammadans, to agree to any understanding unless the Khilafat question has been satisfactorily decided. Besides, a serious danger is apprehended in connection with the proposed conference. The concessions expected as the result of the conference, which will assuredly be inadequate, will cause further strife and differences among our leaders, with the result that some of them will, like the moderates, leave our camp and join hands with Govern-

ment. The paper then goes on to say that the Khilafat and the Punjab questions should be settled first, after which we shall be willing to discuss matters regarding *swaraj*. We cannot accept *swaraj* if the Khilafat question remains unsolved and the Arabian peninsula is not purged of heathenism and heresy. Lord Reading should, after carefully studying the situation, write to His Majesty's Government to liberate Turkey, withdraw British troops from Mesopotamia and leave the Hedjaz alone. In short, all the Muslim demands should be met, after which punishment should be inflicted on Dyer, O'Dwyer and their associates. Only after this had been accepted will his lordship be able to convene a conference of leading Indians to discuss the question of India's freedom with them. In case his recommendations are not accepted, he should resign his office and lead us on the path to freedom.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The new Viceroy.

5. (*a*) Referring to Lord Chelmsford's departure from and Lord Reading's arrival in India, the *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd April says that the English enjoy special fame as hunters. After describing how the whale is hunted, the paper writes that British statesmen also act like whale-hunters. One comes [here] to give a beating, a second tries to console and a third empties pocket. A consideration [of the doings] of former Viceroys will prove the statement to be based upon truth. Lord Curzon wielded a sharp knife, partitioned Bengal and strangled education, with the result that an unrest was created in the country, the *swadeshi* movement was started and rights began to be demanded. Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge were sent, one after the other, to remove the unrest with the aid of leniency. After Indians had forgotten their past troubles there came Lord Chelmsford, who again took up the whip. Lord Reading is now coming to try to heal the wounds by means of justice and equity, so that this unfortunate country may again acquire the strength to undergo a flogging. We are glad, therefore, neither at Lord Chelmsford's departure nor at Lord Reading's arrival. We are at war, not with either of them, but with the system of administration under which Indians cannot get sufficient to eat, under which they have to live like strangers in their own country, under which India's best sons are watched like worst criminals and under which virtuous men can be called *badmashes* and dacoits and put into jail. If Lord Reading can change it and if he can make every Indian hold his head high like Englishmen in Canada, Australia, Africa, etc., we are prepared to accord him the greatest honour. We feel in our heart, however, that it is impossible for him to do so.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Tribune* of the 9th April:—"The hope expressed by Lord Reading that India would give faith to him until she found him undeserving of it is one with which most Indians are in strong sympathy, and to which they are prepared to respond whole heartedly. . . . But His Excellency has only to place himself in the position of the people of India to see that this attitude of mind, this suspension of judgment, cannot last indefinitely. . . . If the faith which India has given to the new Viceroy is to remain undimmed, His Excellency should take the requisite steps to arrive at an early decision in regard to the several matters that have been weighing heavily upon the people's mind. What these matters are His Excellency by now knows as well as we do. We will refer to only one which affects us specially. The Punjab question has been declared by the Home Member, from his place in the Indian Legislature, to be closed, but questions which affect the happiness and the mental peace of millions of people never have been and never can be closed by the fiat of official authority. . . . Sir William Vincent knows as well as we do that whatever he and other peace-loving men may desire, the Punjab question still continues to agitate people's minds, and not in the Punjab alone, as it used to do a year ago. . . . And what is this Punjab question? It may be stated in three sentences. Should the Government allow the unhappy memory of the Punjab episode of April-May, 1919, to remain green or should it restore the *status quo*, among other things by releasing the persons now in jail? Secondly, should the Government judge its offending officers by the same or by a different standard to that by which it has judged offending [illegible] of the public, and even if it does not choose to punish them, should it not [illegible] refrain from thrusting them upon the very people whom they [illegible] and oppressed and in the graver cases, from saddling the people with the cost of their maintenance? And thirdly and lastly, what assurance is the Government prepared to give that even if the unfortunate events that convulsed the Punjab and India about this time two years ago recur, there shall not be a repetition of Jallianwala Bagh and similar other official atrocities?..... It is for Lord Reading to answer these questions, and the manner in which he will answer them is first test by which he and his administration will be judged."

Government and non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 3rd April writes:—"His Excellency [Sir Harcourt Butler] said [in the course of a recent speech in the United Provinces Council]:—'With non-coöperators we have nothing to do beyond meeting their mischievous activities. Their movement is a revolutionary movement playing on passions and pandering to ignorance, but the masses of the people are loyal and all their interests are bound up with the maintenance of order.' We leave aside for the present Sir Harcourt's characterisation of the non-coöperation movement, beyond pointing out . . . that hitherto the word 'revolutionary' has generally been associated with violence of one kind or another, and that a movement of which non-violence is an essential feature cannot, except by violence to ordinary usage, be described as revolutionary. What we desire to ask is, why resort to wholesale prohibition of public meetings in so many as four districts if the masses of the people are loyal? What sort of loyalty is that which can only be safeguarded by the stoppage of free speech? And how is a measure to be defended, on this hypothesis, which is bound to affect the rights and interests of a vast number of innocent persons along with those of the small number who are the real objects of the Government's attack? Is not that repression which confounds the innocent with the guilty, which seeks to punish the people generally for the faults, whether supposed or real, of only a part of them?"

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper states that it has received a telegram from Kharar, district Ambala, to the effect that the people there have been informed by beat of drum that nobody should shout *Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*, sing songs, or speak in favour of non-coöperation. Commenting it says:—"It is not known definitely at whose instance the proclamation has been made, but it is surmised that the order has emanated from local official sources. If the news as communicated by the Kharar correspondent is correct, we have no hesitation in condemning this action on the part of the parties concerned. The order and the manner in which it has been made public are so wholly indefensible that we feel sure they are the result of misguided zeal on the part of a subordinate official or officials and have not the approval or sanction of the higher authorities. Such actions are sure to defeat the very object that they are designed to serve, *viz.*, the combating of the non-coöperation propaganda. We invite the attention of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to the above and trust a proper enquiry will be made into the matter and the mischief nipped in the bud."

The executive and the reforms.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 3rd April:—"It has been clear from the beginning that the successful working of the reforms would depend very largely upon the use which the Heads of Governments, local and central, would make of their powers of vetoing the action of the Legislature. These powers are so many and so all-comprehensive, that if they were freely used it would be impossible for the legislature to do anything more than merely the routine part of its work. It must be said in fairness to the executive that they have so far not shown a general tendency towards freely using these powers... while a *communique* just issued by the Government of India states that 'the Governor-General in Council has decided not to use his powers to restore any parts of the demands for grants placed before the Imperial Legislative Assembly and brought under reduction by that body.' This undoubtedly goes to the making of a healthy precedent."

India's share of the German idemnity.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

8. Referring to the announcement in the Council of State that India would get only Rs. 80,75,000 out of the indemnity imposed upon Germany, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd April says that this country took a great part in the war and will have to pay pensions for years to the Indian and British soldiers and officers concerned. In view of this and of the sacrifices made by her during the war, the offer to her of the amount referred to is ridiculous and

means depreciation of the services rendered to her. Her share of the indemnity should be equal to that of the British colonies. In the other event, there will be a further addition to the complaints of her children.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

The Nankana riot case.

9. The *Sikh* of the 7th April write:—"A deplorable feature of the Nankana Sahib trial is that while the accused are being defended by the leading counsel of the Punjab assisted by Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, the Crown is represented only by Messrs. Herbert and Jwala Parshad. We mean that Government have not cared to engage the services of some distinguished lawyer for a case in which they have held out a definite assurance, of 'full justice'. With due deference to Mr. Herbert's ability and experience which are certainly considerable, he is believed to be no match for a Petman, or a Norton, who, according to rumour, are going to defend the Mahant."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

The new High Court judges.

10. (*a*) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 7th April:—"So the poor Sikh nation seems to have no significance in the eyes of the Government of their own province, and this is why they have got a Hindu, Rai Sahib Moti Sagar, for an Additional Judgeship of the Lahore High Court and are having a Muhammadan, Sheikh Abdul Kadir, for another, but not a Sikh, though the other day, in reference to our present dissatisfaction, we were assured by His Excellency the Governor that Sikh claims had the best attention of Government. It may be noted that the Lahore High Court has already got in Justice Sir Shadi Lal, Chief Justice, a Hindu, and in Mr. Justice Abdul Rauf a Muslim, and it was quite in the fitness of things to appoint a Sikh to the new vacancy. But no, while there will now be two Hindu and two Muslim judges, there will not be a single Sikh in the Lahore High Court. . . . . It may be said by the apologists of Government that:—

"(*a*) The gentlemen appointed are more eligible then even the best of the present Sikh lawyers.

"(*b*) There is among the Sikh lawyers not a single one fitted for a High Court judgeship.

"(*c*) The present Sikh agitation has so displeased Government as not to care for or to ride roughshod over the Sikhs' claims and thus give them a lesson.

"Let us see if we have got facts enough to refute these arguments—

(*a*) Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh is senior and superior to Sheikh Abdul Kadir both as regards standing and service as a Government lawyer. He has officiated as Government Advocate and has been for a considerable period working in the Chief (now High) Court as Public Prosecutor. Ordinarily as Government pleader, too, he is senior to any one of the present men in the Punjab. His practice in the High Court adds further to his eligibility, while Sheikh Abdul Kadir has been a mere mufassil lawyer.

"(*b*) Sardar Sewaram Singh, if we mistake not, has a longer standing as a High Court lawyer than either of the two gentlemen, Messrs. Moti Sagar and Abdul Kadir, and can be counted among the leading lawyers in the province. Then there are Sardars Narain Singh (Gujranwala), Sundar Singh (Gujranwala), Iqbal Singh (Lyallpur), Beant Singh (Rawalpindi), Doswandha Singh (Ludhiana), Jhanda Singh (Ambala), Sujan Singh (Sargodha) and others each of whom can successfully compete with the chosen men in the Hindu and Muslim communities.

"(*c*) If the present agitations are to guide Government in making appointments, then Muslim agitation for the Caliphate and Hindu enthusiasm for *swarajya* are far more dangerous from the Government point of view than the purely religious agitation of the Sikhs about their *gurdwaras* in which Sardars Mehtab Singh, Sewaram Singh and others are taking part as in duty bound."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 10th [received on the 7th] April does not question the ability of Messrs. Moti Sagar and Abdul Qadir, but asks whether there is no Sikh [illegible] or pleader of the same rank in the Punjab, or whether no Sikh [illegible] a judge of the High Court. Government has not made [illegible] given preference to Sardar Mehtab Singh over Mr. Abdul Qadir [illegible] the former is undoubtedly [illegible] the latter. His ability also has not been questioned by any [illegible] and Muhammadan have been appointed to the High Court bench over his head. Even if it is supposed that Government is displeased with Sardar Mehtab Singh for some reason, is no other Sikh barrister or pleader of the requisite ability to be found? Sardars Sevaram Singh, Narain Singh, Jhanda Singh and other senior and successful Sikh lawyers were available. Why should they have been kept out of their dues? If Government is displeased with the whole Sikh community, this is another thing. We had great hopes from Sir Edward Maclagan, but it is a pity that they are proving to have been futile. It is a nice reward that we are receiving for our loyalty.

IV.—COMMNUAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Sikhs affairs.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 1st April refers to the present troubles of the Sikhs and says that there are only two things which can lead the community to success, *viz.*, sacrifice and non-coöperation. The sacrifices made by the Sikhs for the reform of the Khalsa College, the Golden Temple and other *gurdwaras*, are coming to naught. If they wish to gain control of the institutions referred to, as also to have perfect freedom in the matter of the *kirpan* and secure the release of those of their brethren who have been sent to jail on a charge of dacoity, there are two ways for them to follow. If Sikh prisoners are not released by the 10th April and *gurdwaras* are not handed over to the Sharomani *Gurdwara* Committee, the Sikhs should join the Akali *dal* and go in parties to reform *gurdwaras*. If they are received there with bullets they should on no account raise their hands [against their opponents]. This will bring the authorities to their senses. The other way consists in our practising thorough non-coöperation with Government. The Sikh councillors should resign their seats and all Sikhs employed under Government should give up their appointments. The Sikhs in army also should act according to their religion. If this is done, we believe that we—Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs—will succeed in getting *swaraj*, when *gurdwaras* will automatically come under our control. The second course will be more useful than the first and will also lend strength to the non-coöperation movement.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 6th April asks why the authorities have become inimical to the Sikhs for no reason. The latter are being improperly arrested everywhere and consigned to the lock up and harassed. The paper is at a loss to understand what the final result of this unprecedented and uncalled-for oppression and rigour will be. Bichhatar Singh and Amar Singh have been sentenced to two and six months' imprisonments, respectively. They were charged with the offence of having in their possession *kirpan* of an unnecessarily large size. But has Government fixed the size of the *kirpans* and made it known that Sikhs keeping longer *kirpans* will be liable to punishment? No, never. Again, does the Sikh religion fix any length for the *kirpan* and has it been proved in court that the *kirpans* of the accused were of a larger size? No, never. The paper then goes on to say that the Sikhs raise shouts of "Sat Sri Akal" at Lahore, while everyone can visit courts and is not forbidden to raise religious shouts [in their precincts]. If this is not so, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore could have turned out the Sikhs [raising these shouts]. He did not do so, however. On the other hand, some Sikhs wearing *kirpans* were suddenly placed under arrest. Is it an offence to go to courts with *kirpans*? No, never. What then, do these arrests mean? It is now time that Sir Edward Maclagan attended to the matter. If, in their exasperation at this daily oppression the Sikhs lose their patience the Punjab will again witness the bloody sights of April 1919.

Sir Ali Imam.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

12. Referring to the rumour about Sir Ali Imam being appointed as Governor of Bengal, the *Kesari* of the 25th March asks what Lord Sinha, who also is an Indian, has achieved that the people should rejoice at Sir Ali Imam's rumoured appointment. Indians have, moreover, no confidence in him. Again Government is mistaken in thinking, that it can please Indians by conferring high posts on a few children of the soil.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

A Bannu complaint.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib Shah editor.

13. The *Siyasat* of the 4th April states that when the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province visited Bannu on the 27th March, the local public observed a *hartal* that day. This greatly upset the Deputy Commissioner and that

officer thought of venting his anger in some way or other. His law library affording him no help he sent a courteous but deceitful letter inviting Muaz Ullah Khan, president of the Khilafat Committee, Muhammad Jan Khan, barrister-at-law and president of the Congress Committee, M. Khuda Bakhsh and certain other leaders to see him. As only Muhammad Jan Khan and M. Khuda Bakhsh received the intimation, they presented themselves before him on the 30th March. Certain other persons, including Hakim Abdul Rahim, secretary of the Khilafat Committee, who had not been sent for, also went. After these gentlemen had entered the court compound, a strong police guard was posted there and each of the three, *viz.*, Muhammad Jan Khan, M. Khuda Bakhsh and Hakim Abdul Rahim, was called upon to furnish a security of Rs. 5,000 with a personal recognizance in the same amount. On their refusal to do so they were handcuffed and sent to Dera Ismail Khan in motor cars. Nor is this all. When on their getting into the cars the people raised shouts of "Allah-o-Akbar" Dr. Lok Nath, vice-president of the Congress Committee, and Mian Muhammad Salim Khan were arrested on the charge of having raised the shouts. It is not known which section of the Indian Penal Code makes it an offence to shout "Allah-o-Akbar."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

I. M. S. nominations.

14. "ONE WHO KNOWS" writes to the *Tribune* of the 7th April:— "There have been three sittings of the Board for selecting officers for permanent commissions in the I.M.S. . . . The last meeting of this body took place on the 21st March 1921 at Delhi. About 40 temporary officers were interviewed. Ten were selected for permanent commissions. Among those who were rejected one had earned a military cross, was mentioned once in despatches for good work in the field, had four and a half years' service to his credit which he had spent practically all on active service, while another was wearing 1914-15 ribbon and was mentioned in despatches more than once for good work in the field. Among those selected one was still a Lieutenant of a year or so of total service, while another joined the military when the war had finished, and the third was demobilised long ago. The main feature of the selection which one could gather at the spot was to fill the vacancies as far as possible with men of British qualifications. Having done so, the vacancies left over were distributed among those holding Indian qualifications on so-called 'merits.' The example of the method of selection given . . . . above . . . . clearly shows that the selection is not very much done on merits but on some other considerations only known to the members of the Board. . . . The Board which selected candidates on March 21, consisted of five members of the Indian Medical Service, three Europeans and two Indians. Unless a few more Indian members from among the private medical practitioners holding public confidence are added to the present Selection Board, chances for persons holding Indian qualifications are very much limited."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Begar.

15. WAZIR CHAND BHOLA, Secretary, Kshatriya Sudhara Sabha, Lahore, writes to the *Tribune* of the 8th April:— "In some of the places in Sargodha, Shahpur and Jhelum districts, the Police and Tehsil subordinates as well as Lambardars and Chowkidars are still forcing men not only for *begar* but doing work that could also be done by menials, coolies and *kamins*, etc., without having the least regard to the caste and social position of the men. It is a fact that in some cases men have been forced to remain at a Police Chowki for hours, nay, for days together and pressure has been brought to bear upon them in order to make them do forced labour of the lowest type. Not only beddings, cooking utensils, charcoal, etc., meant for private use, are demanded by force and foul language, but the work of carrying water, cooking food for the *daurawalas*, cleansing their unclean vessels, is also taken from men of respectability and position in spite of clear and repeated instructions from the local Government *re* stoppage of the cursed system of *begar*. I am receiving complaints of forced labour of the above-mentioned type from Padhrar and Ochhali, but the trouble is not confined to these two villages in the Sargodha and Shahpur districts and there must be many more places where people, out of fear, do not dare to come forward with a complaint. If the orders of the local Government are honoured in this way, the dawn of the new era can hardly be more than a dream, at least to the oppressed villagers."

Motor accidents in Lahore.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

16. Referring to a recent motor accident in Lahore, the *Tribune* of the 8th April writes:—"May we enquire why in these cases of accidents the matter is not invariably taken up before a court of law? It may be that in some of the cases the fault lies with the victims and not with the drivers. But it should be the duty of a court of law, and not of either the police or any one else, to express a final opinion on the subject. As motor accidents are getting to be rather frequent—we have heard of two in a fortnight, in one of which.... the person concerned appears to have succumbed to his injuries—we do hope that the precautionary measures that have proved useful elsewhere should be enforced in our own city. The rules relating to the regulation of speed in crowded localities should be strictly enforced, and in every case of serious accident, and especially of an accident leading to the death of the victim, the driver should be put on his trial, so that, if innocent, he may be able to establish the fact to the satisfaction of a court of law and, if guilty of rashness or negligence, he may be suitably dealt with."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE: }
The 9th April 1921. }

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mesopotamia.

Siyasat (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

1. One HAKIM MUKHTAR JALIL, of Patiala, writing to the *Siyasat* of the 13th April asks how Mesopotamia will fare in case Mr. Lloyd George remains obdurate. She will never consent to remain under British sway, and will shed the blood of all her children in order to preserve her independence. Again, Mustafa Kamal Pasha will devote all his power to the service of this country. The Turks, Kurds and Arabs will continue to oppose the Allies, and no Muslim will regard the British Government with feelings of respect. The Muhammadans of the whole world will shed their last drop of blood for the freedom of their holy places, and the British Government will eventually have to evacuate Mesopotamia. The black mark of this blood shed will remain on that Government's forehead for all time to come. The Government of India should urge the Home Government to settle the questions of Mesopotamia and the Khilafat in conformity with India's wishes. India can remain loyal to Great Britain only if her children feel satisfied both in and outside their country. If their religious or secular interests are encroached upon there can be no reason for them to maintain loyal relations with such a Government. The British Government should act with care at the present juncture, because the freedom of Mesopotamia and the Khilafat alone can avert the misfortune which threatens it [*viz.* the coming misfortune].

Afghanistan.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 12th April says that Afghan delegations are still engaged in concluding treaties with the Turkish nationalists, Bolsheviks and Germans. The eyes of the whole world are fixed on Afghanistan, on whom now depends the realisation of a federation and the objects of Islamic countries, the Bolsheviks and the Germans. The Afghans realise that for them to enter into an agreement with the English at the present critical time will be tantamount to turning the whole world into their enemy. By making Persia independent and granting generous terms to Persia and Afghanistan the Bolsheviks have proved that, far from being desirous of territorial extension and imperial prestige, they are champions of freedom, equality and democracy. These facts will greatly add to their reputation in the near and central east and create feelings of hatred for England among the people of these countries. She has, by following a policy of territorial expansion, already proved that she wishes, not to protect and support weak nations, but to utilise the oil of Mosul and different Persian products. Besides, she wishes to maintain control over the

near and central east with the sole object of keeping India under her sway till the Day of Judgment. This difference between the policies followed by the Bolsheviks and English can in no case prove beneficial for the latter's credit in Asia. The people will say everywhere that while the terms offered by the Bolsheviks are very generous, British agreements are based on greed. Sir Henry Dobbs and his colleagues are staying at Kabul in order only to separate Afghanistan from the Bolsheviks and Turks and win her over to the side of England. It is not as yet known what kind of concessions the Afghans are asking for from Great Britain. The Home and Indian Governments have never trusted the people of this country in such matters. The British Government is affording proof of criminal negligence and of its mistrust of Indians by keeping them ignorant of Afghan affairs. It is quite evident that if a war with Afghanistan breaks out the Government of India will encroach on the resources of this country alone. Soldiers will be recruited only here, while money and war material also will be supplied by this country. Poverty-stricken India will be crushed to death under the burden imposed upon her by this terrible war. Since there is a likelihood of India and her exchequer being burdened to such an extent it is not easy to understand why the British Government should conceal Afghan demands, etc., from her children. If the relations between the English and Afghans become strained and the fire of war is kindled on the frontier without these demands having been revealed, India will not be willing to fight with her neighbour without being told the reason for the fighting. She and her children have already been brought into great infamy by helping Great Britain in her policy of territorial aggrandisement and by trampling the freedom of other countries under foot. She is no longer prepared to suffer herself to be hired to crush the independence of other countries and side with Great Britain without reasonable grounds.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

AKALI (Lahore); Partab Singh, editor.

The Gurdwara Bill.

3. (*a*) One SUNDAR SINGH of Lyallpur writing to the *Akali* of the 6th April states that on leaving the Ludhiana jail MANGAL SINGH, ex-editor of the paper, asked him to convey the following message from him to his beloved community:—. . . . The bureaucracy has now devised a new plan to interfere in our religious affairs. First it noised about in the world by publishing *communiques* that there were two parties among the Sikhs, - one consisting of the Sikhs and the other of Mahants and Pujaris. Now it has constituted itself an arbitrator to do justice between them and is about to forge a new law [for the purpose]. Leaving aside all other work, it has heated the furnace of law in order to poke its nose in the management of Sikh *gurdwaras*. . . . Will you, O Khalsas, fall into this legal trap and allow the bureaucracy to have a hand in the management of *gurdwaras*? Did you take over their management from Pujaris in order only to have them placed under the bureaucracy? . . . . O Khalsas, if there is left anything of self-respect, of [a spirit of] religion [and] faith and of life in you, you should keep the management of your *gurdwaras* in purely Sikh hands, save yourselves from falling into the hands of the bureaucracy after escaping out of [those of] Mahants and Pujaris, and not allow others to interfere in your religion. May God save you from the laws of the bureaucracy.

KHALSA SAMACHAR (Amritsar); Vir Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the *gurdwara* Bill, the *Khalsa Samachar* of the 7th April says that it would be more beneficial for the Sikh community to make a permanent law after a few months' careful consideration than to pass a temporary one at present. The proposed temporary legislation will prove useful for Government in ensuring peace, but will it secure to the Sikhs control over their temples? It does not appear from the provisions of the Bill that the Board to be appointed under it will try to find out how *gurdwaras* can be brought under the control of the Sikhs. It should be clearly laid down that the constitution of the Board and the report made by it after inquiries are meant to serve this purpose and to promote the reform of *gurdwaras*. Again, all the Commissioners will be nominated by Government. It is good that two-thirds of them are to be Sikhs, but it is to be hoped that only desirable men will be nominated by Government. There is nothing in the Bill, however, to ensure this. As it is, Government may hold even Baba Gurbakhsh Singh to be a Sikh, although the community will never approve of this. It is desirable that all the members of the Board should be Sikhs. Why should

Christians, Muhammadans and Hindus interfere in the affairs of *gurdwaras* when the Sikhs do not interfere in those of their religious places? Two-thirds of the members of the Board should be elected by the Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee jointly or by turns. The remaining [illegible] should be nominated by Government but these should be good, [illegible] well-known Sikhs. Continuing, the *Khalsa Samachar* says that a *gurdwara* which is held by Government to be a disputed one shall be made over to the Board. This provision places a great power in the hands of Government, while there is no provision in the Bill by which the lands and other properties once attached to Sikh temples which were sold or mortgaged by the authorities of the *gurdwaras* subsequent to the advent of British rule or which were made over by them to their relations or used by them in some other way for conversion into their personal properties can be restored to the temples after inquiries. There is also no provision by which the grants made to the *gurdwaras* by the British Government and appropriated by clever managers to themselves can be similarly restored. Again, it is laid down in section 19 that any person resisting or obstructing the Board, etc., shall be liable to a fine or rigorous imprisonment or both. The word "rigorous" should be omitted.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(c) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 8th April says that when the British took possession of the Punjab, the last of Indian provinces, and thus succeeded in depriving Indians of their political freedom, they began gradually to encroach upon the so-called religious liberty of the people. Although the inhabitants of this country had, owing to their mutual dissensions, became politically weak, still, from the religious standpoint, they retained some life and could not tolerate interference by a foreign race in their religious ideas. They afforded proof of their religious life in the form of the mutiny of 1857. When the British found that Indians were not prepared to tolerate open interference by the former in their religious matters, the late Queen Victoria announced outwardly in 1858 that there would be no interference in the religious affairs of Indians. Practically, however, this interference was continued by the bureaucracy and kine-killing was not stopped. The blowing away of Kukas from the canon's mouth, the Cawnpore mosque case, the imprisonment of Randhir Singh in connection with the Rikabganj *gurdwara* and several other incidents show that, in spite of the proclamation of 1858, repeated attacks have been made upon the religious freedom of Indians. The paper then goes on to say that the Sikhs took in hand the reform of their *gurdwaras* under the impression that, according to the proclamation referred to, the authorities had no right or power to interfere in religious sentiments and such interference on the part of the bureaucracy was unjustified. The authorities were surprised at the success achieved by the Sikhs and there was no alternative for them but to arrest servants of the community for no reason on the charge of their being dacoits and *badmashes*, to take possession of Sikh *gurdwaras* and the properties attached to them, and then to turn their attention to making a law. Efforts are now being made to secure the approval of the Sikh community to the proposed law. But no Government law regarding religious places, however useful it may be, can ever be accepted by the Sikhs. Next the paper refers to different sections of the Bill, and says that the local Government has reserved all power to itself. It hopes that the Sikh community will not allow itself to be deceived. It will have no power to select the members of the Board to be appointed under the proposed law. This being so, it will be a gross blunder on the part of the Sikhs to accept the law now on the anvil. Their acceptance of it will mean that they consent to official interference in their religious sentiments. The Bill is of absolutely no use to them, and they should totally reject it and abide by the rules framed by the Parbandhak Committee for the management of *gurdwaras*. We cannot, besides, accept a law framed by a Council boycotted by us.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) The *Tribune* of the 10th April writes:—The Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee, is substantially the same measure that was introduced into the Punjab Legislative Council. . . . There are only two important changes, and . . . . they are not of such a nature as to remove any of the principal objections to which the Bill was originally open, whether from one point of view or the other. These are, first, that the words '*gurdwaras*' and 'shrines' are defined, and, secondly, that constitution of the Board is more clearly and definitely laid down. The first, even if the definition were universally accepted, would not remove the objection of those who have been asking that the machinery for determining what is or is not Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine should be different alike from the executive Government and the proposed Board, and should be such that its decisions may be based upon a proper and impartial examination of evidence and thus command general and implicit acceptance. The only concession made by the Select Committee in this behalf is that it has added the words 'on enquiry' in clause 3, the effect of which is to require the Government, before it notifies a *gurdwara* or shrine to be a disputed Sikh *gurdwara* or shrine, to make an enquiry. As it is scarcely likely that the Government would in any case have taken action without enquiry of some sort, and as the nature of the enquiry is not specified, this does not seem to us to make any material difference. As regards the definition itself, it appears to have satisfied the Sikh members of the Select Committee..... But the shield has another side. The other party starting from.... the failure of the Bill to give complete control to the Sikhs, proceed to argue that the definition itself is not acceptable..... The second change, while it makes the provision as to the constitution of the Board more definite than it was in the original Bill, obviously does not remove uncertainty.... Thus we find that while the Sikh members in their note of dissent express the more or less confident hope that 'the Sikh member to be nominated by the Government will not be one whose views may be antagonistic to the spirit of religious reform among the Sikhs.' Raja Narendranath in his note seems to assume that this particular nominee of the Government will be the sole representative of the orhodox section. This ambiguity is unfortunate in the extreme, because it is bound to be a fruitful source of misunderstanding. As the non-Sikh president is to have a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes the reforming Sikhs may well contend that if the nominated Sikh is not their man, they can under no circumstances be absolutely sure of a majority. On the other hand, if he is their man, the other party—for there is sure to be another party always—can contend with equal force that they can never be sure of having justice done to them, even in cases where the right is indisputably on their side. For the rest, the objectionable phrase for the advancement of Sikh religion is left unchanged both in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and in the Bill itself.... And the most important question of the right of appeal against a decision of the Board is left in almost as unsatisfactory a condition as it was in the original Bill. In the circumstances, we can scarcely hold out the hope that the revised Bill will command more general acceptance than the original Bill was likely to do."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(c) The following is taken from a letter contributed by "NANAK PANTHI" to the *Tribune* of the 13th April:—"There are, on the one hand, those Sikhs who want reform in their own sense of the word. There are also conservative Sikhs who think that the alleged reform of the Tat-Khalsa is really spoiling their faith.... So the difficulty in the way of constituting the Board is to have men on the Board who will not show partiality to one or the other side."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The new Viceroy,

4. The following occurs among the "Random Notes" contributed by "A. N. S." to the *Tribune* of the 13th April:—'Lord Reading has begged that he may not be prematurely judged: India considers the request a fair one and has willingly agreed to give His Excellency a chance. I hope and pray that the sufferings of my countrymen will not go in vain and that their long-cherished hopes will be fulfilled ere long. Our joys and hopes are bound up in one word—*swaraj*. That one magical word is the Open Sesame to India's heart. Nothing less, nothing more. Let Lord Reading, therefore, see things in the perspective of *swaraj*. Whatever policy he decides upon, let the setting be ever the same—immediate *swaraj* to India. Let his lordship's ideal be not to leave India as he has come—the practically irresponsible head of a still more irresponsible bureaucracy. Let him strive to achieve *swaraj* for India within the year. Let him identify himself with the Indians and make common cause with them. Asiatic blood flows in His Excellency's veins, and sufferance is the badge of his tribe. He of all India's Viceroys ought to be able to sympathise with Indians. Besides, he is the Premier's 'man', so we are told, and His Excellency's words ought to carry weight with Mr. George."

Non-coöperation.

Siyasat (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 30th March [received on the 11th April] publishes a Punjabi poem written by **Hafiz Abdul Haq** of Sialkot. Referring to non-coöperation, the writer says that it is enjoined in the Quran and is commanded by God and His prophet. Why should, then, the Muhammadans fight shy of it? Their fellow-countrymen—the Hindus and Sikhs—also should not turn their faces from it. In the other event the Dyers will fire again and many Jallianwala Baghs will spring up. We should give Government no help: we shall greatly injure ourselves by helping it. Do not trust in the promises of the beloved [Government] who has already broken several pledges. The Sultan has been ousted from the Caliphate, and the authorities have filled jails by arresting servants of the nation. Where are the gallant Khalsas who would not retrace their steps? What has become of the brave Muhammadans who would sacrifice their mind and body over this [? movement]? Will the blood of the Khatris boil only when the time for action is past [*lit.* when the crop has been eaten up by sparrows]. "Indians will escape the cruel one [only] if they rescue Mother India out of his hands." The British Government will grant *swaraj* only if Indians boycott it and if patriots immolate themselves like moths on the lamp of *swaraj*. The Indians should now make things hot for Government in order to make it meet their demands.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 9th April takes exception to Syed Riza Ali's suggestion to Mahatma Gandhi about the suspension of the non-coöperation movement. It is thought, says the paper, that Lord Reading or his Government will be able to accomplish nothing as long as the movement is not stopped. The editor is not prepared to accept the argument to be sound. The advocates of non-coöperation have been doing their work very quietly: they themselves suffer hardships but give no trouble to others, including even those who practise all sorts of tyrannies and hardships on them. They do not also interfere in the work of Government, while they have greatly lightened that of the courts. We do not know, therefore, how far the suggestion regarding the suspension of the non-coöperation movement can be called justifiable.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Income-tax.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 23rd March publishes a communication, the writer of which says that the present method of assessing income-tax is one of the innumerable causes of the unrest prevailing in India. There have been instances in which Deputy Commissioners have both assessed income-tax and heard objections. It is against the spirit of the law that objections should be heard by the same officer against whose orders they are raised. Neither Deputy Commissioners nor Commissioners give reasons for over-assessment. The tax is levied on the income derived from *satta*-gambling, but the losses sustained are not taken into account. On the one hand, the country's leaders are preparing the men concerned to stop payment of the land revenue and other taxes as soon as the Congress bids them to do so; and, on the other, Government officers are, by their acts, preparing loyal and peaceful men to obey such an order by the Congress. The time is not far off when the arbitrary doings of officers will drive tax-payers into refusing to pay taxes.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 9th April the paper publishes a communication from one **Amir Chand Khanna** of Hafizabad, who syas that there can be no denying the fact that no one ventures to expose the hardships [suffered by the people in connection with the assessment] of income-tax. The complaint about income-tax [being over-assessed] is universal, and it should not be inferred from the people's silence that they are satisfied [with the existing state of affairs]. Continuing, the writer says that there are reasons, which he details, why assessees do not openly state what their financial position is. Again, the man who appeals against an order of assessment is regarded as one given to picking quarrels with officers. This is why even those who suffer great losses and are about to have themselves declared insolvents put up with a heavy assessment. It should not, however, be inferred from this that tax-payers do not explain their true condition to income-tax collectors or naib-tahsildars. They are always ready to show their account books to these officers. No one, however, goes through them, and even if the officers named show their readiness to examine them they do so at a time when the opponents of the assessees are also present. Such acts of high-handedness will force tax-payers to practise *satyagraha* even before the [political] leaders decide in favour of a resort to it. It is yet time for Government to remove their complaints, so that unbridled income-tax collectors may not take an undue advantage of tax-payers' helplessness, silence and shyness. It will be much better for it to captivate the hearts of the people than to fill its coffers.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

Ganga Singh's expulsion from Jullundur Cantonment.

7. Writing about the expulsion of Ganga Singh, motor and cycle merchant, from Jullundur cantonment, the *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th April says:—"We have it on good authority that Sardar Ganga Singh met his fate because there was little love lost between him and the Cantonment Magistrate. We have personally heard Sardar Ganga Singh's story. We can say without the least fear of contradiction that if ever an order of externment called for revision and cancellation, it is in the case of Sardar Ganga Singh. . . We strongly urge the Army Head Quarters to call for the file of Sardar Ganga Singh's case."

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

Cantonment establishments.

8. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th April writes under the heading "Waste of public money":—"A seamy aspect of the cantonment administration is that the rank and file of the cantonment establishment is recruited from not a very promising material. Every Tom, Dick and Harry who happens to ingratiate himself in the good books of the powers that be is suddenly pitchforked into one post or another. From almost every cantonment comes the story that the cantonment establishment whose salaries are paid out of cantonment funds are hardly worthy of the position they occupy or deserving of the emoluments they receive. In fact, service in cantonment administration is the favourite resort and the last refuge of the lame and the halt in the race of life. The Cantonment Committees, constituted as they are at present, are powerless to control cantonment administrators in the choice of their subordinate establishment. . . . Our firm belief is that the establishment of Cantonment Magistrates should be thoroughly overhauled and systematised. Too long in most cases has the pagoda tree been shaken by them. It is high time that the wheat should be separated from the chaff. It is the people who pay the piper; they have the right to know his credentials."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The *kirpan*.

9. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 9th April refers to the sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Bhai Bachittar Singh for carrying a *kirpan*, and says that the Deputy Commissioner [of Amritsar] seems to have held the *kirpan*, which was a long one, to be a sword. Commenting, the paper asks whether it was laid down by Government when it permitted the Sikhs to keep *kirpans*, that these should be of a specified length. If it has made no mention of the length of the *kirpan* during the the last several years, it is anything but wise on its part to consign Sikhs to jail by holding long *kirpans* to be swords. No announcement has as yet been made that *kirpans* should be nine inches in length, although an official member has stated to the contrary in the Council. Besides, this length of the *kirpan* was fixed for the Sikhs employed in the army.

V.—EDUCATION.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

The Islamia College, Lahore.

10. The *Siyasat* of the 13th April is exceedingly sorry to learn that the authorities of the Lahore Islamia College are going to appoint an Englishman to the post of principal. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, should know that in these days the principals of all the national colleges in the country are Indians, the Islamia College at Peshawar being the only exception. It will, therefore, be an act of great injustice to entrust the reins of the Lahore Islamia College, which is the only Muslim institution of its kind in the Punjab, to the hands of an alien. If there is no one among the present professors fit to hold the post of principal, is there a dearth of capable men in the rest of India also? We warn the council of the Anjuman that if they do not wish that the College should lose even what little sympathy the Muhammadans now have for it, they should abstain from taking in an alien.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Lahore municipal election.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 12th April:—"As our readers are aware the municipal elections at Lahore are at hand and in order to secure the return of popular candidates, it was considered desirable to hold voters' meetings. Such meetings obviously do not fall under the category of the meetings prohibited under the Seditious Meetings Act, and all that is necessary is to inform the authorities that the meetings are going to be held. Yet when a letter in these terms was addressed to the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, by Lala Raghunath Sahai regarding Ward No. 1, in which it was distinctly stated that the meetings were to be voters' meetings and that nothing but municipal matters would be discussed at those meetings, the Deputy Commissioner sent the following reply:—'In reply to your letter of the 5th instant I much regret to inform you that I cannot permit any public meeting in connection with the approaching municipal elections.' ... We have grave doubts whether the order of the Deputy Commissioner is lawful, but that is a minor point. The question that we desire specially to ask is, what becomes of the vaunted right of local self-government, if the Deputy Commissioner, by the fiat of his authority, can prohibit voters' meetings in connection with the municipal elections?' How precisely are the voters of Lahore to exercise their right of voting intelligently and with knowledge if the different candidates and their friends are not to be allowed to address them? In the new era not only is local self-government intended to be real, but it is the one sphere in which the popular responsibility is intended to be complete. The Deputy Commissioner cannot be unaware that the very first formula laid down by the authors of the Joint Report runs as follows:—'There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest independence for them of outside control?' Will he or any one else tell us how this popular control can be complete if the voters are not even to meet together for the discussion of municipal questions? But the question is not one for the Deputy Commissioner but for the Minister concerned. It is for him to tell the public what he thinks of the Deputy Commissioner's order, and how he is going to meet the grave situation created by it? ... If no satisfactory solution is arrived at in the course of the next three or four days, it will be the clear duty of one or other of our public-spirited members to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of drawing attention to the subject as a definite matter of urgent public importance. We should like to see the member who will not support such a motion and yet dare to face his constituents, when the time comes for him to meet them."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh day.

12. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 13th April:—"To-day is the anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. This day two years ago a British General, dressed in brief authority, and puffed up with racial pride, perpetrated one of those dark and diabolical deeds which neither England nor India can ever forget. In issuing his injunction for the observance of this day Mahatma Gandhi does not wish, as he has said so often, to keep alive the memory of the butchery. What he does wish is that the nation should devoutly contemplate the martyrdom of those who were killed on the occasion and to derive from that contemplation the strength and the determination to end the system under which such a thing was possible. The several hundred persons who met with their death at the hands of General Dyer cannot be brought back to life by anything we say or do; nor is it in our power to inflict upon this 'splendid beast' the punishment he so richly deserves for his cool and calculated massacre. But what we can do the humblest of us—is to draw our inspiration from the awful tragedy of which our brothers were the victims and to pray the Giver of all Gifts to give us both the wisdom and the courage so to fight the constitutional battle in which we are engaged that the *swaraj*, to which we aspire and which is the only remedy for past and the only guarantee against future national wrongs, may be attained sooner than the most sanguine among us dared to hope a year ago."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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II- LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Gurdwara Bill.

Akali (Lahore) ; Partap Singh, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Akali* of the 13th April says that the *gurdwara* of Bhai Joga Singh at Peshawar and two or three other Sikh temples have passed out of the hands of the Sikhs. They are now in the possession of Government, which has gone against the wishes of the Sikh community in the matter of drafting the Gurdwara Bill. After remarking that the Bill repeatedly reminds us of the story of the monkey and cats, the paper says that we can never even think that a third party like the bureaucracy will frame a law enabling us to live in peace and make religious progress. It is idle to expect any good from the bureaucracy, whose unjust and injurious treatment of India has led sacred souls like Mahatama Gandhi to indulge in non-coöperation. We kept quiet on losing our rule, as also at the tyrannies practised on our brethren in Canada and Africa. We exercised patience on seeing our innocent coreligionists shot at Budge Budge and indiscriminately thrown into jails. We behaved similarly even at the time of the massacre of the innocent people observing the Baisakhi day in the Jallianwala Bagh. Now, however, our religion is at stake; but it and *gurdwaras* alone constitute our all. The latter are being placed under the bureaucracy instead of being controlled by the Panth. No living Sikh can bear to see that *gurdwaras* should be taken possession of by Government and no heed should be paid to the voice of the Panth. The brave followers of the tenth Guru who feel proud of their religion should forthwith become members of the Akali *dal* and [jatha] sacrifice their body, mind and wealth in rendering service in accordance with the orders of the Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 17th April the paper says that the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council will probably support the Bill if the constitution of the proposed commission is changed. Their Muhammadan colleagues are generally of the opinion that if a similar Bill had been introduced for their community they would never have accepted it.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar) ; Gian Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Khalsa Advocate* writes in its combined issue dated the 8th and 15th April :—"The Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill, as it has emerged from the select committee, does not satisfy the Sikh community. Rather the cause of the *gurdwara* reform receives a greater set back than before . . . The fundamental principle that Guru Panth is the absolute and supreme master of all *gurdwaras* and shrines established to commemorate any incident connected with the lives of the ten Gurus or any Sikh martyrs or saints or founded with the aim and object of the propagation and furtherence of the Sikh religion, has not found any recognition in this Bill. . . Is it not a sad commentary on the mentality of those who are responsible for drafting the Bill that while, on the one hand, they decidedly divest of authority a party whose sole, lawful and natural right it is, on the other they invest with that same authority another who, by virtue of his sacred and repeated pledges given by his Sovereigns, cannot arrogate that authority to himself. Have not three great Sovereigns from Queen Victoria of the blessed memory down to our present Most Gracious King-Emperor George the V. pledged themselves to a policy of strict non-interference in the religious freedom of the people of India? Then what right have the Government to usurp a right which is decidedly not theirs? We admit the Government have every right to maintain law and order, but this does not entitle them to go back on the pledged word of the Sovereign and attach the most sacred seats of religion of the Sikhs by dispossessing them of the same. And this is exactly what the Bill on the legislative anvil really aims at. . . In the first place, . . . we want . . . that the Government should recognise the birthright of the Sikhs . . . to control and manage the *gurdwaras*, shrines and Sikh public places of worship other than the private trusts duly registered . . . If Government recognizes this fact in the preamble of the Bill, there will be removed to a great extent the fear and doubt which lurks in the minds of the Sikhs as to the motives of the Government. . . . . . It would follow then that the Board of Commissioners which the Bill proposes to create would consist naturally of Sikhs and Sikhs alone, for a non-Sikh, however sound be his knowledge of the law, cannot realize the spirit of reverence in which the Sikhs regard their *gurdwaras* and shrines. . . Then comes the question of the principle on which the selection of Sikhs to the Board should be based. . . We . . . are at a loss to understand why the Government hesitates to recognize the competency of the [Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak] Committee to select or appoint the Commissioners of the Board."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th April publishes an article over the signature of LAJPAT RAI. The writer says that the more he thinks over the *gurdwara* movement and notices the conditions which it has created the more convinced he feels that non-coöperation alone is the true policy for Indians to follow in the existing circumstances. A foreign Government can never do full justice between different parties, no matter how anxious it may be to do so. It seeks help from this party or that at different times, and when a party, accustomed to receive help from it, gains in strength it turns against it. The treatment which Government has been according to the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs from time to time compels the writer to assert that unless they develop the strength to settle their mutual disputes they will, instead of being united, become disunited. The measures which the bureaucracy has so far adopted in connection with the *gurdwara* movement have convinced him that it is wholly incapable of doing justice in religious matters. It will be better for the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs not to refer their disputes to the bureaucracy. Next Lajpat Rai refers to the Sikh Gurdwara and Shrines Bill, which, he says, has pleased no party. There can be no better proof of the bureaucracy's want of ability than this piece of legislation. The Hindus and even non-Akalis complain that the proposed law pays no regard to their rights. But have the Hindus come to know only to-day that the bureaucracy cares nothing for their feelings and susceptibilities? The truth is that the Punjab bureaucrats have no wish to please the Hindus. The latter should, instead of approaching Government for justice, try to unite with their neighbours. The writer then appeals to them to abstain from helping Government and strengthening its hands against the Akalis in the present struggle between the last-named and the bureaucracy. It is his confident belief that the contrary policy will not do the least good to them. They should help the Akalis, who are making legitimate efforts to reform their *gurdwaras*. Should the latter ever employ unlawful means they should be remonstrated with in a brotherly spirit and their religious principles and moral courage should be appealed to. It can do no good to cry to Government or go into court. This would prejudicially affect the efforts which are being made to obtain *swaraj*. The Gurdwara Bill is so defective and is based on such wrong principles that it should be unanimously opposed by the Akalis, non-Akalis and Hindus.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*e*) The following is extracted from the *Sikh* of the 17th April:—

"The Bill, even though it is passed just as it is recommended by the select committee, will be unanimously disapproved and protested against by the community as being directly against their wishes and religious interests, for the following chief reasons:—

"(i) Of the four members of the Board to be appointed by notification by the local Government, there will be a 'non-Sikh' to be appointed by Government, a Sikh to be appointed by Government, and two Sikhs to be selected by Government from a panel of eight to be proposed by a majority of the Sikh members of the Legislative Council. As the president will have the privilege of a second or casting vote, it clearly means that if and wherever the president and the Sikh member appointed direct by the Government (who presumably, in view of the present policy of Government, will always be anything but a true representative of the Sikh nation, a person of the type of Sir Gurbakhsh Singh or a Sir Arur Singh) agreed, they could easily defeat the other two Sikh members, thus frustrating the very object of the legislation.... In case of an antagonistic majority in the Board, it will become irremediable, inasmuch as it will be backed by the law concerned, and in our endeavour to remove an unfit Mahant we might get imposed on ourselves a by far the stronger handicap which it will be impossible to rid ourselves of.

"(ii) That the proposed panel of eight is to be recommended by neither the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee nor the Chief Khalsa Dewan nor any other representative body of the Panth, is the feature to which we must most strongly object on principle as a self-respecting community.... We ... strongly endorse the demand of the whole Panth that two-thirds of the Board should be returned by the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, while the whole of that should consist of Sikhs."

In (*iii*) the paper opposes Raja Narindra Nath's amendment to the effect that the panel should be of twelve instead of eight and that out of these twelve four should be furnished by the following bodies:—(*a*) Guru Nanak Sikh Chakarvarti Dewan, (*b*) Panchayat Nirmala Akhara, Kankhal, (*c*) Udasi Akhara of Kankhal. It concludes as follows:—

"(*iv*) The community is strongly opposed to the members of the Board being paid their salaries from the *gurdwaras* funds, which ought to be wholly devoted to the furtherance of religious objects."

(*f*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 17th April says that, so far from conferring any benefit on the Sikhs, the Bill is, in its present form, likely to prove harmful to them. The Sikh demands are—

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

1. That the Siromani Parbandhak Committee should be recognised as the representative body of the Sikhs in the matter of the management of *gurdwaras*.
2. That it should be recognised as being solely responsible and fully competent to control the income and expenditure of all the *gurduaras* which have so far come into its own hands or those of other representative societies of the Panth, the said temples not being transferred again to the control of any other body and the old law ceasing to operate against them.
3. That the committee referred to should have the fullest liberty in the matter of utilising income from the *gurdwaras* in question, its decisions being final in this respect, as also in regard to the management of the above religious places.
4. That any *gurdwaras* now occupied by Government should be made over to the committee.
5. That a board consisting only of Sikhs should be appointed to consider the cases of the *gurdwaras* where mismanagement prevails, which have been converted into private properties and whose managers bear an immoral character, but which have not as yet come under the control of the Siromani Parbandhak Committee.
6. That the committee should be regarded as planitiff in every case and the costs should be borne by the Mahant against whom inquiries may be made (as is laid down in the law relating to *wakfs*).

The proposed law will, however, not only not meet the above demands, but will also create a new party, which will be nominated by Government and will take possession of all *gurdwaras*. This commission is estimated to cost two and a half lakhs of rupees annually, and the amount will be deducted from the income of *gurdwaras*. This means that income from these places will not be spent for the purpose for which it is meant. Formerly this money was wasted by Mahants in pleasure, but now it will be spent on paying the commissioners which we can never tolerate. The second great defect in the Bill, which has not been removed even by the select committee, relates to the appointment of commissioners. The present attitude of Government leads the Sikhs to believe that the president and the Sikh member nominated by it will always agree with each other. And as there will be only two Sikhs against these and the president will have a casting vote, the Bawas will have a majority in every case. The result will be that all *gurdwaras* will pass out of our hands and go back to the people from whom the Sikhs have got them after making great sacrifices. This would reduce the Parbandhak Committee to a nonentity, to which we are on no account prepared to consent. We will not accept anything likely to transfer the control of our *gurdwaras* to any but our own hands. We do not wish to overawe Government or anyone else: we only seek freedom for our *gurdwaras*, to accomplish which task we are prepared to make the greatest sacrifices without injuring anybody. We do not care if the Hindus or Christians are opposed to us. It now rests with Government to favour or displease a community which has shed its blood for the former during the last three quarters of a century in all parts of the world and has never hesitated to make the greatest sacrifices in order to add to its [Government's] strength. Government can lay the Sikhs under an obligation in the matter of *gurdwaras* without having to make any sacrifice, but, thanks to some short-sighted and arrogant officers, it has missed a golden opportunity to please them. It is still time for it to come to an understanding with the Parbandhak Committee and thus prevent the kindling of an unextinguishable fire of resentment among the Sikhs. In the other event, it may succeed in suppressing them for a time by filling jails with them, but will not be able to put out the fire burning in their hearts. Fire can be extinguished with water and not with oil.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

(*g*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 17th April says that apparently the Sikh community feels convinced that all that Government is doing in connection with the *gurdwara* movement is intended not so much to confer any religious benefit on the Sikhs as to serve its own interests. The mixing up of Government's political gain in the religious affairs of the Sikhs will prove beneficial to neither party.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*h*) The *Vakil* of the 17th April says that, in view of the feelings of resentment prevalent among the Sikhs, Government should exercise the greatest care in coming to a final decision in regard to the Bill. Next it refers to the objections of the Sikhs to the proposed law, and writes that the community is wholly right in demanding that no non-Sikh should interfere in its purely religious matters. If a similar question arises for the Hindus or Muhammadans, they also will make a like demand. None of the communities will tolerate the interference of others in the settlement of its religious affairs. And as Government is pledged to non-interference in these matters it had better leave their settlement to the parties concerned. The paper then goes on to say that probably the greatest defect in the constitution of the proposed commission is that its decisions will be final, although there appears to be no reason for its investment with such vast powers.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

2. The *Partap* of the 22nd April refers to the coming visit of the Prince of Wales to India, and says that if His Royal Highness is to come here under the same conditions under which the Duke of Connaught was brought, his visit will do harm instead of good. Indians are hospitable by nature and it will highly grieve them if they have to boycott the Prince. We would advise Government to redress their chief grievances before he visits India to enable them to accord him a hearty welcome.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Lord Chelmsford.

3. The *Liberal* of the 11th April has the following:—"It is announced that a viscountcy has been conferred upon Lord Chelmsford on the occasion of his relinquishing the viceroyalty of India. The announcement has caused great disappointment in the country, for Lord Chelmsford is, in the opinion of the country, one of the most unsuccessful Viceroys that have ever come out to rule her. . . . . What . . . . . can the viscountcy conferred upon Lord Chelmsford be due to, if it is not a substitute for the honour that is usually expected from the people by a departing Viceroy and which had been lost in the present case. We hope it was not meant to flout public opinion by honouring one who stands dishonoured among the public by his deeds."

The new Viceroy.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

4. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 17th April repeats the popular demands in regard to the Khilafat, *swaraj* and martial law in the Punjab, and goes on to say that they constitute the irreducible minimum. It now rests with Lord Reading to accept them and establish peace in the country or to foment such agitation for the next five years as might lead to unhappy results. We know that his Lordship has the confidence of England and will be supported by the whole of that country in whatever he may do in India. If he takes to repression India will witness such repression to which no parallel is now to be found. It will, however, prove the forerunner of *swaraj*. History cannot be wrong in the case of India alone. The histories of all countries show that the greater repression is practised the sooner is liberty obtained. Freedom wants its price and comes to a country only, when that price has been paid. It will be a serious mistake to think that a country like India can remain under England for a long time with the aid only of repression. God has afforded a golden opportunity to Lord Reading, and if he takes advantage of it, not only will the relations between England and India be cemented for ever, but his Lordship's name will be recorded in history among the greatest servants of England. Mr. Gandhi has plainly declared that although he does not favour the severance of British connection, he would have no objection to this if the connection stood in the way of India attaining her full rights. The birth of such an idea in a vast country like India, whose rulers live thousands of miles away, is not beneficial for the ruling race. Lord Reading should discuss matters with Mr. Gandhi and accede to the latter's demands.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesri* of the 21st April says that before devising plans to bring peace to the country and exchanging views with political leaders Lord Reading should release all internees and withdraw the orders prohibiting different persons from speaking in public. All political and martial law prisoners also should be set free at a very early date. It is feared that the leaders referred to will decline to exchange views with His Excellency before the release of all their innocent brothers.

Lord Reading in the Punjab.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. (*a*) Writing about Lord Reading's visit to the Punjab the *Tribune* of the 17th April says :—"Why should His Excellency have been afforded an opportunity of meeting 'the representatives of the various communities' instead of the representatives of the various sections of opinion and schools of thought ?. . . . While the people of India are rapidly advancing to the national point of view in all purely political matters, their rulers are still thinking exclusively in terms of communities and races. . . . Turning . . . . to His Excellency's reply to the address presented to him by the Chiefs' Association, we are constrained to say that there is no indication in it that His Excellency has, within the short time that he has been in this country, been able to form an adequate idea either of the true nature of the Punjab problem or its tremendous importance and urgency. Heaven forbid that this should seem to be said by way of censure. Nothing is further from our intention than to prejudge His Excellency. . . . What we do mean is that the speech, while on the one hand it does not show that the non-official side has so far been properly presented to him, does show that an attempt has already been made to fill his mind with the usual official ideas on the subject. . . . We should be false to ourselves if we did not tell His Excellency in the plainest terms we can find that the solution of the Punjab question does not lie and cannot be found in the direction in which it has been officially sought so far, and in which His Excellency himself, it seems, has been advised to look for it. No mere appeal to the people to obliterate the memory of the past and to 'forgive and forget' will take us very far. . . . To no appeal could India, with her traditional courtesy and her devotion to the Royal House, be inclined to respond more cordially or more whole-heartedly than to the generous appeal made in a famous speech at Delhi by the oldest member of the Royal family . . . The plain fact is that India has been asking for a definite, tangible thing, and it is scarcely to be expected that she will be satisfied with any amount of expression of sympathy, however sincere or warm, until she has had the thing on which she has set her heart. It is only when she has had it that the shadow of Amritsar, to which both the Duke and the Viceroy so feelingly referred, will recede into the background and its place will be taken by that mutual understanding, that sense of equal comradeship between the British and the Indians, on which the future well-being of both England and India so largely depends."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) In its issue dated the 19th April the paper writes :—"Whoever were the other gentlemen who were invited to see the Viceroy, we know Lala Lajpat Rai was not one of them. The interviews were arranged by the Governor and the selection of these gentlemen must have been made by somebody in the Secretariat. Now we put it to those responsible for making the selections whether any such list can be deemed satisfactory unless it includes Lala Lajpat Rai, the one man who by common consent can be said to represent the feelings of the entire province and therefore also of the country. Replying to the welcome address of the Punjab [Chiefs' Association His Excellency the Viceroy said :—'I have had the benefit of seeing the members of Your Executive Council and the Ministers and *leading members of the various shades of thought*', etc. (italics ours). If Lala Lajpat Rai is not the leading member of the most important shade of thought in the province, who else is? And yet those responsible for making the selections quietly, we are inclined to say, deliberately, left him out. Personally Lala Lajpat Rai has lost nothing, but His Excellency the Viceroy has been deprived of an excellent opportunity of learning first hand something of the thoughts and aspirations which inspire some of the foremost leaders of the country."

(c) In another place the paper writes :—"His Excellency the Viceroy, in the course of his reply to the address of the Punjab Chiefs' Association . . . . alluded to the 'events at Amritsar' and said that Sir Edward Maclagan had decided to appoint a committee to fix the compensation payable to the Indian sufferers on an adequate scale that can be well compared to the relief given to the European sufferers. . . . 'Thus,' said His Excellency, 'I trust that the grievance will be removed and the words of the Duke of Connaught will re-echo throughout the Punjab and India.' The allusion is to the Duke's recent appeal to let bygones be bygones and to forgive and forget the 'mistakes and misunderstandings' of the past. If His Excellency the Viceroy meant that the money grants to sufferers in the Punjab on a more generous or just scale was the only thing required to make the people forget the martial law atrocities and the horrors of the period, that impression is most unfortunate. The money grants on an adequate scale is a purely humanitarian act which, under any circumstances, is the duty of civilised Governments in all countries. But that cannot by itself help to assuage the outraged feelings of the Punjab and India unless the other acts of justice, which we have repeatedly mentioned, also follow. Did monetary relief to sufferers ever stand in the way of the Punjab and India forgetting the atrocities of martial law?"

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(d) The *Bande Mataram* of the 19th April says that the speech made by Lord Reading in reply to the address presented by the Punjab Chiefs' Association was lifeless from every point of view. His Excellency referred to the Punjab's services during the war, but was silent as to what this province got in return or what it can now expect at his hands. He also repeated the Duke of Connaught's appeal to the people to let bygones be bygones, but did not say how this was possible for a person in whose breast there burnt a fire. Again, in speaking of the serious situation created in the Punjab in consequence of the Nankana incident, the Viceroy expressed his belief that Sir Edward Maclagan's popularity would find a peaceful solution of it, but did not say what that solution would be. In short, his references to all these matters were not better than his silence in regard to them would have been. It was also stated by Lord Reading that Sir Edward Maclagan was appointing a committee to award a more generous compensation to the survivors of the men killed at the Jallianwala Bagh. This was the only part of his speech which said something about giving. It would have been better, however, if his Lordship had kept silent about this point also, which is likely to rip open old sores. Lord Reading has just arrived in India and does not know that no Indian, however poor he may be, would accept the price of the blood of his dear ones. There is only one compensation which would be gladly accepted namely, that India should be freed from the form of administration which brought about this tragedy and under which a repetition of it is possible.

(e) In its issue dated the 20th April the paper says that Lord Reading undoubtedly paid attention to the survivors of those killed in the Jallianwala Bagh, although he did so because Sir Edward Maclagan is already taking steps to compensate them. His Lordship devoted not the least thought, however, to the new era of repression under which leaders, of whom India feels proud, are being sent to prison. To try to heal old wounds but to go on inflicting new ones is an act of statesmanship which no one can understand. Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal and Hakim Abdul Jalil have to suffer the hardships of imprisonment like common thieves and dacoits, simply because they would not signify their approval of the tyrannical conduct of the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province by furnishing a security. An account of the troubles of the Bannu leaders makes still more painful reading. To take influential and respectable men like Sardar Muhammad Jan Khan, bar-at-law, Hakim Abdul Rahim Khan, secretary of the Bannu Khilafat committee, and Malik Khuda Bakhsh in chains from Bannu to Dera Ismail Khan is an act of which any civilised Government should feel ashamed. On the one hand, the country's desire for *swaraj* is admitted to be natural and the King-Emperor himself has set down *swaraj* to be the goal of India. On the other, however, the men who are trying to obtain it in a most peaceful way are being put into jail. It is commonly believed, therefore, that the professions of the English [in regard to *swaraj*] are due to outside pressure, and that their hearts remain unchanged.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan editor.

(*f*) The *Partap* of the 18th April says that the speech referred to contained no word of sympathy for the victims of martial law in the Punjab Nor is there in it any expression of regret for the doings of the offending martial-law officers. Lord Reading chose no new line of action for himself, and did only what has already been done by the Duke of Connaught, Lord Chelmsford and other English officers, *i. e.*, he asked the Panjabis in sweet-sounding words to forget the past. If an idea of the justice which His Excellency wishes to do to the Punjab is to be formed from the speech in question, we should, in order to avoid disappointment, abstain from cherishing high hopes from him. There was not a single sentence in his Lordship's speech calculated to soothe the lacerated heart of the Punjab. The people of this province feel thankful to him for having given Lahore the first place in his tour programme. We beg leave to say, however, that the wounds in their hearts are too deep to be healed merely by a visit.

(*g*) In its issue, dated the 21st April the paper says that a perusal of Lord Reading's first remarks [about the Punjab question] have made the public realise that in this matter he has served as a gramophone for the bureaucracy. If sweet words alone could make the Punjab forget her troubles, she would have done so long ago. Next the *Partap* takes exception to Lord Reading not having seen Lala Lajpat Rai, and concludes by regretting that His Excellency should have contented himself with seeing things through the eyes of the bureaucracy.

Shanti (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

(*h*) The *Shanti*, of the 20th April says that although Lord Reading visited the Jallianwala Bagh and there shared, to some extent, the sorrow of Indians and also spoke words of sympathy for them, still he has asked them to forget the past. Again, His Excellency has come and gone, but the martial law prisoners are still in jail. After remarking that political prisoners also continue to suffer hardships, the paper expresses its inability to understand what the Punjab has gained by the Viceroy's visit. If the state of affairs continues as it was in Lord Chelmsford's time, the world will come to understand what significance to attach to "Lord Reading's noted [sense of] 'justice.'" We would say to his Lordship that if he wishes to restore peace in the country by doing the 'justice' of which he has been assuring us from the very beginning, it is high time for him to do so. In the other event, to say 'Forget' [to the people] will have the same effect as the Duke of Connaught's visit has had. We are at a loss to understand how, in spite of his knowledge of the existing circumstances, the Viceroy could ask the people to forget [the past].

Lord Reading and the Sikhs.

Sikh (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

6. (*a*) Writing about Lord Reading's visit to Lahore, the *Sikh* of the 14th April says:—"What can Lord Reading—who has never been to India in a responsible capacity before nor has ever been in any way connected with her affairs in England—know of the poor forlorn Sikhs at the first instance! He has to depend upon his Councillors, particularly our old friend and patron

the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, Home Member, whose attitude towards us is too patent to stand in need of any proof. And how justly and correctly will Sir William represent our case to His Excellency can be judged from what he has already spoken about us in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. But if his Lordship, true to his determination to do justice, insists upon knowing and judging everything for himself through first hand information, we are confident that by and by he will be able to find how a most useful community—absolutely peaceable and innocent—has been victimised by the obdurate bureaucracy. It would be then and then alone that we might expect 'full justice' at his hands. Entertaining any hope or forming any opinion at this stage is premature. But it is absolutely desirable that a deputation should wait upon His Excellency, provided the new Viceroy startled by the continued persecution of the Sikhs desires to receive one."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(b) The following occurs in the combined issue of the *Khalsa Advocate* dated the 8th and 15th April:—"We . . . accord, on behalf of the great Sikh community, our whole-hearted welcome to Lord Reading to the Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship of India. The Sikh community have been greatly disillusioned in their fondest hopes and cherished beliefs which it had built, in view of their unbroken record of loyal service and unparalleled sacrifice to uphold and carry on the Union Jack, upon the trust and faith in the British sense of justice. Not only this. They have been baffled in their honest and innocent attempts at self-reform by also those who are now looked down upon as the products and upholders of the beauracratic system of government. Lord Reading, who has spent his whole life in administering law and justice, is our last ray of hope in the British catholicity . . . It is our earnest prayer that Lord Reading, in the interests of sheer justice and the good name of the British Government, may not fail to find opportunity to fully acquaint himself with the case of the distressed and oppressed Sikhs. We also urge upon our Sikh leaders to make up a strong case in favour and justification of their claim to the supreme and absolute authority of Guru Khalsa over their *gurdwaras* and shrines, etc., and in support of their progressive reform movement. Drive all truth fully home to the heart of the new Viceroy and look hopefully for the result at the hands of Lord Reading."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Government and the Sikhs.

7. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 21st April:—"The Punjab Government has issued a resolution which defines the Government's position towards the Sikh community and puts in a strong plea for the maintenance of cordial relations between the Sikhs and the Government. After stating that 'attempts are being made in public speeches and writings to embitter the cordial relations which have hitherto been maintained between Government and the Sikh community,' the resolution goes on to describe in detail what Government has done for the Sikh community in recent years." After quoting an extract, the paper continues:—"It is true that Government has done something to conciliate Sikh opinion . . . . But it will be remembered that Government's action . . . . . was taken after long and persistent agitation in almost every case. No one who has been following the activity of the Sikh public bodies in the Punjab during recent years could have failed to notice that the Government's granting of reasonable privileges to the Sikhs and the removal of their 'legitimate grievances' have been almost universally pronounced by the Sikhs themselves to be inadequate and unsatisfactory. The new scheme of the management of the Khalsa College, which was announced after the professors and the students of the College had gone on strike, has failed to satisfy that section of the Sikhs which advocated the reform; nor are the Sikhs satisfied with the number of seats allotted to them in the Legislative Council as compared with that allotted to Muhammadans. The appointment of a Sikh member of the Executive Council, when one of the two ministers is a Hindu and the other a Muhammadan, is in pursuance of the established policy of Government in such matters. The provision of two engineers for the protection of a Sikh shrine from erosion by river is, after all, a small matter. It is significant that the resolution does not make any mention of certain Sikh political prisoners entitled to be released in accordance with the amnesty extended under the Royal Proclamation of 1919, because most of the prisoners, who never had the benefit of a fair trial under the provisions of the ordinary law, are still in jail and Government's refusal to release them is to no small extent responsible for the present discontent amongst the Sikhs."

India under British rule.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

8. The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th April publishes a communication from one LALA CHARANJIV LAL AGGARWAL, who says that the daily growing poverty of India constitutes a sad blot upon the reputation of the British Government. It will appear on a careful consideration that not only is the wealth of Indians being drained away, but that even their lives are being shortened. Let alone our country being prosperous, its very existence is now in danger. The average age in India has gone down to 23 years as against 44 in the case of England. The number of famines has increased in the country since it came under the British Government. The grain in it is meant not for the starving Indians but for foreign countries. This is the reason why there are frequent famines in the country and its people die from starvation in large numbers.

India and independence.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

9. The *Zamindar* of the 16th April endeavours to controvert the argument advanced by some moderates that it would be most dangerous for India to get *swaraj* unless she is able to defend herself against foreign invaders. These gentlemen argue, it says, that if the British were to go away from India to-day and she were invaded by Afghanistan or Japan, Indians would be unable [successfully] to oppose the invader. The argument cannot, however, hold water. If India were to display strength enough to make the powerful British Government yield to her, no other foreign power would venture to attack her in order to subjugate her. On the contrary, the impression would be created among the greedy powers of the world that India, who had obtained freedom from a powerful nation like the British, could not easily be overpowered by any small state. And even if any foreign power did attack a country, which had the strength to free itself from the control of the British Government, it would be strong enough successfully to oppose foreign invaders. Our critics also say that it is necessary for the safety of India that a mighty power like England should protect her and that she should, therefore, remain in its possession. Is it not necessary for the protection of Switzerland, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro and other petty states in Europe that they also should be divided amongst Great Britain, France, Germany and America? If even such tiny countries can maintain their independence in the midst of the great powers of the west, surely a vast country like India also can do so in spite of its lying close to Afghanistan, Japan, etc. Continuing, the paper says that it is an admitted fact that India's help is as necessary for Great Britain as that of the latter is for the former. Why should, then, Britain rule over India and the latter grovel in the pit of slavery? Why should not the relations of brotherhood and equality exist between the two? We do not wish to cut off our connection with Great Britain. We merely desire to change the nature of the relation. The present connection is that of master and slave, but the future relations should be based on brotherhood and mutual coöperation, which is possible only if Great Britain acts with justice and righteousness in the matter of our legitmate demands relating to the Khilafat and Punjab questions.

The Behar Executive Council.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 23rd April :—" Sir Walter Maude, the senior European member of the Behar and Orissa Executive Council, has been succeeded on retirement by Mr. MacPherson. The news has come to us as an unpleasant surprise. It will be remembered that during the last session of the Indian Legislative Assembly on a resolution being moved by a non-official member on the subject, Sir William Vincent said that the retention of two Europeans had the concurrence of Lord Sinha and was a temporary measure, as none of the Indian Executive Councillors had practical experience of administration. The Home Member further added that the arrangement would be re-examined on the retirement of the senior European member. Now that the senior European member has retired, why has he quietly been succeeded by another European? The assurance given by Sir William . . . . was definite and quite explicit. Besides, in spite of Government opposition the resolution was passed by the Assembly. The appointment of Mr. MacPherson seems to shew that the existing arrangement is to continue, at any rate so long as there is an Indian Governor of the province. We should like to know why this policy is adopted and what becomes of the value of Sir William Vincent's statement in the Legislative Assembly."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

11. In criticising the order extending the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura districts for another six months, the *Tribune* of the 23rd April writes:—"The Punjab Government says that 'excitement of a dangerous character continues in the central Punjab and incitements to violence and disorder are frequently given at meetings held under cover of legal exemptions.' . . . . A clear distinction should be drawn between the legitimate criticism of Government measures and policies, though expressed in strong and emphatic language and accompanied by usual fervour and emotion, and the existence of actual danger to peace and activities of the people directed against Government and authority. The existence in the central Punjab of 'excitement of a dangerous kind' is, we are constrained to say, a figment of the imagination and the outcome of a panicky mind. Excitement there is undoubtedly, but it is not dangerous—at any rate, it has not proved to be dangerous in the majority of instances, so as justify a wholesale condemnation of the temper of the people. . . . The Punjab Government further says that 'incitements to violence and disorder are frequently given at meetings held under cover of legal exemptions.' We have no hesitation in saying that this is again a pure assumption and is unsupported by facts. We are aware that a number of persons were recently prosecuted and 'convicted' for speaking sedition at certain religious meetings, but in most of these cases the evidence produced was by police informers and absolutely untested by cross-examination, the accused having declined to defend themselves. And, moreover, even these cases of convictions have been so few that a general assumption of the kind the Punjab Government has made can only be regarded as utterly unjustifiable. . . . To justify the application or the extension of the Act, Government must be able to prove that there is real danger and not merely imaginary one, and that the temper of the generality of the people is hostile to the Government and calculated to burst out into actual violence and disorder. In the absence of such proof we can only regard the action of the Government as an act of injustice to the people and an unwarranted interference in their peaceful and legitimate activities. . . . What makes this act of repression all the more regrettable is the fact that it is calculated to do more harm than good and is likely to add to the excitement that already exists among the people. . . . The effect of injuring the bulk of the innocent and law-abiding people for the sake of a few cannot but give a fresh cause of complaint and a legitimate grievance to those who had none. Thus Government is actively endeavouring to drive its friends and supporters into the hostile camp, and at a time when it is asking for the cooperation of the people, it is also making such cooperation difficult if not impossible . . . In any case we are convinced that by extending the operation of the Act for another period of six months the Punjab Government has done no less injury to itself than to the people."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Arya Samaj.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st April publishes a communication from one LALA SANT RAM THUKRAL, who says that religion and politics are inseparable from each other. There is no religious book of the Aryas which does not teach politics in one form or another. The sixth chapter of the *Sattyarth Parkash* in particular deals with teachings of this kind. There is no reason, therefore, why the Arya Samaj should not merge itself in the National Congress. The contrary conduct will make an outcaste of it and argue weakness on its part.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

The ecclesiastical department.

13. The *Arya Gazette* of the 14th April complains of the expenditure incurred by the Government of India on the ecclesiastical department. Cannot, it asks, official patronage of, and the financial sacrifice which is being so blindly made for, a particular religious sect be stopped. Our own money is being spent to degrade us and make us irreligious. When will this injustice come to an end? If Government wishes to remain impartial in connection with religious matters it should stop spending twenty lakhs of rupees on the department referred to and utilise the money for some useful purpose.

The Pathar mosque, Srinagar.

14. The *Zamindar* of the 15th April states that a respectable correspondent writes that the Pathar mosque in Kashmir is in a most unsatisfactory condition. The place is being treated by the state with the greatest disrespect. Grain is stored there and horses and asses are tethered in its courtyard. A police *chouki* has been set up in a corner of the courtyard and a latrine constructed near it for the officials concerned. In short, nothing has been left undone to desecrate this "House of God". It is needless to describe how heartlessly the religious freedom of the people living in Native States is being throttled in these days. The Kashmir authorities do not wish to allow the Khilafat movement to continue in their State, simply because their masters, *i.e.*, the Indian Government, would otherwise get offended. But probably there can be no political purpose in showing disrespect to the Pathar mosque. Why do they, then, wound the religious feelings of lakhs of the Muslim subjects of the State?

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Akhtar Ali Khan,
editor.

A complaint from Sandila (U. P.).

15. The *Vakil* of the 17th April says that the *Daur-i-Jadid* is responsible for the news that even meetings to hear *kathas* and celebrate the Prophet's nativity cannot be held in Sandila without permission. It is still worse, however, that Friday prayers also cannot be said without an official order. Commenting, the *Vakil* expresses its inability to understand why the prayers referred to cannot be performed without permission. If the news is well-founded it is undoubtedly the duty of Government to censure officers who issue such improper orders in a fit of excitement and to warn them of the undesirable] consequences of such acts.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

V.—EDUCATION.

The Islamia College, Lahore.

16. The *Zamindar* of the 20th April protests against the decision of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam to appoint Mr. Wilson as principal of the Lahore Islamia College. It was impossible, says the paper, that title-holders and honorarty magistrates would have proved false to the nation of their rulers. We would ask the authorities of the Anjuman if they were not satisfied with the insult and ridicule to which Islam was subjected by Mr. Martin [the former principal] in the columns of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Do they wish that further insults should be offered to the doctrines and *ulema* of their religion. The old secretary of the college committee Mian Fazl-i-Husain has left the institution and joined Government. He has, however, left behind the effects of his policy of worshipping Europeans; and this is a making trouble for his successor. We ask the self-respecting students of the Islamia College and the Muhammadans of the Punjab whether their sense of shame and of respect for their faith can tolerate that a member of the nation, whose hands are stained with the blood of the Khilafat, which in its Houses of Parliament decided the Punjab question against the Hindus and Muhammadans and which occupies, directly or indirectly, the sacred places of Islam, should eat their salt and still lord it over their college? Can the authorities of the Anjuman guarantee that Mr. Wilson will not try to retard the Khilafat movement?

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore):
Akhtar Ali
Khan,
editor.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lahore municipal election.

17. The *Tribune* of the 22nd April has the following:—"There is no end to the vagaries of some of our bureaucratic rulers. The *sang froid* with which some of them discharge at times many of their most delicate and responsible executive duties is equalled only by the pertinacity with which they stick to the line of action they have once chosen. To act in an autocratic manner is bad enough, but to persist in that wrong course of action is worse still. The other day we referred . . . . to the extreme desirability of removing the restriction regarding the holding of voters' meetings believed to have been imposed on the people of Lahore as a result of the application of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act . . . . But evidently the last limit of bureaucratic error had not been reached, or else why should it have been thought necessary to proclaim by beat of drum on Wednesday last, when half the elections were practically over, that voters' processions were also prohibited." Next the paper challenges the legality of the prohibition, and continues:—"For the first time in the history of municipal elections in Lahore, a more or less organised attempt is being made to return none but Congressmen to the local municipal committee. The authorities, first by withholding permission to hold

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. R y,
editor.

voters' meetings, and secondly, by stopping processions, have succeeded in stultifying the canvassing activities of municipal candidates. The popular impression prevails, rightly or wrongly, that these orders are designed in the interests of candidates of the *rais* and propertied classes as against those of the Congress candidates .... The situation that has been created in Lahore, particularly in regard to its bearing on municipal elections as a result of the operation of restrictive legislation, affords a striking commentary on the working of the Reforms Act. Here is an Indian Minister in charge of Local Self-Government and an Indian Executive Councillor holding the Police portfolio. Both are watching on while under their very nose—we do not say with their acquiesence, tacit or express—the local authorities in the person of the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police are exercising an altogether unusual and unjustifiable exercise of authority."

VII—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A European Dewan for Jaipur.

18. The *Tribune* of the 23rd April writes:—"The *Bengalee* makes the announcement that Sir Charles Cleveland, Director-General of Crimes, has been appointed Dewan of Jaipur on his rtirement from the Civil Service. If this news is correct, it is bound to be received with uneasy feelings by the people of the State concerned and generally all over India ... There have been scores of Indians in the past who have displayed administrative genius in the comparatively congenial atmosphere of Native States and have won the unstinted admiration of the British Government. If this recognised field of training and employment of Indian talent were taken away by the influx of retired European officials there would be justifiable cause for complaint. It is quite true that in many of the States reforms are badly needed and the administration is conducted on almost primitive lines. But whatever reforms are required in them should be introduced through Indian statesmen, who are in a better position to deal successfully with local prejudices and obstacles. We do hope that the Government of India will use its influence to get the appointment cancelled in view of the feelings aroused throughout the country against it."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Nagpur temperance workers.

19. The *Kesari* of the 18th April states how some zealous temperance workers of Nagpur, who tried to persuade drunkards not to take liquor, were recently arrested by the police. The paper contrasts the incident with the treatment accorded to the English coal miners who are now on strike and forced pointsmen also to follow their example. The men, it says, even took to looting goods trains, but Indians will be surprised to learn that none of them were shot or arrested. In England even robbers and dacoits are regarded as civilised men, but in India people persuading their fellow-countrymen to give up drinking are treated like dacoits. Have Indians ever asked themselves why they have been reduced to their present condition and why they cannot advise their brothers to abstain from the use of liquor. The only reply to the question is that they are slaves. They are slaves in spite of their being educated and civilised. They are being accorded the present treatment owing to their being slaves. The remedy lies in their obtaining *swaraj* and shaking themselves free of slavery.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Indian Muhammadans and Afghanistan.

TRIBUNE (Lahore) ; K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The *Tribune* of the 24th April writes :—" Considerable curiosity was aroused among the public by a speech made recently by Mr. Muhammad Ali at Madras in the course of which he was reported to have stated something of the lengths to which he was prepared to go in the attempt to obtain redress for Khilafat wrongs. . . . . Having made certain preliminary remarks he proceeded to explain what the attitude of Indian Muhammadans would be towards Afghanistan and what he wrote to the Viceroy on the subject some time ago from the jail in Bathoul. So far there is nothing in his speech that is exceptionable. But he proceeded to examine a purely imaginary and hypothetical case of Afghan invasion of India and drew a distinction between two types of possible invasions, one wanton or aggressive, and the other in defence of Islam when in danger. In the latter case, he said it would be the duty of Muhammadans in India to 'assist' and 'fight' for Islam. . . . . The doctrine that Indian Muhammadans should 'assist' the invader and 'fight' is the most objectionable advice one can think of. Non-violence is the essence of the struggle started by Mr. Gandhi and it is the sacred duty of all his followers —and the Ali brothers are prominent as being non-coöperators accepting Mr. Gandhi's lead—should do nothing to suggest violence in any form or circumstance by imagining an absolutely fictitious and impossible position. We are sorry that Mr. Muhammad Ali's reference to the Government of India in certain places were utterly disrespectful and wantonly irritating. We hope that such intemperate language will be strictly avoided in future. "

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The new Viceroy.

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore) ; Rama Deva, editor.

2. The *Vedio Magazine* for April writes :—" The new Viceroy desires a chance and he must get it. But let not the Indian people be lured merely by fair promises and fair words. We do not mean to suggest that Lord Reading will not fulfil his promises. But it is at the same time too early to say that he will. It remains to be seen how the bureaucratic atmosphere affects him. Its effect is slow, subtle and sure. Let our people remember, above all, that neither Lord Reading nor any British statesman, however good intentioned and well-meaning, can create their destiny for them. Of that they and they alone are to be the sole architects. Viceroys can multiply

obstacles or reduce them. Beyond this they are powerless to do anything. If we go on with the non-coöperation movement in right earnest, eschewing all violence and deepening and broadening and thereby purifying the channels of national life, we are sure to reach our goal in the prescribed time, in spite of Lord Reading's hostility, assuming that he turns hostile. If, on the contrary, we continue to be guided by sectional and communal self-interest and to sacrifice national weal at the altar of sectarian narrowness, we shall never attain *swarajya*, even if the new Viceroy is genuinly solicitous to promote the cause of Indian independence."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

The British connection.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 21st April says that India's enemies allege that the non-coöperaters desire the expulsion of the English from this country. We assure Lord Reading, however, that the accusation has no leg to stand upon: the recent change in the objects of the National Congress and the Muslim League only signifies that India wishes to exercise her natural right of freedom and not to sever her connection with the English. It would of course be a different thing if this connection stood in her way of obtaining freedom. She cannot hold it so dear that, in order to preserve it, she should regard her freedom as a worthless thing, consent to be the slave of a foreign nation and keep silent at the destruction of her honour at that nation's hands. So far as the prevailing political unrest is concerned, therefore, Lord Reading can remove it by changing the present system of administration and making the authorities answerable and responsible to the people. The last-named should have full control over their army, revenues and legislation, nothing short of which can conciliate them.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Home Rule.

4. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd April refers to a communication in the *Englishman* suggesting the appointment of an Indian like the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Maharaja of Gwalior as the next Viceroy, and says that such things cannot now satisfy the people of this country. The only way to bring about this result is to change the present system of Government, which is impossible, however, without the attainment of Home Rule. Indians are determined not to feel satisfied with any concession short of self-government.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Race prejudice in India.

5. The *Tribune* of the 28th April writes :—" One of the most potent causes that militate against a raproachment between the European and Indian communities in India is the existence of racial prejudice. The European arrogates to himself certain rights and privilege as a member of the ruling caste. He assumes an air of superiority as a 'white' man and regards the domination of the coloured races as the most natural thing in the world. Preposterous claims based on racial arrogance have been made from time to time by Europeans in this country and abroad. Even the profession of a common religion is not regarded as sufficient to overcome this race prejudice, for we find that discrimination is made between European and Indian Christians even in Christian churches. Not only that. Race prejudice follows a person even beyond the grave, for are there not separate cemetries for Europeans and 'Native' Christians ? . . . . The Indian on his part in the beginning accepted his lower status as a necessary condition of alien rule. As political consciousness grew, the Indian naturally became more sensitive. Race-consciousness in him began to assert itself in an increasing degree. The knowledge dawned upon his mental horizon that he was regarded as a pariah in his own land. With the march of time and as a direct result of the political ferment that we have witnessed in this country during the last few years, the sense of racial equality was still further quickened. Martial law and its attendant atrocities served as a further incentive. . . . The lesson in national humiliation burnt itself into India's soul and will not be easily forgotten, although time may be trusted to heal the wounds occasioned thereby. And as in India, so abroad. The treatment meted out to Indians as members of a coloured race within the confines of the British Empire itself, in South and East Africa, in Canada, in Australia and in the Fiji Islands, is well-known. . . . In the interests of a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled it is of the utmost importance that race prejudice should be eliminated both from our public as well as private lives. The British and the Indian have to live together and if they are to do so with profit to themselves, to India and the Empire, they can do so only on conditions of perfect equality and mutual

esteem. Equality in its turn will beget co-operation, the one crying need of the present moment."

Government and the Sikhs.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 22nd April writes :—" Nothing could have been more appropriate and well-advised than this resolution and we accord our unreserved appreciation to it. We also fully share the regret of the Governor-in-Council, that 'attempts are being made in public speeches and writing to embitter the cordial relations between the Government and the Sikh community which has worked with Government so loyally in the past.' But we beg permission to point out that the causes which have given occasion to efforts being made to create a feeling of estrangement between the Government and the Sikh community are not of our creation. To a very great extent the Government or its officers are responsible for them. No doubt the Government have recognised certain rights of the Sikhs and removed some of their 'legitimate grievances,' but the hesitating, halting and half hearted manner in which they have done all this, and that also after a persistent and prolonged agitation, have taken all the grace out of them. For instance, the exemption of the wearing of the *kirpan* from the restriction of the Arms Act has not been, as the recent arrests in connection therewith have proved, an unmixed boon. Although the Government has denied the truth of these allegations the fact remains that real *kirpans* have been taken as swords and men wearing them and refusing to lay them down have been arrested and punished under that offence or another auxiliary offence immediately growing out of it. We have several times proved in these columns that in Sikh terminology, and also in the ancient Hindu terminology, the term *kirpan* is synonymous with Kharag Sehthi, Karwar, Asi, Bhagauti, etc. [sword]. . . In arresting Sikhs for wearing long *kirpans* under a foisted charge of wearing swords, the Government seems to be going back on the order of exemption of the *kirpan*. . . Another 'reasonable privilege' which the Government has conceded to the Sikhs is 'the introduction for the first time of separate representation for the Sikhs in the Legislative Councils.' We thank the Government so far as the introduction of the separate representation is concerned, but it must be admitted that the Sikhs never gave their willingness to the manner in which the separate representation has been given effect to. . . And as we have seen in the debates in the Legislative Council the Sikhs representation has not only been not effective but a miserable failure. Thus the second 'privilege' which the Government has conceded to the Sikhs has left a wound in their heart, and the pain which occasionally presses forth from the wound gives expression to bitter bickerings. Retirement from the control and management of the Khalsa College and the Golden Temple does not constitute an act of grace towards the Sikhs. It was rather more in exoneration of its own good name and the removal of a stigma which rested so long on the Government than an act of merit, that Government felt bound to withdraw and thereby hush up a booming agitation. The other privileges which the Government has been at pains so braggingly to place before public gaze are not such as should have prompted it to make capital out of them. They rather signify the rectification of their own mistakes in which they had persisted so long, and if these tiny favours are weighed with the enormous sacrifices which the Sikhs have put in for the sake of the British Government all these favours will pale into insignificance. Still, however, the Sikhs are not a nation of ungrateful people. They are grateful to the Government for all such small mercies or marks of its sympathy with Sikh aspirations. But this feeling of gratitude cannot blind them to their more pressing needs. In the matter of the movement for the reform of the Sikh *gurdwaras* and shrines the Government appears to be labouring under a huge blunder. It starts with a wrong hypothesis. . . We are quite thankful to the Government for the assurance that 'the [Gurdwara] Bill has been introduced with no other object than that of supplying to the party of reform a method of securing a procedure which the existing law does not provide ; and it has been devised solely with the object of meeting the immediate needs of the Sikh community.' But when such is the aim and object of the Government why can it not impress the fact upon the members and ministers who are opposing the principle on which the Sikh members suggest the Bill should be based. . . . If a legislation on the lines suggested by the Sikhs through the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, be not possible, the last recourse open to the Government would be to obtain His Majesty's direct warrants giving effect to the Sikhs' wishes. By virtue of the

unequalled sacrifices put in the cause of the British Government by the Sikhs they are entitled to such a preferential treatment by royal warrants if not by popular consent."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(b) Elsewhere the paper writes :—"We enter our strong potest against the unseemly and summary manner in which Sikhs are being handled, arrested and punished at Amritsar. From the officers of a civilised Government and the members of a most civilized nation the world expects better manners."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

Repression and the Muhammadans.

7. ONE SYED AYUB AHMAD writing to the *Zamindar* of the 22nd April says that section 144 [of the Criminal Procedure Code] signifies that the blood of the Indians should be sucked by bringing false charges against them. If in one place people are prohibited from holding meetings, at another orders are issued forbidding them to open their lips. It is a pity, however, that the authorities do not know that this oppressive policy can never prove successful and that true Muhammadans can never keep quiet at a time when their religion is in danger at the hands of its enemies. The question is a religious one, and self-defence is incumbent on the Muhammadans at the present juncture. Every one of them is prepared and will ever be ready to sacrifice his life, property, honour and comfort for his religion. Can they keep their lips sealed through fear of the section referred to or be afraid of jail and the gallows at a time when Madina and Mecca are in the possession of the supporters of infidels, when the guardians of the Kaaba and *mojawars* of the Prophet's mausoleum [the Turks] have been overtaken by ruin, when the Caliph of Islam is a prisoner of Christians, when the cries of despair and disappointment issue from the tomb of Ayub Ansari in Constantinople, and when the sacred soul of Saladin is being harrowed over the conquest of Jerusalem? They wish to be loyal to their Creator and have regard for their religion and brotherhood.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Government and non-coöperation.

8. (a) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 24th April :—"All the provincial Governments are now engaged in a kind of war against the non-coöperation movement, because they are convinced that it is dangerous to the country. Some have resorted to repression, pure and simple, hitting the innocent along with the guilty—the coöperators along with the non-coöperators—without discrimination. Some have resorted to prosecutions on a fairly large scale and sending hostile critics of Government to jail. Others are more considerate and have decided to fight propaganda with propaganda and to meet non-coöperators on fairer grounds. They have created local organisations to preach to the people the harmful effects of the non-coöperation movement and persuade them not to put their faith in its aims and methods. This is, on the whole, reasonable, though its result depends on the effect produced on the people by the arguments used and the conviction they carry with them."

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dewarka Parshad Mehta, editor.

(b) The following is from the *Cantonment Advocate* of the 25th April :—"The cantonment administration is Government by executive fiat. We understand that on the 6th and 13th April a complete *hartal* was observed in Mussourie. On the evening of the 13th April, Mr. Ram Kumar, 'Master' Jai Kishen Chand Vaidi and others delivered enthusisatic speeches on *swadeshi* and other kindred subjects. This was rather too strong a temptation for the local Cantonment Magistrate armed with the arbitrary powers of the Cantonment Code. Forthwith an order was promulgated to the effect that in the Cantonment Bazar, Landour, all shops should be opened by 11 A. M. and that if any shop was found closed it would not be allowed to open for a month. Nor was this deemed sufficient. The Cantonment Magistrate further ordered that in case any shopkeeper objected to the above order, he would be sent out of the cantonment area bag and baggage for the whole season. We are not concerned here with the proprietry of *hartals* as a means of protest against certain official measures. . . . We especially object to the procedure adopted by the Cantonment Magistrate. It smacks of repression. It establishes a dangerous precedent if allowed unchecked. What are the authorities in other parts of the country doing to meet the non-coöperation movement? They prosecute under the ordinary law those who deliver violent speeches or are reported to incite people to violence. Why should it be reserved for cantonment authorities alone to deviate from this straight path and take recourse to

Draconian measures? We hope that the higher authorities will issue special instructions to Cantonment Magistrates not to lose their balance at this critical period in the history of the country. By all means punish the guilty, but for this the ordinary law is more than sufficient. But to take such drastic steps against *hartal*, which has been pronounced a perfectly constitutional method of protest by the highest authorities, is illegal."

Reforms for the Frontier Province.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. Adverting to Sir John Maffey's reference, in his reply to the address of welcome presented to him at Peshawar, to the reforms proposed to be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province, the *Tribune* of the 24th April writes:—"We do not know if [his] rough sketch of the reform scheme. .... has the approval of the Government of India and if it has been already decided that nothing more than an advisory council with wealthy landholders and Nawabs can be thought of for the Province. .... Unless the public are given an opportunity to examine the whole of the draft scheme, as it is conceived by the Government of India, it is not possible to offer any definite opinion on the same. The people of the Frontier Province must therefore ask for the publication of the entire scheme before asking for their opinion. That publication is necessary not only in the interests of the Frontier people but in those of the Punjab and other provinces of India. These must have a voice in the decision of the Frontier reform scheme, as a considerable sum of money from the central exchequer is being spent on the military and civil administration of that province and as it is necessary that curtailment should, if possible, be effected in it by making the people more contended and the province more secure. Admitting the peculiar difficulties in the way of full local autonomy offered by the strategic position of the province, cannot the Government of India treat the province liberally in regard to the devolution of power to the elected representatives of the people except in reserved departments? Even if no more can be done than to institute an advisory council with certain definite powers, why should the councillors not be elected by the people themselves and why does Sir John Maffey lay stress on the perference of the so-called 'natural' leaders of the people?"

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd April considers it deplorable that the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura districts has been extended for another six months. It is still more regrettable, however, that this is stated to have been done with the approval of the Government of India. Has Lord Reading considered it proper that he should not hear the voice of the Punjab for the period referred to? Has his visit to the Punjab led him to the decision that this is the proper way to remove the unrest prevalent here? If this be really so the country should feel glad at the new disappointment thereby caused to it. It is good that the disappointment which it would have experienced some time hence has been caused to it at the very outset.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 24th April says that, if in spite of entire districts having been gagged, the people continue to incite to violence and disorder, the malady requires a different treatment. Government thinks that it can drive feelings of bitterness from the minds of the people with the aid of the Seditious Meetings Act, whereas the operation of this law has the effect of adding to them. It is necessary, therefore, that some other remedy should be tried. The hearts of the people should be captivated instead of their lips being sealed. What is the value of the peace which Government has to maintain by enforcing repressing laws? The new era has no meaning if peace can be maintained in it only by muzzling the people.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesri* of the 25th April writes that the event argues weakness on the part of the Punjab Government. It shows clearly enough that the Government named can only rule with the aid only of repression. There can be no stronger proof of a Government's failure than that it should not rule over the hearts of its subjects. There can be no doubt that personally Sir Edward Maclagan is a gentle and good-natured man. The difficulty, however, is that the Anglo-Indians around him try to put him on the wrong path. They made O'Dwyer's regime a failure and now wish to get a similar certificate to a good ruler like Sir Edward. It is time that His Excellency realised this and abandoned his repressive policy. If repression has failed in Ireland, Egypt and other countries, surely it cannot succeed in the Punjab or the rest of India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 27th April has the following:—"The Government notification announcing the extension of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act for another period of six months in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura while expressing regret at the necessity which has forced Government to extend the operation of the Act, holds out a threat that the Act would not be withdrawn so long as the present conditions prevail. The position, therefore, amounts to this. Government are prepared to extend the Act not once or twice but as many times as they think it necessary in the interests of law and order. Nobody questions the right of Government to adopt all necessary measures to secure the vast bulk of the people against seditious propaganda. . . . It is a mistake to regard the present disturbed state of the public mind in certain districts of the Punjab as something isolated from the conditions prevailing in the rest of the country. The fact is that the present unrest which one witnesses in the Punjab is not sporadic but generic . . . The cure to be applied, if it is to be effective, ought to be radical and not merely superficial. The present discontent in India is due to the existence of deep-rooted grievances. Repression is the last thing in the world that will prove effective as a check against the growing unrest in the country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Martial law prisoners.

11. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 29th April:—"The following *communiqué* has been issued by the Government of India:—'It is understood that the Viceroy has called for records of cases of those martial law prisoners who are still undergoing sentence, with a view to satisfy himself that there is no case still remaining in which clemency cannot suitably be exercised.' There is no objection to His Excellency the Viceroy calling for the records of cases of martial law prisoners; but the fact cannot be ignored that the records are vitiated and hopelessly inadequate to judge of the guilt or innocence of the prisoners concerned. The trials were summary, the procedure was defective, the accused persons had not the benefit of efficient legal assistance, the witnesses were terror-stricken, the accused had not a fair opportunity of meeting the charges brought against them, and the tribunals did not hold the trials in the manner and the atmosphere in which judicial trials ought to be held. Under these circumstances, the records of these cases cannot be relied on to furnish any evidence worth the name of the innocence or the guilt of the prisoners. As long as a single martial law prisoner remains in jail, the people cannot be satisfied, no matter how often the process of review and of clemency has been exercised, because clemency and executive review of sentences cannot take the place of a judicial appeal or of a regular and fair trial in an open and impartial court of law. The only course open to Government, if it wants to satisfy public opinion, is to release all prisoners convicted by martial law tribunals, for the simple reason that none of them ever had a fair trial. Failing that, Government should hold fresh trials in ordinary courts of law of such prisoners as it is not prepared to release immediately. It would not do to pick and choose between the persons convicted in the various cases and to compare the varying heinousness of their alleged crimes, because the records on which such comparison must be based cannot furnish fair and reliable evidence of the guilt of the persons concerned. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Edward Maclagan, Lord Chelmsford and the Committee of two High Court Judges have all during the last two years reviewed the sentences of these unfortunate prisoners; but the one mistake that was made in all these review operations was to rely on the records prepared by martial law tribunals, which set at naught all cannons of judicial impartiality and fairplay. If Lord Reading chooses to repeat the experiment and order the release of a few more of these prisoners, who cannot be said to have been properly convicted, he is welcome to do so. But the people of the Punjab will not be satisfied, as long as a single person convicted under martial law is kept in jail."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhās, editor.

The V. P. P. system.

12. The *Vakil* of the 23rd April says that the new postal rates have very adversely affected the V. P. P. system. Up till to the middle of last year, *i. e.*, before the registration of value-payable packets was made obligatory, an article worth annas 8 cost the purchaser only one anna and six pies for its dispatch by V. P. P. After remarking that henceforth the cost will come to annas 5, the paper asks

whether the object of the Post Office is to promote trade or to retard its progress. If it does not consist in the latter what meaning is there in the imposition of severe restrictions [on trade] ?

The Jullundur Division and the Sikhs.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

13. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 22nd April writes :—"The Jullundur Division comprises some of the districts known pre-eminently as Sikh tracts. It is therefore natural for the community to expect that their claims in Government service will meet with adequate recognition there. We give below a table, showing the total number of Tahsildars, Naib Tahsildars, Superintendents, Head Clerks and Head Vernacular Clerks of Deputy Commissioners' offices in the Jullundur Division together with the actual number of Sikhs occupying these posts :—

		" Total No.	No. of Sikhs.
" Tahsildars	...	24	2
" Naib-Tahsildars	...	28	6
" Superintendents	...	6	*Nil*
" Head Clerks	...	6	*Nil*
" H. V. C's	...	6	*Nil*

" It may also be noted that the post of H. V. C. of the Commissioner's office has, by turn, gone to Hindus and Muhammadans and no Sikh has been given a chance. For the last four years not a single Sikh Tahsildar or Naib Tahsildar has been recommended by the Commissioner, Jullundur, for the Extra Assistant Commissioner, while we do not remember a single Sikh Naib Tahsildar, having been ever recommended for the same position from this Division."

The Rawalpindi Division and the Sikhs.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

14. The *Sikh* of the 24th April has the following :—" All our past cry has proved one made in the wilderness, for the Sikh claims in the Rawalpindi Division have so far never received the attention and consideration they deserved in view of the importance of the community or the personal eligibility of each of the Sikh Tahsildars who have, with all their good record of service, qualifications and experience, been superseded by non-Sikhs, far junior and far less eligible. Even Chaudhri Rattan Singh, B. A., was spared to remain a Tahsildar still. Now again we learn to our further and still deeper disappointment that this year, too, the Commissioner has recommended the following two Muhammadan Tahsildars for E. A. C.' ship :—(*i*) Mr. Fazal Hussain—only a Middle-passed with a record far poorer than those of the Sikh Tahsildars and no family claims even. (*ii*) Mr. Gul Muhammad, nearly ditto. We have no quarrel with these gentlemen and would rather be first to congratulate them on their good luck. Our protest is on the basis of fair field and no favour.' The Punjab Government yield to none in their repeated assertions that they always give the best possible consideration to the Sikhs' claims and never hesitate in conceding what may be due to them. Now we ask, is not this another proof of how Sikh claims are considered in the Rawalpindi Division, which includes a large Sikh population scattered over four important Sikh districts ? Let us still hope that this glaring injustice to the Sikhs will receive the attention of the Financial Commissioners and the Punjab Government and that no time will be spared to remove the complaint and the grievances. "

Vakil and Barristers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

15. The *Tribune* of the 29th April writes :—" The invidious distinction between the legal status and position of a Vakil and that of a Barrister is one of those things which remind us of the continued subjection of India to England, and the continuation of the distinction would be to give the lie to the much-vaunted talk of the removal of all racial inequalities in the new era which is said to have dawned on India . . . . In view of the fact that Vakils are in no way inferior to Barristers to differentiate between their legal and professional status is highly unjust and politically unwise . . . . India has now reached a stage in its national evolution, or, what is but another aspect of the same process, in its relation with England, that the continuation of such invidious distinctions, whatever their justification might have been in the past, is bound to create more dissatisfaction and lead to increased bitterness amongst the people. The people argue that the distinction between the Barristers and the Vakils is maintained, because the former receive their

training in England and the latter in India, and because the former contain a large number of Englishmen in their ranks, while the latter are almost all Indians. This is an impression, which may or may not be correct, but which it is in the interests of Government to remove as soon as possible."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTER.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

The Hindus and Muhammadans.

16. The *Zamindar* of the 22nd April says that some reactionary Hindus are of opinion that the Muhammadans have joined with them in the demand for *swaraj* because of the Khilafat question alone. They say that the latter wish to see Islamic powers intact and that their greatest desire is that India should be under the rule of one of these powers. They are also under the impression that this country will not be safe if the Khilafat question is decided in a satisfactory manner. Similarly, some Muhammadans of the old school believe that in the event of *swaraj* being attained their co-religionists will suffer owing to the Hindu majority behaving arbitrarily. Continuing, the paper contends that both the Hindus and Muhammadans in question are labouring under a misapprehension. It concludes with the remark that it is essential for the two communities unitedly to try to liberate India and Islam: the secret of the life of both lies hidden in their freedom.

PARKASH (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Religious processions.

17. Referring to the stoppage by the police of the Arya *nagarkirtan* procession at Rawalpindi, the *Parkash* of the 17th April suggests that neither should any religious society obtain permission from the police for parading processions nor should the latter insist on licenses being taken out for the purpose. All Arya Samajes should decide to take out *nagarkirtan* processions without obtaining a license. In the event of their being prevented by the police they should parads no procession. They can consider next whether or not such orders should be obeyed. The matter concerns not the Arya Samaj alone but all those societies which call themselves religious. It would be much better, therefore, if all religious societies combined to decide what line of action they should adopt. The police have thought of insisting on licenses at a time when a wave of unity is passing over all communities and none of them is likely to give offence to another, which removes all apprehension of a breach of the peace at present.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

A Peshawar mosque.

18. A correspondent writing to the *Siyasat* of the 27th April says that, on the one hand, Government advises the people to forget the past, but that, on the other, it is practising oppression and high-handedness. After remarking that the cup of the patience of Indians has been filled to the brim, the writer states that the rumour prevails in Peshawar city and cantonment that the Deputy Commissioner has required Khan Bahadur Sethi Karim Bakhsh to produce the account books of the Mahabat Khan mosque. Does that officer, he asks, wish to convert India into Baghdad? Again, would he keep even a mosque under the control of the military or police and convert Peshawar into another Jallianwala Bagh? The sycophants in the Frontier Province, who have passed all their life in rubbing their foreheads at the threshold of "white gods" and would push human beings down the abyss of degradation, are still advocating coöperation with Government.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The recent municipal elections.

19. The *Tribune* of the 26th April writes:—"The municipal elections both at Lahore and Sialkot are just over. The results that have been declared show a complete and decisive victory for Congressmen. . . . The results obtained at Lahore are particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that the local authorities exhausted practically all the powers entrusted to them by law in creating a situation the net result of which was to place the Congress candidates in a position of distinct disadvantage as compared with their rivals. . . . The recent election of an overwhelming majority of Congressmen not only at Lahore and Sialkot but also at Jullundur and Gujranwala ought to be an object lesson to the officials. The present happy results would have been impossible of achievement if the angle of vision of the vast bulk of the people who constitute the voters had not changed. The myth that the educated classes and the masses think in different

groves, that there is a gulf separating the two, has been exploded once again .... Local self-government in the province is in many instances more or less of a misnomer. It has to be made a reality. Official influence must be altogether eliminated and this is possible only when the members of municipalties are independent men anxious to jealously safeguard popular rights of which they are the custodians."

The Ambala Cantonment Committee.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, Mehta, editor.

20. Referring to the appointment of two Hindus, one Sikh and one Muhammadan gentlemen to be additional members of the Ambala Cantonment Committee, the *Cantonment Advocate* of the 25th April writes :—"The member of the Muslim members is inadequate, *i.e.*, 2 against 5 non-Muslims. It is not in proportion to the numerical strength of their population. The Muslim community is practically the numerical equal of the Hindu community in Ambala cantonment. Nor is there any dearth of capable men among them to act as their representatives..... We strongly urge that now that a new era is promised to be ushered in cantonments, nothing should be done even unwittingly by the authorities to show that they have marked preferences for this or that community. They should hold the scales even.... Yet another observation. The appointment of members robs the people of the great educative value of the ballot box. It affords scope for official patronage and has the fatal tendency of sapping the spirit of independence in non-official members We hope that the system of election will be introduced at no distant date."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

H. E. H. the Nizam.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

21. The *Zamindar* of the 23rd April takes exception to the *Pall Mall Gazette's* proposal that the title of His Majesty should be conferred on the ruler of Hyderabad. What did the Indian Muhammadan gain, asks the paper, by the bestowal of the title of His Exalted Highness on the Nizam? Such English titles and honours may carry some weight with him, but his coreligionists in India attach not the least importance to them. The *Pall Mall Gazette* is perfectly right in saying that the Muhammadans experience great pleasure at sight of a king professing their religion. He should, however, be an independent monarch like the Amir of Kabul and the Sultan of Turkey. A sight of the Khedive, the Sultan of Marocco, the Sharif of Mecca and Amir Feisul gives them pain instead. It is evident that the position of the Nizam is in no way superior to that of these rulers. Again, what special independent powers did he get by becoming "His Exalted Highness" that he could, on receiving the title of His Majesty, prove a source of blessing for the Indian Muhammadans? The Khilafat movement has been crushed in Hyderabad to a greater extent than even in British India. The fact that those who raised their voice for truth and freedom have been interned or expelled from his State is sufficient evidence of his kingly grandeur. The British Government should first grant independence to the Nizam, restore the Berar province to His Exalted Highness and allow his Government the same status in regard to all internal and foreign affairs as is enjoyed by Afghanistan. If it is after that the title of His Majesty is conferred on him the event would be most welcome to the Muhammadans. To do so in his present state of slavery and dependence would be tantamont to insulting kingship and ridiculing the title referred to.

Kapurthala and the Sikhs.

SIKH (Lahore); Lahna Singh, editor.

22. The *Sikh* of the 24th April writes :—"It was really very sad that the present ruler [of Kapurthala] should have forsaken the religion of his forefathers, but it is sadder still that his Government should have taken to repressive measures against those who are still proud of remembering His Highness's ancestors as their own venerable brethren in faith.... We hear with much regret that the State police are enforcing the size of the *kirpan* up to nine inches with the threat that wearers of a longer *kirpan* will be hauled up and fined Rs. 200 each. The Sikh inhabitants of such States will then have no recourse but to emigrate to British territory.... We are sanguine that the Political Agents concerned have had absolutely nothing to do with such actions—by way of either consultation or consent."

Reorganisation of the Army.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Chhotu Ram, editor.

23. The *Jat Gazette* of the 20th April states that proposals regarding the reorganization of foot and cavalry regiments are at present under consideration. It has also

been heard in this connection that there will be no regiment consisting exclusively of Jats. After remarking that the news has caused feelings of the deepest resentment in the Jat community, the paper says that, according to report, there will be some purely Sikh, Dogra and Muhammadan regiments. If this is really so, there is no reason why a few should not be reserved for the Jats also. Are the last-named behind any other Indian community in the matter of bravery or loyalty? We would most strongly request Government to set apart at least one cavalry (XIV Lancers) and two foot (VI and X Jats) regiments for them. We wish clearly to point out at the very outset that if this is not done, great dissatisfaction will be caused among the Jats and their love for military service will largely decrease.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

Government and the drink evil.

24. Adverting to the approaching visit to India of Mr. Johnson, the great temperance preacher, the *Siyasat* of 21st April says that it is rather difficult for him to achieve success in his mission to this country. The reason for this does not consist in Indians being fond of liquor, but in the fact of India being ruled by the nation [some] young men belonging to which could not bear his position to drinking and made him one-eyed. The authorities in India will probably raise no objection against him, but there is section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to deal with the Indians helping him. When the British Government can use cannon to make the Chinese take opium, how is it possible that the consumption of liquor and other intoxicants should cease or decrease in its own dominions and one of its chief source of income should thereby be lost?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

MUKH DIAL,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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CENTRAL REGISTRY
1 JUN 1921
INDIA OFFICE

I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

British neutrality in the Turko-Greek war.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th April alludes sceptically to the announcement made in Parliament on behalf of the British Government that the Allied Governments will maintain strict neutrality in the present war between the Greeks and the Turks and that Great Britain is neither helping, nor will help, the Greeks in the supply of arms and ammunition. The question arises whether the Allies had not already weakened the Turks and whether they had not improved the power of the Greeks by helping them in taking possession of various portions of Turkish territory. If this is so, the neutrality of Great Britain is tantamount to partiality to Greece. If two persons fight with each other and a third person causes the fall of one of the contending parties and secures an advantage for the other and if he asks both the contending parties to go on fighting for he will maintain neutrality, it is difficult to see how such neutrality can be called real. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the orders issued to the British officers of the Greek army will be fully obeyed, because these officers are fired by the desire of obliterating the Turks from the face of the earth. The British Government has announced its neutrality merely to please the world and the British officers of the Greek army must know this.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 1st May alludes to Reuter's message that it was stated in the House of Commons that in the present war between Turkey and Greece, Great Britain would remain neutral and Constantinople also would remain neutral as it was in possession of the Allies. We congratulate Sir Edward Maclagan, Governor of the Punjab, on the news as he had stated in a speech of his that Constantinople had been left in the hands of the Turks owing to Great Britain's anxiety to please the Indian Muhammadans. Is it not a cruel joke to say that a city where troops, places of defence, telegraph and post offices, are controlled by strangers belongs to the Turks? Sir Edward sprinkled salt on the wounded hearts of the Muhammadans by cutting this joke with them. God be praised that Reuter's telegram has exposed his untrue statement. We protest against the statement that Constantinople will remain neutral. Greece is at war with Turkey. Constantinople is the centre of the Turkish empire. It is being forcibly kept neutral by the Allies. In other words, the latter are keeping Turkey down by force, while her foe is openly attacking and inflicting blows on her. Is this neutrality? Is it justice? Does European civilisation hold such conduct justifiable? Is not the capital of Greece using its full force against Turkey? Why is then Turkey's capital being forcibly kept back from taking part in the present war? If memory does not fail us, the Allies occupied Constantinople to protect the Armenians from being slaughtered by the Turks. No mention was then made of Turkey's going to war against Greece. The whole work of the Turkish empire is done in Constantinople, and to prohibit Constantinople from joining the war means that the English are tying Turkey's hand and feet and throwing her before Greece after rendering her helpless in order that the latter may destroy Turkey. Great Britain can render no greater help to Greece than she is at present rendering by remaining neutral. In these circumstances it is quite absurd on the part of the English to claim that they are neutral. The present forced neutrality of Constantinople is akin to the forced neutrality of Egypt during the Tripolitan war when the English caused great loss to Muhammadans and made enemies of them. The Sultan is also helpless in the hands of the English, though he sympathises with his own people. It is still more incumbent on Muhammadans to have their Khilafat liberated as soon as possible.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(c) The *Zamindar* of the 1st May remarks that the maintenance of neutrality by the Allies in the fight between Greece and Turkey is an act of partiality. If the Turks, and not the Greeks, had adopted an aggressive attitude, the Allied powers would have never maintained an attitude of neutrality and would have promptly interfered. They would have held conferences and decided with the greatest sobriety that the Great Powers would despatch money and navy to expel the Turks from Grecian territory. But the Greek army is now entering Turkish territory and Turkish subjects are involved in danger. The British Government, however, is conferring a great obligation on Muhammadans by saying that it is neutral. This neutrality on the part of the British Government is fatal to the objects of the Government itself. If the Greeks go on behaving like this no peace can be established in western Asia and eastern Europe. The result of the unrest will be that more unrest will spread in those countries of Asia which are under the influence of the Western Powers and Muhammadans will be inflamed everywhere. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Greeks and the Allies have formed a wrong estimate of the power of the Turkish Liberals. If the Turks and the Greeks are allowed to have their own way on the battlefield and no foreign power helps the belligerents, the Turks will certainly overpower the Greeks and the question of Thrace and Smyrna will be decided of itself. But the trouble is that if the Turks were to gain victory after victory and vanquish the Greeks the Great Powers, which are now-a-days professing neutrality, will promptly rise and make prodigal and improper use of such terms as humanity, rights of justice and righteousness.

(d) The *Zamindar* of the 3rd May quotes the *Islamic News* of the 7th April, which says that in the present war between the Turks and the Greeks, England is secretly supplying ammunition to the Greeks and thus helping them.

(e) The *Zamindar* of the 5th May writes that when war broke out between Turkey and Greece, the British Government proclaimed its neutrality. But in a recent issue, the *Islamic News* states that the British Government is helping the Greeks. It is strange that the British Government is quite unmindful of the consequences of this inconsistency between words and deeds. If the report of the *Islamic News* is wrong, it is the duty of the Government to publish the real facts by issuing a communiqué.

The Bolshevik menace.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 2nd May remarks that some people, particularly the English, are under the impression that the Bolsheviks will invade India and Indians will side with them to liberate their country from the English control. But we think the Bolsheviks are as bad as other Europeans. The English and the Germans used to overrun the world and encroach upon other countries in the name of self-determination and civilisation. The Bolsheviks are doing the same thing in the name of the working classes and their object is to subjugate the weaker nations for purposes of self-aggrandisment. The Bolshevik invasion of Bukhara has confirmed us in this view. India does not want to fall into the Bolshevik trap. She is capable of securing her liberty. We support the *swaraj* movement. But the English are filled with fear.

The Egyptian situation.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

3. The *Kesri* of the 3rd May says the state of affairs in Egypt is not very encouraging as the nationalists have rejected Lord Milner's suggestions and want complete independence. They cannot tolerate that Great Britain should interfere in their internal or external affairs. The paper supports this demand and asks how Great Britain has obtained the right to keep in bondage a country or nation that does not want to remain in such bondage.

Withdrawal of British troops from Persia.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

4. The *Zamindar* of the 28th April notes with satisfaction the report that British troops are being withdrawn from Persia. Having noticed the cancellation of the Anglo Persian agreement and pointed to the helplessness of the British in Persia, as indicated by the coming withdrawal of their troops, the paper states that the present Government of Persia is not prepared to give any concession to the British. Surely the Persians could not allow the enemies of the Bolsheviks to remain in their country.

The effect of British policy in Asia.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

5. The *Zamindar* of the 30th April says that if the reports of the *Times of India* correspondent are well-founded it appears that a desire for *jehad* is growing apace among the independent tribes on the north-western frontier of India. The correspondent has learnt that General Shah Dola Khan is enlisting recruits from the frontier tribes for Ghazi Jamal Pasha and twelve thousand men have already enlisted. Afghan newspapers state that the Afghan army is being re-organized and it has been reported by Reuter that a body of military experts is shortly coming from Angora to re-organise the Afghan army. All these points show that the Turks and the Afghans have formed a mutual alliance and have resolved to elevate Islam and extirpate its enemies. The *Morning Post* hears from Moscow that Trotsky has gone to the Afghan frontier on an unknown mission. The unknown mission can only be connected with preparations to deal a blow to British prestige in Asia. Thus a great responsibility rests on Afghanistan. If the present excitement among the frontier tribes remains unchecked and the Turks and the Bolsheviks bring their troops into Afghanistan and prepare Afghanistan to join them in war, who can say that India will be able to withstand this joint invasion? The obstinate statesmen of the British Government do not realise the gravity of the situation and they will not try to safeguard India for His Majesty. But statesmanship requires that the demands of the Indians about the Khilafat and the Punjab questions should be conceded and a settlement arrived at about *swaraj* that might create cordial relations between all parties and thus save India for ever from ruin. British statesmanship is going to be placed on its trial. The only way to defeat the Bolsheviks is to conciliate Indians. If our demands are met, no power on earth can invade India. Before his imprisonment M. Zafar Ali Khan repeatedly advised Government to restore the dignity of the Khilafat, befriend the Turks, cut off the Turkish connection with the Bolsheviks and withdraw English forces from Mesopotamia. If this were done, Afghanistan would not go out of the hands of the British and the Bolsheviks would not dare invade India on finding that no other Asiatic nation was prepared to help them against the British. But in return for this loyal advice, the Maulvi was rewarded with imprisonment. Surely a Government which falls on evil days is always displeased with its well-wishers and peace-loving persons. The Persians have established their own Government. The nationalists of Mesopotamia will follow their example and the result will be that the British will be compelled to withdraw their troops from Mesopotamia also. We believe that the British Govern-

ment cannot maintain its prestige in Asia by means of the sword. Wisdom, good sense and sound policy are the only things by which the British can remain in Asia. It is to be regretted that such a policy does not find favour with the British Government. Will no Englishmen grasp the situation and adopt a course which might be useful for the credit of Britian, the freedom of India, the peace of the world and the respect of humanity ?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Afghanistan.

6. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 28th April concludes from the reports already published in the newspapers that now that the Afghans have escaped the clutches of Great Britain they are bent upon adopting a permanent policy in connection with their future attitude towards England. Afghanistan asks for payment of the subsidy that has not been remitted since the late Amir Habibullah's time, that permission should be given for the export of arms without any duty being levied on them, that the territory of Waziristan should be made over to the Afghans and that the right of granting permission to the representatives of foreign consuls to enter Kandhar, Ghazni and Jalalabad should be enjoyed by Afghanistan. In view of the preliminary success gained by the Afghans it is surprising that Great Britain has made no arrangement for the payment of the subsidy. Why do the English hesitate in making over Waziristan to the Afghans? The present attitude of the people of the frontier cannot at all lead one to anticipate that they will be pleased with the British connection which is being established by means of machine-guns and airships. In our opinion the sooner England gives up the idea of subjugating the Islamic nations of the East the better will it be for the British tax-payer. They also want other Muhammadan nations to be on their alert in dealing with the Allies. If in these circumstances England takes no step in this direction she will be committing a serious mistake and will be confronted with danger not only from a Western power but also on India's frontiers. We hope that the Afghans will never cease sympathizing with their Indian Muhammadan brethern, as the Afghan war of 1919 was connected with the Punjab disturbances. It will be wise if we make Afghanistan play in our hands in checking the advance of Bolshevism; and there will be peace if Sir Henry Dobbs is authorised to tell the Amir that the British are prepared to revise the Turkish treaty.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesri* of the 6th May writes that the national and political wave that is passing over Afghanistan is becoming very dangerous for the Government of India. There is nothing in the mutual relations between the Afghans and Indians to compel them to fight against each other. The sole difference is between the Afghans and the Government of India.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

Afghanistan and Indian Muhammadans.

7. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 29th April writes that speaking recently at Madras, Maulana Muhammad Ali gave a very bold and honest expression to the views of the Indian Muhammadans regarding Afghanistan. He cleary said that if Afghanistan invaded India with the object of subjugating India, they would, as true and honest patriots, resist the invaders and save India from being thrown into the abyss of slavery and subjugation; but if the Afghans came to rescue us from the hands of the British Government, it would be the duty of every Muhammadan to help the Afghans and take up the cause of Islam. We do not understand if there could be a clearer statement of policy. In these two sentences the Maulana has summed up the essence of Islamic faith and politics, and has removed all suspicions from the minds of reactionary regarding the Indian Muhammadans. In spite of this clearness, however, certain moderate organs are criticising Maulana Muhammad Ali. There can be no objection to the first part of the Maulana's statement, nor can the advocates of non-coöperation take any exception to it. Neither the moderates can disapprove of it, nor does it affect the interests of the Government. On the other hand, the officials of the Government will be gratified that the Indians themselves should resist a foreign invasion and that gentlemen like Mahatama Gandhi and Maulana Muhammad Ali should take a leading part in the work of recruitment and the collection of the war

loan. But the other portion of the speech is open to objections. As a matter of fact Maulana Muhammad Ali has rightly voiced the feelings of the Indian Muhammadans and the Islamic beliefs. It is evident that if we failed to get our grievances regarding the holy Khilafat of Islam removed by means of non-coöperation some other effective way will have to be resorted to and it is likely that that way might be the same as that stated by Maulana Muhammad Ali. The latter has not said anything new. On the contrary, he has explained a commonplace reality of human nature. We gave all possible help to the British Government in the great war. We supplied money needed for bullets to be aimed at the sacred persons of our co-religionists. We gave men and ammunition; but we came to know afterwards that we could get no benefit from the British Government. On the other hand, the enemy powers showed respect for Islam and thus captivated the Muhammadans not only of India but of the whole world. Germany and the Bolsheviks are very friendly towards the Turks and they wish that all the demands of the Turkish nationalists should be met in order that the Islamic Khilafat might remain intact and the holy places of Islam should come into the possession of the Muhammadans. Let the critics now say with justice whom the Muhammadans should regard as their well-wishers and to whom they should extend the hand of love. Should the Muhammadans strengthen relations of friendship and alliance with those who wish them well in every way or should they side with those who have mercilessly trampled upon their religious sentiments and patriotic feelings? Similarly, all Islamic powers have now girded up their loins to uphold the honour and dignity of Islam. And perhaps Britain has taken an oath not to meet the demands of the Muhammadans of the world regarding the Khilafat. Besides, the condition of the Muhammadans in India also is miserable. The Punjab question has not yet been decided satisfactorily. There are hundreds of other factors which are making the present system of the British Government unbearable for us. In these circumstances, when the Government regards us as its enemies and we regard the Government as our enemy, if any foreign enemy of the Government—enemy who has always done good to us and one who wants to respect our religious and patriotic feelings in future were to wage war with the Government, justice and fairness would demand that we should help the invader and that if we cannot give help in men and money, we should at least lend our moral support to him and totally abstain from giving recruits and money to the Government. Now remains the question of our Hindu brethren. Let them say honestly whether is the above statement of Maulana Muhammad Ali contains the slightest suspicion of treason or faithlessness to his nation. Both portions of his statement clearly show that he holds his country, that is India, and his religion, that is Islam, dearer than all worldly connections. Love for Islam does not clash with love for India. The Muhammadans have been justified in saying that they would prefer to be the slaves and subjects of the Afghans instead of the British, because every one wants Government by his co-religionists. But Maulana Muhammad Ali does not like Afghan rule over India. On the other hand, he would have *Swaraj* only and he would have a united Government of Hindus and Muhammadans over India and not of the Muhammadans alone. Hence according to the second portion of Maulana Muhammad Ali's statement it is not the duty of the Muhammadans only but the Hindus as well to sympathise with such an invader. If Afghanistan invades our frontier, it will be at war with the Government and not with the Indians because the latter have no cause for hostility against it. If there had not been so much difference between our interests and those of the Government of India as exists to-day, we would not have been in need of this estrangement. If the Punjab, the Khilafat and the *swaraj* questions are decided in conformity with the wishes of the Indians, relations of love and friendship will again be established between the British Government and the Indians and India will always be prepared to help and assist Britain.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Akhtar Ali Khan,
editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 1st May remarks that the question and reply in the House of Commons about Muhammad Ali's speech does not raise the fear that Government will take action against Muhammad Ali. If, God forbid, the Government of India make the mistake of arresting Muhammad Ali, the national movements of India will not be injured, but a new chapter will be added to the difficulties of the Government of India. For example, by arresting Zafar Ali Khan Government has seen that the zeal and enthusiasm for national movements have not declined but, on the other hand, have waxed strong. Mahatma Gandhi could not create so much resolution and courage in the Punjab by his speeches and meetings as have been created by the arrest of men devoted to the cause of the country and the nation. The unrest and excitement which Muhammad Ali's arrest is likely to generate in India is such as to fill one's mind with grave fear. If, in these circumstances, people were to commit evil deeds and if they failed in this difficult trial of self-control and self-restraint, neither non-coöperation nor Mahatma Gandhi would be to blame and Government itself will be responsible. We do not want to hold out threats to Government It is not our object to do so. Only as peace-loving well-wishers of India we have considered it necessary to give this counsel to Government.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Muhammad Ali's letter to the Amir.

8. The *Partap* of the 5th May writes that recently Muhammad Ali made a speech at Madras wherein he referred to a conversation that he had with Dr. Sapru. The speech has created a sensation; but it appears that there are certain matters connected with this speech which have not yet come before the public. Swami Shradhanand writes to the *Shardha* that a few months ago, a trustworthy spy of the Amir of Kabul went to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and asked him whether the Hindus would receive and help the Amir if he invaded India. The Pandit evaded him by asking him to see Mr. Gandhi, who on his part referred him to the Ali brothers. Muhammad Ali gave him a letter for the Amir to the effect that the Hindus and Muhammadans of India would help the Amir if he invaded India and that he should advance on India when the question of the military force needed for the purpose had been suitably settled. The spy took this letter with him; but the Government of India arrested him with the letter and made him record his statement. Dr. Sapru on enquiry from Pandit Malaviya became convinced of the truth of the spy's statement. Now Swami Shradhanand wants Gandhi and Malaviya to say if any such spy had visited them. He further wants Lord Reading to publish a photograph of the letter. The *Partap* cannot believe this story, all the more so when it remembers that Mr. Gandhi has stated that the Ali brothers did not wish Muhammadans to help any foreign invader. Without making any comments the paper would await developments, though it cannot help remarking that when the Government is silent and also Mr. Gandhi, the *Swami* too should have remained quiet.

NOTE.—Muhammad Ali has in a letter to the press since contradicted the story.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Viceroy and the Indian situation.

9. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st May is sorry for Lord Reading, during his visit to Lahore, not having given an interview to Lala Lajpat Rai, the nationalist leader. Surely this is not the way to study the situation. It appears that the Punjab bureaucracy did not like the idea of Lord Reading's seeing any nationalist. In his interview with Sant Nihal Singh in England, Lord Reading had declared that he was going to India with an open mind. Does it mean that his mind is open for the bureaucracy and the moderates but that it is closed against the nationalists? If Lord Reading wants to remove the present Indian unrest, he must go to the root of the matter and remove the real causes. So far India has been regarded as a dependency of the British commonwealth. This is the reason why every Englishman here is so proud and hates the Indians. This is the reason why no compensation is paid for the blood of an Indian and why the Indians realise that they are being trampled upon in India and abroad not by the English alone but by every European. Another point is that India is not governed for her benefit. This has killed all her industries. If Lord Reading can remove racial hatred from the hearts of his countrymen and arrange for India being governed for her own benefit and if he can secure for this country a position of equality in other parts of the British commonwealth, the atmosphere will be cleared and India will hold England's arm as a friend.

LIBERAL (Lahore) Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

(*b*) The following occurs in the *Liberal* of the 2nd May:—"We respectfully submit that His Excellency now has been in India for a sufficiently long period to form his own conclusions from a study of facts, and whole India awaits with eagerness to know what His Excellency's policy is going to be. If His Excellency thinks he has not heard any side of the case yet, he would do well to summon the leaders at a round table conference, as has already been proposed, and the whole matter discussed freely and openly in a spirit of good will and amity. No time should be lost in declaring the lines on which the Government is to be run during the next five years, for hopes which are unduly delayed more often than not lead to discontent rather than allaying public feeling. The two main questions before His Excellency are undoubtedly the ones relating to the Punjab and the Khilafat."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 6th May has the following :—"There is, however, little use in minimising the difficulties of the task of His Excellency. It is hard for one, accustomed to the pure atmosphere of British justice and unfamiliar with the traversities of justice enacted during the Martial Law days to reproduce in his mind abnormal conditions prevailing in those days. . . Ruchi Ram Sahni is perfectly right when he says that in case the Government is not prepared to release the remaining Martial Law prisoners forthwith, the only course open is to send them up for trial before regular courts of law under the ordinary procedure. And what is true of the Martial Law prisoners is, to a large extent, true of the prisoners (many of whom are Punjabees) tried by the Defence of India tribunals in connection with the several Lahore conspiracy cases, and the Benares and the Burma conspiracy cases during the year 1915-16. . . . It is to be hoped that Lord Reading will look into these cases also and release them under the royal amnesty. Lord Reading is a statesman of wide and varied experience and he need hardly be told that the beginnings, indeed the root-causes, of the present troubles, whether in Ireland Egypt or India, are to be found in the shocking miscarriages and failure of justice. . . . India's services in men, money and munitions during the war have often been acknowledged by the highest personages in the land. Notwithstanding these services, savage sentences calculated to strike terror were inflicted in cases of the slightest aberration both by the Martial Law and Defence of India tribunals. The memory of these judicial retributions still rankles in the public mind. Differentiations are sure to be made between the drastic sentences awarded in those cases and the more lenient sentences awarded in cases where British soldiers are charged with manslaughter, of which the recent gunners' case is an instance. It is quite up to Lord Reading coming, as he does, straight from the exalted seat of British justice, to wipe away the bitter memory of the past. It is the part of justice and statesmanship alike to help to let things start with a clean slate. Otherwise, the new era inaugurated by the reforms will simply mock us as a stupendous unreality cheating one's imagination."

The Rawalpindi Conference.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

10. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th April has the following :—"At the Rawalpindi Conference on Saturday, we shall hear some of the effects of the policy of repression and the Government will have the satisfaction of finding out the supreme unwisdom of its policy of provocation. When a certain section of the people, groaning under the effects of past repression, declare that they are not going to coöperate with an unsympathetic and harsh bureaucracy, the remedy is not more repression to compel them to coöperate. That will undoubtedly exasperate the people still more. We believe this will form the central theme of the Conference, though doubtless other equally important subjects will be discussed. The Punjab and Khilafat wrongs are still there, and though all that could be said on them has already been stated before, they will once again be repeated at the Conference."

(*b*) The following occurs in the *Tribune* of the 4th May :—"The observations of Hakim Ajmal Khan with regard to the futility of adopting repressive measures, the Reform Scheme and the frontier question will receive general approval, although here again there are bound to be differences of view point, but by no means fundamental, among people of different schools of thought."

The Gurdwara Bill.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. The *Tribune* of the 4th May has the following :—"The effect of the postponement of the consideration of the Bill till June or July is sure to cause considerable disappointment to those who expected that the Gurdwara Bill would allay one of the serious causes of discontent among the Sikh community. But from the beginning nobody was free from doubt as to how in a purely religious matter Government interference would be welcomed or official organisation would work satisfactorily among religious sects whose differences seemed to be so fundamental."

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The *gurdwara* movement.

12. (*a*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 20th April (received on the 4th May) remarks that the Sikh community feels convinced that the Government is adopting measures about the *gurdwara* reform movement not so much with a view to promote the religious interests of the Sikhs as for its own political reasons. The *gurdwara* movement is a purely religious movement and it has no direct relation with the non-coöperation movement, although some Sikhs may take part in both the *gurdwara* and non-coöperation movements. That the *gurdwara* movement has nothing to do with politics is amply demonstrated by the fact that the Sikhs have laid aside their political differences and united to promote the *gurdwara* movement. If the Sikhs are obliged to resort to passive resistance, they will do so not for the sake of *swaraj* but for the *gurdwara* reform movement.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand Mohan, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 27th April publishes a communicated article, urging Government not to incline in favour of a powerful community but to do absolute justice. In order to remove misunderstanding it is necessary to say that no Hindu is opposed to the demand of the Sikhs and irreligious Mahants should be removed from *gurdwaras*; but the Hindus desire that Hindu idols should not be removed and no preaching allowed against idolatry. The management and method of worship should remain as in the past.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 28th April, discussing the present strained relations between Hindus and Sikhs, asserts that the foundation of disunion was laid when Macauliff tried to prove that the Sikhs were separate from the Hindus. Our Sikh brethren did not at the time understand the move and the motives of those who resorted to it.

PARTAP, (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 4th May takes exception to the methods adopted by the Sikhs to make the movement a success and says that the movement has drifted into wrong channels. To go to a *gurdwara* in large numbers and persist in remaining there is tantamount to taking forcible possession. By deciding to forcibly evict *mahants* from *gurdwaras* the Sikhs have necessitated police interference. No Government, not even a national Government, can tolerate that any section of people merely by reason of its numerical strength or force should eject one or more persons from their property. Such conduct would result in utter chaos, such as would make all government impossible. The paper takes the Government to task for its indifference in the early stages of the movement, but adds that it became impossible for the Government to remain inactive after the Tarn Taran riot, while it would have lost all claims to be called a Government if it had remained silent after the Nankana tragedy.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*e*) The following is extracted from a leading article in the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 29th April :—"The Sikhs are placed in a very critical and awkward position. They are hemmed in from all directions. Difficulties of great magnitude stare them in face. The ungrateful Hindus by their unsympathetic and even antipathic and sometimes offensively hostile treatment are further aggravating their difficulties..... The Government, which also appears to be arraigned against the Sikhs, has taken advantage of this difference between them and is making a capital of it. For the failings of a few members of a community the whole community cannot be damned."

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

Government resolution on the *gurdwara* movement.

13. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 30th April states that after carefully reading the resolution no fair minded person can accuse Government of desiring to interfere with the religious affairs of the Sikhs or the reforms of the *gurdwaras* and of placing obstacles in the way of their reform. Government is justified in preventing any attempt to break the law and it is its foremost duty to prevent maltreatment of its subjects or any section thereof. If any Government shows slackness in performing this duty, the administration will suffer. We fail to understand how if Government wants to stop Sikh high-handedness it can be accused of interfering in religious affairs. If the Sikhs wish to reform their *gurdwaras* they should accomplish their purpose peacefully. In that case, Government will not interfere. But it can never tolerate disturbances and breeches of law and peace.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Memorial of the Bhattis of Nankana Sahib.

14. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th April says that the demand of the Bhatties is obviously reasonable and moderate and it remains to be seen what importance Government attaches to it. Hindu feeling is injured by the Sikhs washing the

skins of animals killed by *jhatka* at the wells in the Nankana Sahib Gurdwara and the neighbourhood and cooking *jhatka* flesh in the *langars*. This is really a serious accusation and it is the duty of the Governor to enquire into the accusation; and if the charge turns out to be well founded the Sikhs should be dispossessed of the *gurdwara*.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 29th April writes:—"We were amused to read the Bhatti Mussalman's ultimatum to the Government with regard to Nankana Sahib Gurdwaras..... This means that if the Government fails to comply with their demand they would take law in their hands and would force a decision with the prowess of their arms..... Our own feeling about this amusing petition is in the first place that it does not represent the genuine feelings of all the Mussalman Bhattis. It seems to have been inspired by the enemies of Indian unity with a view, most likely, to creating an impression that but for the controlling hand of the British Government the Indian would be plunged in a civil war with one another. In the second place we think this petition has been got up by a certain junto to inspire awe in the Sikhs, believing that the Sikhs would thus be cowed down to submission to any terms however detrimental to their community. Whatever be the genesis of the petition or the motives of those who have submitted this ultimatum or of those who have inspired it, we Sikhs are not concerned with it at present, since the ultimatum has been addressed to the Government and we would watch what reply the Government condescends to give to this officious and mendacious audacity of a vain people to justify its title to maintain law and order. When the Sikh turn comes we think they would not find much difficulty in deciding how to reply.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 1st May says that the memorial is intended to sow feelings of enmity between Muhammadans and Sikhs, overawe Government and help the officials who are inimical towards the Sikhs to influence Government regarding the *Gurdwara* Bill. The Hindus and the Bhatti friends of the late Mahant may overawe the Government by their numerical strength, but we want to assure the Government that the Sikhs will not be frightened by these empty threats.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Vakil* of the 1st May says that an impartial enquiry should be made and if it is proved that the land attached to the *Gurdwara* was really given by the Bhatti Muhammadans to Udasi Sadhus, possession should be given to the latter. Bhatti Muhammadans have further brought very serious charges against the Sikhs which should be also inquired into.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*e*) The *Liberal* of the 2nd May writes:—"The issue raised by the Bhatties in their petitions is an interesting one and we await to see what the Government has got to say to it."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Swaraj and non-coöperation.

15. The *Bande Mataram* of the 30th April refers to the remarks of a representative of the Filipinos who, speaking recently before the American House of Representatives, thanked the American people for various kindnesses and added that the Filipinos loved the Americans for the sacred promise of granting them liberty which the Filipinos held dearer than their lives. The paper observes that when the Filipinos, who are in every way satisfied under American rule and who are free to a great extent, are so anxious to obtain perfect freedom and *swarajya*, one might try to find it out what India should do to obtain perfect freedom and what fire should burn in the hearts of Indians who are in every way dissatisfied, discontented, starving and oppressed, who are not honoured either in their own country or in foreign countries, who are driven away wherever they go and who have, in order they may lead honourable lives, no other alternative to obtain perfect *swarajya* as soon as possible except to resort to non-violent non-coöperation.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Compensation to martial law sufferers.

16. The *Tribune* of the 6th May has the following:—"It has taken such an unconscionably long time for the Government to finally make up its mind to adequately compensate those who were murdered by General Dyer. Had a similar delay been caused in the matter of compensating the victims of mob excesses, it might have been ascribed to the well-known dilatoriness of

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

red-tapism for which the bureaucracy possesses such an unenviable reputation but in their case, Government proceeded with hot haste to distribute large amounts as compensation for supposed or real injuries. In their case, Government did not think it fit to wait even for the collection of the indemnity imposed on the town of Amritsar; but in case of the Indians, who had been killed or injured at the Jallianwala Bagh and other places, Government has been sleeping for more than two years before taking any adequate measure of relief. One should have expected that Government would show greater anxiety and promptitude to compensate the victims of excesses perpetrated by its own officials who have been idemnified by an Act of legislature, than to distribute relief to the sufferers of mob violence, when more than a thousand persons alleged to be responsible for these excesses had been sent to the jail. . . Under these circumstances, we would warn the Government as well as the Committee of compensation the constitution of which is anything but satisfactory, that any attempt to whittle down the proposed compensation will produce worse results than the refusal to award any relief at all. . . The Committee has not to lay down any principles of its own; but simply to follow those which have already been followed in the case of Europeans. It will then only remain for the Committee to ascertain the names of persons entitled to relief. When we say this, we do not mean that the task of the Committee will be an easy one because in most cases the District Magistrate seem to have assessed compensation to Europeans not only lavishly but arbitrarily."

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdulla Minha, editor.

The Campbellpore shooting case.

17. The *Vakil* of the 4th April writes that in a recent trial by jury the Lahore High Court has sentenced William McConiff and Thomas Finlay to three years' rigorous imprisonment each for causing the death of a Pathan. The Indians have always complained that in cases where an English soldier is the murderer and the murdered an Indian, the accused is given nominal punishment only This unequal justice is an important cause of the present unrest. Lord Reading has come to India to remove unrest by administering evenhanded justice. Indian courts have afforded His Excellency a very good opportunity to do justice of which His Excellency should avail by studying the records o the case and revising the sentence, if such revision is called for in the interest of equity.

Virat (Gujranwala); Banke Dial, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act.

18 (*a*) The *Virat* of the 25th April writes that lately there has been no breach of the Seditious Meetings Act in an of the districts in the Punjab to which its provisions had been applied and it was hoped that the restrictions would b removed, thus emabling the people to give expression to their feelings. Bu contrary to expectation, the Act has been extended for another period of si months. Government is committing mistake after mistake. It should no adopt the right course to remove political unrest. Such action has done no goo in the past nor will it do so in the future.

Akhbar-i-Am (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 30th April says that the announcemen is likely to fill the minds of people with surprise and astonishment. Peopl had expected that during Lord Reading's tenure of office repressive measure would not be frequently resorted to. But should they consider this announcement, which has been made with the sanction of the Government of India, as favour shown to the inhabitants of these three districts in honour of His Excellency's visit to the Punjab and should the people of the Punjab infer from th announcement that their hopes will not bear fruit for some time? Lord Readin should act justly, afford no opportunity to Indians for further complaint and tr to control the situation by rectifying what has been done by his predecessor.

Zamindar (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*c*) Commenting upon the order of the Superintendent of Polic Amritsar, served upon Jagat Guru Swami Shankaracharya, Dr. Kitchle and Lala Girdhari Lal prohibiting them from holding a religious meetin or taking out a procession, the *Zamindar* of the 3rd May accus that officer of having shown undue harshness and irregularity. The matt is not an uncommon one. For a Government that can crush the Islam Khilafat and disregard the wishes of seven crores of its Muhammada subjects, it is easy to prohibit a Hindu theologian from delivering religious speech or to stop his procession. When Sikh meetings in co nection with Sikh *Gurdwaras* have been prohibited and the speakers such meetings arrested, when Muhammadan theologians speaking in mosques have been sent to jail and Jagat Guru's sermon has been prohibited, we fail to understand the meaning of the exemption of religious meetings from the operations of the Seditious Meetings Act. It would be better if this exemption were removed and clear orders issued prohibiting all religious meetings and prayers in congregation.

High prices.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

19. Writing on the Bengal Government resolution on the report of the Committee appointed to enquire into high prices, the *Tribune* of the 1st May says:—"The most singular feature of the situation is that India produces in normal years more food than she requires and is, therefore entitled to some measure of protection in years of scarcity. The question, therefore, is whether Government can do nothing to conserve the food stocks of the country in some manner that will serve her in a bad year without having to pay exorbitant prices for the same. We are afraid that the Government has not given adequate consideration to this question. . . . These suggestions require a more sympathetic consideration at the hands of all Governments. The Bengal Government is only anxious to prove the futility of the main recommendations of the Committee of Enquiry. But what are its own alternative proposals? There is nothing in the resolution to show that it has any alternative remedy for high prices and profiteering. The attitude of the Bengal Government only reflects the general attitude of Governments in other provinces. As we have said before, the Government has no scheme to adequately protect the interests of the people. And yet it is aware that there is acute economic discontent. The high prices caused by war conditions continue to-day and there is apparently no remedy for the evil. It is obvious that India must be made less dependent on foreign supplies and her own productive power should be increased by special measures. We are anxious to know what special action Government is taking in regard to this problem. As regards food prices the position is most unfortunate and something should be done to stop exports completely and to ensure a fair and uniform price for the home consumer."

Provocation to the mob.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

20. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 3rd May says:—"It is not known what further provocation they had for their brutal excesses, but sufficient light has been thrown to show that Government should restrain the enthusiasm of petty officials in small places in going too far in meddling with the activities of the people and in all cases of apprehended trouble less provocative or harmful action should be taken preferably in consultation with the leaders of the people themselves. Similar indiscreet exercise of authority by petty officials has been noticed in other places where trouble has been caused and we must draw the attention of the higher authorities to this aspect of the policy of repression which is adopted throughout the country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 7th May has the following:—"But it may be said that this is true of the educated and rational followers of Mr. Gandhi, but the ignorant mob is not so controlled and is likely to stray away from the line clearly drawn by the non-coöperation leaders. On this account certain critics have blamed the non-coöperation leaders for extending the movement among the ignorant masses in the rural area. No great movement was ever started in the world either in the political or religious sphere which was confined only to the small educated and rational section of the people without penetrating into the masses as well. It is, therefore, unreasonable to say that Mr. Gandhi, who believes his movement to be good and beneficial, should restrict the non-coöperation activities to the educated classes in towns and city folk only and withhold it from ignorant and rural masses. The fact that they are ignorant are liable to the errors and weaknesses due to ignorance, is certainly deplorable. But it is not proved that the non-coöperation movement has had a disastrous effect on the mob generally, though a few deplorable instances of mob violence, not directly traceable to the non-coöperation movement, have occurred in different parts of the country. These mob excesses, whether due to one or the other cause, must be put down with a strong hand, and it is the duty of all men, including non-cooperators, to endeavour to restrain the mob and desist from exciting them to violence. But, as we have pointed out, it is not clear to what extent local official action in restraining the legitimate and peaceful activities of the people is responsible for the excesses reported in particular localities."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

The Indian Muhammadans and the Khilafat.

21. The *Zamindar* of the 1st May publishes the account of an interview which Maulvi Muhammad Iqbal *Shaidai* had with Khalil Pasha, the victor of Kutul Amara. The latter's remarks should lead the Muhammadans of India to bow down their heads and die of shame. The fact is undeniable that it is due to the Indian Musalmans that the Khilafat is being trampled upon by the unbelievers and the sacred places of Islam are no longer in the possession of the Khilafat. The correspondent as a member of the Anatolian deputation went to Tashkand where Khalil Pasha advised the deputation to go back and take the message of the servants of the Khilafat to India. The Pasha said they would fight to death in defence of the Khilafat and that so long as a single Turk remained alive he would fight with a view to rescue the sacred places of Islam from the impure hands of the unbelievers. He then sorrowfully observed that if his Indian brethren had changed their attitude a little earlier, things would not have come to the present pass. The Turks felt the greatest surprise when they saw the Indians fighting against them at Basrah and Kutul 'Amara. They wondered whether the Indians were Muhammadans, seeing that they were shooting and bayonetting those who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Islam. One can imagine what influence these words were likely to produce on the minds of the Indian Musalmans. The latter desired to commit suicide on hearing the above words. The Ghazi's eyes were filled with tears when he said that the Turks were thankful to the Indian Musalmans for having helped in relieving them of the responsibility of serving the Khilafat and the sacred places of Islam. This was a taunt which greatly touched the heart of the writer. But whatever the Ghazi said was true. It is Indians who shook the foundations of the Khilafat and Islam It is now their greatest duty to secure the renewal of the strength and solidarity of the Khilafat. Otherwise, it must be remembered that the worst chapter in the history of Islam will relate to the Indian Musalmans. The Ghazi said that he did not need men. He would be grateful if Indians helped him with money.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

The Governor's visit to the Shahi mosque.

22. A correspondence of the *Zamindar* (weekly) of the 24th April objects to the conduct of certain members of the Anjuman-i-Islamia who dissuaded His Excellency the Governor from covering his boots on the occasion of his recent visit to the Shahi mosque of Lahore. The carpet brought by Zafar Ali Khan from the Sultan of Turkey was trampled under boots. This is deplorable, though the *Zamindar* says that if the report is correct, all the blame rests with the Muhammadans and not the Governor at all.

V.—EDUCATION.

SWRAJ (Lahore); editor.

The Lahore National College.

23. The *Swaraj* of the 4th May reports that a national college has been started in Lahore and affirms that the way of national service is now open to the students who asked the advocates of non-coöperation to first establish national colleges and then remove students from existing colleges.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Lahore municipal elections.

24. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th May is gratified to note that in the recent municipal elections the people of Lahore have shown that they had no confidence in the old members of the Committee and have returned to the Committee trustworthy men. Government too should not nominate men who have wholly lost the confidence of the public.

LIBERAL (Lahore). Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*b*) The following is extracted from the *Liberal* of the 2nd May:—
"Lala Lajpat Rai who commands an unbounded influence in the town at the present moment had therefore to undertake personal convassing on his return from Bombay and that improved the situation so far as the Congress candidates were concerned."

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Liquor shops in Gujranwala.

25. The *Kesri* of the 29th April criticises the action of the Commissioner, Lahore, in refusing to accept the recommendation of the Gujranwala Municipal Committee to transfer liquor shops outside the municipal area.

Lord Lawrence's Statue.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

26. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th April remarks that the country has proved its patriotism by placing the pictures of Lokomanya Tilak in municipal buildings and it is to be hoped that if the Lahore Municipal Committee fails to remove Lord Lawrence's statue, it will raise a statue in honour of Lokomanya Tilak somewhere and place the following inscription below it:—"Will you give *swarajya* by the pen or by the sword?"

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 7th May thinks that the proposal can serve no useful purpose. The inscription suggested will only add to the estrangement between the English and the Indians. The best thing for the Municipal Committee would be to remove the statue of Lord Lawrence to some other place and erase its inscription.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

27. The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 26th April, writing about the suggestion of the *Pall Mall Gazette* that the Nizam of Hyderabad should be made a King and the Maharajas of Baroda, Mysore and some other States granted each the title of His Exalted Highness, remarks that the demands of the Indian people are so ambitious that the acceptance of the suggestion cannot satisfy them. Will those Muhammadans who have withdrawn a national title from the Nizam like to see the Nizam made their king? Or will the Hindus be glad to see some Rajas and Maharajas invested with fresh titles at a time when title-holders are being opposed? The fact is that both Hindus and Muhammadans ask for *swarajiya* and they cannot be satisfied unless they obtain *swarajiya*.

The Lahore cemetery.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

28. The *Tribune* of the 4th May has the following:—"We think that the suggestion can be adopted with advantage to the Government, to the residents of the locality as well as to those who will use the cemetery. The present site was selected many years ago, when the European population lived on and around the Lower Mall and the quarter where the cemetery is located was waste land without any residential houses. Now that conditions have materially altered, it would be better if the present cemetery were to be closed, and the land acquired for a new one somewhere near the Jail Road, the Mozang or the Mayo Roads which would be cheaper as well as a more convenient site. In any case, the objections of the owners of the site proposed to be acquired are reasonable and deserve the careful and sympathetic attention of the authorities concerned."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey, Greece and England.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

1. The *Zamindar* of the 7th May thinks that there is some mistake in the repeated assurance that Great Britain is keeping neutral in the Turko-Greek war; for it is only through British help that the war has been prolonged. If the English had not given a loan to Greece, if the blockade of the Black Sea had been removed, if arms and ammunitions had not been supplied through Egypt and if the English had not instigated the Greeks against the Islamic Khilafat, the troops of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha would have crushed the Greeks by this time. In these days it is the English alone who are throwing obstacles in the way of every Islamic movement. This, however, does not forebode any good for the British Government To persist in destroying Islam is tantamount to digging a grave for oneself. The British Government should avoid its evil days. The dragon of Bolshevism is spurting venom in Central Asia, while the German panther is about to wake up in Europe. Other Allies have safeguarded their interests and the British too should look to their safety.

Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th May observes that recent cablegrams mention a memorandum which Mr. Lloyd George has sent to Italy, asking why it has been laid down in the recent Turco-Italian treaty that Italy will help Turkey so far as possible in regaining Smyrna and Thrace. In the face of this fact, will any fair-minded person contend that Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards Turkey has changed in the least? More-

over, men will not believe that Great Britain is quite neutral in the present conflict between Greece and Turkey. Are not Muhammadans right in thinking that Great Britain is Turkey's opponent? The Government of India have repeatedly stated that they are the sympathisers of Muhammadans and have tried to bring pressure to bear on the Home Government in regard to Turkey; but we do not know if their sympathy has wrought any change in the policy of the British Government and of its leader, Mr. Lloyd George, who is so offensive to Muhammadans. So long as no practical proof is forthcoming, Muhammadans can never admit that Great Britain and the Premier sympathise with them and the Turks.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

Mr. Montagu on the Turkish peace.

3. The *Tribune* of the 14th May writes:—"Mr. Montagu's reply to the Indian Moslem deputation on the question of the revised terms of the Turkish Treaty is probably intended to conciliate and convince the Indian Muhammadans that the British authorities have given their very best consideration to Indian representation and every possible concession to their views has been made. As far as the Secretary of State for India is concerned, he has repeatedly pressed the views of Indian Muhammadans on his colleagues in the Government and this has already had the effect of making certain changes favourable to Turkey and with these the Indian Moslems ought to be fairly satisfied. . . . The most important demand, *viz.*, the supreme authority of the Kaliph has been fully recognised and protected and the proposed constitution of an Arab kingdom secures the religious claims and interests of all Moslem nationalities in regard to their holy places. . . . Turkey has been treated like a losing party in the war and it is impossible to conceal the ugly fact that the political power of Turkey has considerably diminished and her territories broken up. That itself must grieve the Moslem hearts but the main interest of Indian Muhammadans in Turkey is not political but religious and the point to be considered is whether from a purely reglious point of view the revised terms offered to Turkey are not fairly satisfactory. . . . The Indian Muhammadans also will recognise the hard fact that Turkey after the war cannot be what she was before it, though their main interests must be amply secured. If the principle of compromise is accepted, then the present terms, as interpreted by Mr. Montagu, secure to Turkey as well as Indian Muhammadans all the essential conditions they have claimed. It is primarily for Turkey to accept or reject the revised terms, but Indian Muhammadans cannot be more Turkish in their claims than the Turks themselves, and if their religious rights are fully secured, they will have no legitimate grievance in the final settlement."

Indians in South Africa.

4. The *Tribune* of the 8th May has the following:—"On the eve of the meetings of the Imperial Conference and the eloquent talk of Imperial unity, solidarity and combined interest in the matter of Empire trade and defence the debate in the South African House of Assembly serves as an eye-opener to the people of India showing the insular ambitions of the Dominion people, their deep-rooted prejudice against Indians and their strong reluctance to treat the latter as equal subjects of the King and citizens of the British Empire. The net result would be that all the previous promises will be thrown to the winds, the Gandhi—Smutts compact utterly disregarded and Indians, who were invited for building up the prosperity of the South African settlers, will be thrown away, like cast-off clothing, on the pretext that they have a civilisation much different from that of the white inhabitants. The question is what the Government of India and the Home Government are going to do in the matter—in making India believe that Empire is a reality and means a great deal of advantage to her and yet reconcile her to the exclusion of her population from the Colonies and Dominions or their humiliating treatment. The Government of India has, it is understood, insisted on the maintenance of the policy of equal treatment of Indians in the Empire, but it is doubtful if the Home Government has either the will or the power to insist on this being recognised by the independent and free members of the Empire. The situation is certainly full of anxiety for Indians and the discontent which is already acute in the country is sure to grow worse. The people of India should raise their voice more effectively and protest against the victimising of her population abroad, denying them the treatment which is implied by the political importance and status of India recognised in theory and only followed so far in regard to her obligations."

India's position in the Empire.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. The *Tribune* of the 11th May has the following :—" His Excellency the Viceroy, therefore, cannot reasonably blame the people of India or even a particular section of them, for not finding any clear and well-defined "road" or " high destiny " for India within the Empire. It is true that ' an auspicious start ' has been made in the direction of granting self-government to India, though there is serious difference of opinion whether the start given leads to real self-government with national ideals. But as regards India's place in the Empire, there has so far been no clear road marked out for her, and on this question India cannot really be blamed for showing no enthusiasm for an indefinite or unequal and subordinate partnership with all the unpleasant consequences of such position."

Bolsheviks' agreement with Persia and Afghanistan.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

6. According to the *Siyasat* of the 8th May, the Bolshevik treaties with Persia and Afghanistan are aimed at England, the object of the Bolsheviks being to advance on India with the help of the Muslim States of Asia. In case of the Bolshevik advance either the Bolshevik movement will find its death in India or the history of the world will undergo a new phase. These agreements have almost destroyed British influence in Persia and Afghanistan.

An Afghan invasion of India.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

7. (*a*) A Hindu correspondent of the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th May asks how it is possible to differentiate between an invasion of India to punish the Government and one to conquer the country. Besides, can there be any guarantee that an invasion made to punish the British Government may not eventually turn out to be one for subjugating India ? Will it not be an act of insanity for us to risk our independence and invite Afghan rule in the attempt to punish the British Government for the injustice done to Turkey ? It is the people of a country who suffer in the long run if a foreign invasion takes place. Take the case of Germany. The Allies always declared that they wanted to punish the military class of Germany, and yet it is the German people who have had to suffer on account of the Allied attack on Germany. Indians should take care lest they might, in the attempt to get rid of a " satan " and find an angel, catch a Tartar.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 9th May supports Mahatma Gandhi's view that if the Amir of Afghanistan invades India now Indians will not actively help him but the Amir will be in a way assisted as Indians have taken a vow to practise non-coöperation with Government.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 11th May takes strong exception to Muhammad Ali's speech and characterises his views as dangerous not only for the Indian Muhammadans but for the whole population of India. Can the speaker guarantee that if the Amir invades India to liberate it, he will not subjugate it and make Indians the slaves of the Afghans ? Our fellow countrymen should remember that if, which God forbid, India were invaded, the country would be thrown into the abyss of ruin.

Europeans in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The following is extracted from the *Tribune* of the 11th May :—" Englishmen living in India can easily sympathise with and help their fellow creatures in India, if they like. But if they have been too long accustomed to a bureaucratic order and autocratic way of doing things to change their mental outlook or habits now, there is no doubt that they should find a more congenial place and surroundings for themselves."

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Gurdwara Bill.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

9. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th May has received a letter from a member of the Sharomani Gurdawara Parbhandak Committee, saying that a member of the committee has sent round a confidential letter to his friends asking them to despatch telegrams to the Viceroy, the Governor of the Punjab and to the committee to the effect that the Sikhs supported the Gurdwara Bill, that the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia should be appointed President of the Board and the remaining three Sikhs members selected with the consultation of the Sharomani Gurdwara Committee. The correspondent asks what

this letter signifies when the Sharomani Committee has thrice rejected the Bill and the Sikh community has no faith in the Hon'ble Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(b) Referring to the postponement of the Gurdwara Bill, the *Khalsa Advocate* of 6th May writes:—"The Government's solicitude for the Sikhs forms the running note throughout this *communiqué*. Perhaps all this oppression on the Sikhs is a specimen of this solicitude!"

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(c) The *Sikh* of the 8th May says:—"If the Sikh personnel is agreed to according to our wishes and the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh is elected President of the Board, we shall be the first to approve of that. But when the very basic principle is not conceded to us, where is the guarantee that after some time the Hon'ble Sardar will not be replaced by a non-Sikh official? Moreover, whatever is to be done as an amendment of the solemn vow of the 20th March must be done by the unanimous consent of the whole faith constitutionally represented before Sri Guru Granth Sahib."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

The Hindu attitude.

10. (a) The *Sikh* of the 8th May writes:—"The Hindu-Sikh busybodies availed themselves of the recess in the Punjab Provincial Conference at Rawalpindi on the 2nd instant by holding a special meeting for the purpose of bringing about a *reapproachment* between the two communities about the Gurdwaras Reform movement. The meeting ended with applause but no practical means seem to have been discussed and passed for adoption. Let us hope that our misguided Hindu brethren, particularly the Hindu legislators, will take to heart the noble advice of their leaders and cease meddling with the religious affairs of the Sikhs whom it will rather be worth their while to befriend."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(b) According to the *Partap* of the 7th May, the Gurdwara movement has been used as a political weapon to divert the attention of the Sikhs from the non-coöperation movement and to fill their hearts with hatred against the Hindus.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

Government and the Sikhs.

11 (a) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 27th April (received on the 10th May) endeavours to show that in the various so-called boons and concessions enumerated by the Punjab Government as having been conferred upon the Sikhs, Government has done nothing out of the ordinary run and has not placed the Sikhs under any obligation. At the same time it has painted only one side of the picture and made no mention of the very valuable services which the Sikhs have rendered to the British Government in India since the annexation of the Punjab.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(b) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 6th May has the following:—"Add to this the crowning difficulty brought about by the Government's seeming determination to crush the Sikhs in spite of its repeated lip assurances of good will and solicitude for the Sikhs. Under one excuse or another the Sikhs are being offended and insulted, they are being arrested and convicted and then maltreated in jails just as if they are felons and not human beings and the religious reform is an offence against the State."

PARTAP, (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(c) A Sikh writes to the *Partap* of the 7th May that Government says that attempts are being made in public speeches and writings to embitter the cordiality of relations between Government and the Sikhs; but it is to be deplored that Government has arrested so many innocent and religiously minded Sikhs and indiscriminate arrests are still going on. Can it still expect that the Sikhs will co-operate with it?

SANSAR (Amritsar).

Sikhs and passive resistance.

12. The *Sansar* of the 6th May says that the eyes of the whole world were fixed at the Sikhs to see what decision the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee was going to arrive at regarding passive resistance on the 10th April. But it could not arrive at any decision and another date, that is the 10th of May, has been fixed for the purpose. If the Committee does not resort to passive resistance even now it will be responsible for all the loss that the community will suffer and people will lose confidence in it. Indeed, the question is one of life and death for the Committee.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Repression and its consequences.

13. The *Tribune* of the 18th May writes:—"There is certainly nothing that any reasonable man can take exception to in openly trying a man who is suspected to excite people to crime, but independently of such trial and the character of certain trials in which the accused men decline to defend themselves and are convicted, more or less on unattested evidence, there are petty acts of subordinate officials which cause annoyance sometimes and are calculated to incite people to crime. It is absolutely necessary for Government to restrain the conduct of such officials simultaneously with the ordering of prosecutions of men who act unlawfully. There is certainly repression in the country of a type that is a danger to peace and order and subordinate officials are apt to overstep official introductions in their zeal to please and obtain the commendation of higher authorities. The banning of Gandhi caps and similar petty annoyances have to cease before the mob can be restrained and we hope that the Government will stop repression and thus facilitate the efforts of all in preventing passionate outbursts of the mob when they endeavour to ventilate political and other grievances."

SWARAJ (Lahore)

Lord Reading's policy.

14. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 7th May remarks that when Lord Reading made an announcement about his policy of justice, freedom and equality in his first speech at Bombay, it began to entertain the hope that the bureaucratic Government would come to an end in this country and the officers who were pursuing the present policy of high-handedness and repression would sheath their weapons immediately at His Excellency's instance. But no change has yet taken place in their attitude. We are not impatient and do not wish that His Excellency should bring about a complete change in India in a week or two. Nevertheless, the present policy of repression should be suspended till His Excellency has formulated his programme. Otherwise, things will assume a dangerous aspect and very evil results will follow.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 9th May is keenly disappointed at Lord Reading's failure to heal the lacerated hearts of the people of this country by applying the balm of considerate treatment and the grant of *Sawaraj*. It is mortifying to see the Indian demands regarding the martial law atrocities unsatisfied; and it is still worse that notwithstanding His Excellency's appeal for time to study the Indian situation Government officers are active in crushing Indian aspirations and adopting repressive measures. Indians are after all human beings, and it is not impossible for them to be provoked into a disregard of Mahatama Gandhi's instructions and the principle of non-violence.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 11th May affirms that repression always tends to increase popular bitterness and it is worse than useless to resort to repression. What is necessary is that the causes of the public unrest and discontent should be removed. No one attends to this, while several Government officials are zealous in crushing the movement for liberty. Terrorism cannot curb the nation's enthusiasm for freedom. If His Excellency wants to allay discontent, all the demands of the people should be met. Indians want three things, *viz*., justice over the Punjab affair, restoration of the dignity of the Khilafat and *Swaraj*. If this is granted, they are prepared to remain friends with the British. Otherwise, they will have no connection with those who stand in their way.

(*d*) Continuing in its issue of the 12th May, the *Zamindar* says that *Swaraj* means that the future relations between England and India will not be those of a slave and a master or of the rulers and the ruled. On the other hand, brotherly cordiality will be established between the Governments in the two countries. Lord Reading should not rule India as the representative of His Majesty but should place India under obligation by brotherly friendship. If British statesmen refuse to listen to him, his lordship should resign and lead the popular movement in India. If his lordship cannot get the demands of the Indians satisfied, his popularity will suffer, besides an impetus being given to the non-coöperation movement, in which case Indians will resort to the extreme steps set forth in the non-coöperation programme. That is, the payment of taxes will be refused, courts will be deserted and there will be no clerks in offices and no recruits for military service. We are afraid the Bolsheviks will then invade India.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Viceroy's Simla speech.

15. (*a*) The *Kesri* of the 12th May is sorry that Lord Reading's speech has filled Indians with great disappointment. It has been repeatedly explained to His Excellency that Indians have been oppressed and it is far from expedient to find fault with them on every occasion. We follow the precepts of non-violence and deplore the violence committed by the people on some occasions. But may we ask who makes Indians commit this mistake? We should be pardoned for remarking that our national leaders are not responsible for this. They never excite the people. On the other hand, they try to allay their excitement. It is the policy of repression, unnecessarily followed by certain Government officers, which excites the people. While reading a homily to Indians, Lord Reading should also express his condemnation of this wrong official policy.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 13th May thinks it is right that such people as induce others to violate the law should be punished. Similarly, those officers who issue wrong, improper and unlawful orders and provoke men to violate the law should not go scot free. We realise that civil disobedience will be in full swing within the next six months. If Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress have not directed people to resort to civil obedience, this is due to their belief that people will not remain totally non-violent. But some men have begun to practise civil disobedience. This is being done as the authorities have taken undue advantage of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. It is being realised that the salvation of India lies in non-coöperation and there is a probablity of the people violating the law instead of submitting petitions to Government. When a person is prepared to bear every trouble, he cannot be terrified by any law. We wish to say to Lord Reading in clear terms that the only way to keep men back from breaking the law is to instruct Government officers not to issue unlawful orders. In order to show that Lord Reading wants to do justice, orders should be issued to the Governors of all provinces that political workers should not be gagged under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and that they should not be required to furnish security under section 108 like ordinary criminals.

LIBERAL (Lahore). Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*c*) Referring to the Viceroy's Simla speech, the *Liberal* of the 1[illegible]th May says:—"This is a grave warning which His Excellency has administered to all concerned and we trust it will not remain unheeded. Mr. Gandhi, as His Excellency is rightly aware, is the greatest opponent of violence and has condemned the events in Fyzabad, Giridh and Malegaon in no ambiguous terms. It is misguided and irresponsible persons who might be guilty of excitement to violence. We desire to assure His Excellency that a very large section of the people in the Punjab abhor violence as much as His Excellency does and that they will do all that is possible to prevent it. What is needed is that His Excellency should make up his mind at an early date with regard to the Punjab grievances and pacify the agitated minds of the people by recourse to measures of conciliation particularly so far as the martial law prisoners are concerned."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Prospective Legislation.

16. The *Tribune* of the 13th May writes:—"In Bengal, at any rate, the Ministers have been freely consulting other popular leaders and holding conferences,—formal and informal,—to decide what particular reforms or changes are necessary and practicable. We hope that the Punjab Ministers will be equally solicitous in the matter and will tour in the provinces, consult the people and study their wants on the spot so that they may be in a better position to formulate changes and introduce them in the best and most practical form possible. . . . . It is obvious that the old Panchayat Acts are a failure, because they never gave any real power to the people nor invoked their zeal in local matters. It is hoped that the new Act contemplated is a genuine article and confers real self-government to the people in local affairs. . . . . Voluntary acquisition of land for industrial purposes. It is a most important measure whose necessity has been felt during the last twenty years, and it is hoped that the Bill will be comprehensive enough to provide lands for all genuine objects of an industrial nature and will provide for town-expansion also. There are many other matters of industrial and economic importance to the province which deserve the attention of the Minister, and we hope he will hold a conference of leading men to discuss the same as early as possible, so that practical steps may be taken in the direction of improving the economic well-being of the people. . . . . The high prices and lack of

remunerative occupation to the skilled workers and the educated middle classes stand out prominently as disturbing causes, and it is necessary that something should be done to ameliorate the condition of the people as far as possible."

Non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

17. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 10th May writes:—"We sincerely hope that Government will not repeat the mistake in dealing with the non-coöperation movement, for in this case grave and momentous issues are at stake and the dangers of repression are also almost incalculable. The non-coöperation movement is essentially non-violent in its nature, and the leaders of the movement are doing their very best to maintain its non-violent character. It is, therefore, the duty of Government not to do anything to weaken or neutralise the attempts of the leaders to strictly keep the people within the limits of law and order. If the attempts of Government to crush this non-violent movement by force lead to disorder, and that in spite of the most strenuous attempts of the leaders to maintain the non-violent character of the movement, the responsiblity for that disorder with all its attendant evils shall rest on those who give needless provocation by acts of repression. The murders at Malegaon cannot be justified or condoned by any sane man. But the occasion as well as the explanation of excesses perpetrated by the mob, which is by no means their justification, was the attempt to crush lawful public activity through a policy of repression."

Unpatriotic members of the Punjab Council.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

18. The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th May reproduces a portion of the letter which a Hindu member of the Punjab Legislative Council wrote to Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the situation in the Punjab and which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of London. It also refers to another letter on the same subject from a Muhammadan member of the Punjab Legislative Council and states that it is difficult to say who these "gems of the country" are who have expressed their views with such bitterness. There is only one Hindu who is giving vent to his wrath in letters addressed to his master. But one foul fish spoils the whole tank. It is the duty of every Hindu member of the Council to expose the writer.

The Amritsar Council seat.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

19. The *Liberal* of the 11th May writes:—"What attitude the non-coöperators will take at the forthcoming election we do not know at present. But one thing is clear and that is that the scheme to return a candidate simply to withdraw is not worth the trouble involved in the process. The Councils are either good or bad. They should either be used for the purpose which they are intended to serve or given up. There is no intermediary course by which you can use the Councils as well as ignore them."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Seditious Meetings Act.

PANCH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

20. The *Panch* of the 4th May remarks that people will obey the order extending the period of the Seditious Meetings Act for another six months in the same way as they obeyed the original order. But that rule alone is a proper one which is based on the good will of the people. The administration of the Punjab is at present in the hands of a noble ruler like Sir Edward Maclagan, though he is unfortunately surrounded by officers who point out to him the path of repression. These are the men who pointed out the wrong policy to His Excellency's predecessor and caused his failure. They are pursuing the same tactics even now. We, however, advise the Governor to follow a moderate, instead of a repressive, policy and grant peace to the people. Repression has failed in Egypt and Ireland. How can it succeed in the Punjab and India?

Martial law in the United Provinces.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

21. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th May refers to the rumour that martial law is about to be introduced in some districts in the United Provinces and deprecates the idea. The experience of the Punjab should serve as a warning against the repetition of the mistake in the neighbouring province.

The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

22. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th May says that on the 3rd May some residents of the Sarraf bazar of Rawalpindi went to the Deputy Commissioner and asked for licenses to keep arms for self-defence. They also requested that the strength of the police force should be increased. In

reply, the Deputy Commissioner suggested that they should go with their petition to the leaders who talked nonsense on public platforms. The *Paisa Akhbar* takes exception to this improper answer and asks whether the Deputy Commissioner means that in future people should make their own arrangements for protection and not seek Government help. If so, Government has no right to levy taxation and use the income thus derived on the up-keep of the police and the army, which are thus not intended to protect the people of the country. The Deputy Commissioner's language is an insult to the principles of good administration and would create an unfavouable impression on the minds of the people in respect of Government. The unsympathetic attitude of such officers is responsible for the present discontent in the country.

JAT SEPOY (Rohtak); Kesra Devi, editor.

Demobilisation of Jat regiments.

23. The *Jat Sepoy* for March and April refers to the demobilisation of purely Jat regiments and their replacement by mixed regiments and deplores the apathy displayed by Jat Maharajas in the matter. If Their Highnesses attend to matters affecting the interests of the Jat community, much can be done. The new army organisations are creating dissatisfaction and distrust in India.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad, editor.

Externment of Ganga Singh.

24. Referring to the order of the General Officer Commanding, Lahore, rejecting the representation of Ganga Singh of Jullundur against his externment, the *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th writes:—Thus the whims and caprices of blundering officials are confirmed and loyal subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor are made to lose their faith in the justice of the British Raj and driven into the ranks of non-coöperators. Has the Army Headquarters any means of relief for Sardar Ganga Singh or the man on the spot has the *carte blanche*?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Conviction of Swami Govinda Nand.

25 (*a*). The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th May says that considering what the bureaucracy is doing every day, one could never expect that Swami Govinda Nand would be let off easily. At the same time, we never thought the same old oppression would continue in the régime of Lord Reading, who has come out to do justice. The Swami is held in religious veneration by the Hindus and his conviction will further injure the already lacerated heart of India. Lord Reading has come to India to put down unrest but his subordinates are mercilessly and wantonly intensifying popular discontent.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 8th May states that the Public Prosecutor tried to prove that the Swami was a political agitator by profession. But he has failed to show that the Swami ever took part in any political matter before the Rowlatt Bill was passed. In any case, the policy of Government is bringing even the religious workers into the political field.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Viceroy's visit to the Punjab.

26. The *Partap* of the 8th May remarks that in his presidential address at the Rawalpindi Provincial Conference, Hakim Ajmal Khan complained that Lord Reading had not interviewed Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Kitchlew during his recent visit to the Punjab. The *Civil and Military Gazette* asks whether the pioneers of the non-coöperation movement can consistently put forward such a demand. But does not the *Civil and Military Gazette* know that Lord Derby went to Dublin to see De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, at the Premier's instance? Is not De Valera the same person who has openly hoisted the flag of rebellion against England and who says in clear terms that the Irish will in no circumstance live under England, but will live as an independent nation? Is not De Valera the same person under whose orders British troops and police are being massacred and their barracks burnt? Ireland is treating England like an enemy country. Nevertheless, Mr. Lloyd George sends Lord Derby to negotiate with De Valera. It will not be a matter for surprise if the Premier himself was prepared to pay a visit to him. Would it have been anything out of the ordinary run for Lord Reading to have interviewed Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Kitchlew?

V.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Misbah, editor.

Muhammadan wakfs.

27. A correspondent of the *Vakil* of the 8th May complains of the abuse of Muhammadan places of *wakf*. They are the rendevous of people addicted to *bhang* or

charas and are being used as sources of income by their custodians. Their accounts are never checked. Indeed, mosques and graveyards have been sold, especially in Lahore, several of them being in the possession of non-Muhammadans. Do Mussalmans feel no shame ?

V.—EDUCATION.

National education.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

28. The *Zamindar* of the 6th May has a leading article on national education, urging students to join national colleges. This year all official schools and colleges should become empty and national institutions should be filled up. All thought of Government service should be given up and attention should be diverted towards trade and industries. India is shortly to become free. The young men of the present generation should prepare themselves not for the slavery of Englishmen but for the service of their own country and nation.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The policy of the *Sansar*.

SANSAR (Amritsar);

29. The *Sansar* of the 6th May, in explaining its policy, says that it will pursue the policy of the Congress and support every movement started by the Congress for the good of the country and the nation. Like the *Akali*, it will discuss every thing freely, but while the *Akali* discusses political questions only, the *Sansar* will embrace religious and social matters also in its sphere of activity. The promotion of the cause of the Punjabi language will constitute another plank in the programme of the *Sansar*. It will also endeavour to suppress *begar* and knock the *chhut* system on the head, preach the use of the spinning wheel in every house and induce every Indian to give up the use of foreign cloth. The paper will report news from all parts of the world, paying special attention to the affairs of France, Germany and Japan and keeping the public informed of frontier matters and the moves of the Bolsheviks.

The apology of the Editor of the *Akali*.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

30. The *Desh* of the 12th May asks Sardar Partap Singh, Editor of the *Akali*, if he had decided to tender an apology to Government why he got Sardar Narindar Singh, the publisher of the *Akali*, put into jail. Why did he not say at the very start that he had made a mistake and left himself at the mercy of the Court ? The whole responsibility for Sardar Narindar Singh's trouble rests on the cowardly spirit displayed by Partab Singh.

European customers.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); Dwarka Parshad editor.

31. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th May has the following :—"We have received complaints from Indian Merchants plying their trade either in Ambala Cantonment or in other Cantonments that there is room for improvement in the general attitude of some of their European customers, especially those who belong to the Military classes. In fact we have been told that cases of positive rudeness have not been few and far between. In the interests of both Englishmen and Indians, we should request the higher military authorities to issue instructions to the European customers in Cantonment areas not to say or do anything which would mar the harmony of relations between the two nations, and especially in the present stage of transition when Indians have begun to feel that they are not mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country, but citizens of an Empire whose statesmen see vision of a free India and concert measures, in howsoever imperfect a degree, to materialise it."

The Bhatti memorial.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

32. The *Siyasat* of the 7th May is deeply grieved to learn that the Bhattis residing in the neighbourhood of Nankana Sahib have submitted a petition to the Governor at the instance of some sycophant, who is an enemy of Indian nationality. They state that as the land attached to the gurdwara was given to the Sikhs by their ancestors and as the sacred object for which the land was given was not being fulfilled the property should be made over to them. The argument is strange and meaningless. Whatever the petitioners' ancestors have given in the name of God cannot be returned. Nor should they demand it back. The petition is ridiculous. It is the business of the Sikhs to manage the Nankana Gurdwara.

TRIBUNE
B. N. Roy,
Lahore) ;
ditor.

The Gujranwala railway station.

33. The *Tribune* of the 12th May writes:—"If the proposed change in the present site of the railway station at Gujranwala is indeed due to a desire to punish the town for the riots which people are asked to forgive and forget, all that we can say is that the authorities could have hit on no other plan more likely to perpetuate the bitter memories associated with martial law. If the process of punishing those, rightly or wrongly supposed to be guilty, is to continue, well, the responsibility rests on Government. Only, for the sake of consistency, do not insult the self-respect of Indians by asking them to forget and forgive events the memory of which the authorities themselves appear to be so desirous of keeping alive by raising visible monuments."

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal Kapur,
editor.

The drink habit.

34. The *Kesari* of the 7th May considers it the duty of Government to realize the full strength of the popular feeling aroused against the drink habit and totally stop the sale of wine in places where a regular crusade has been carried on against it. No doubt Government derives substantial revenue from wine contracts; still it is not becoming of a civilised Government to use for means of income what ruins both the religion and the health of the people.

PARTAP
(Lahore) ;
Krishna,
editor.

The export of wheat.

35. The *Partap* of the 9th May opposes the export of wheat as likely to raise its price. If this leads to starvation, the public peace will be disturbed.

KESARI
(Lahore) ;
Sham Lal
Kapur,
editor.

An Hoax.

36. The *Kesari* of the 9th May exposes the hoax about the alleged release of 25 martial law prisoners played upon it by a cheat, who concocted a false story and by exciting the sympathy of people managed to collect small sums for himself for his railway fare from Lahore to Lyallpur. He represented himself as one of the released prisoners.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore) ;
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Mr. Thompson.

37. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 12th May reiterates its protest against Mr. Thompson's reversion as Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Montagu on Turkish peace.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Ala editor. m

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 11th May refers to the reply which Mr. Montagu gave to the Indian Muslim deputation *re* the revised terms of the Turkish Treaty and remarks that although the Ottoman Empire has been partitioned and Mesopotamia will remain under British control and the Straits will be internationalized, still Mr. Montagu has the hardihood to say that Turkey will be as free and independent as she was before the war. Mr Montagu would have been well advised if he had maintained silence in the matter and had refrained from ripping open old sores by saying that the religious susceptibilities of Muhammadans have been respected.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 12th May, the *Paisa Akhbar* states that in reply to the address of the Simla Municipal Committee Lord Reading assured his hearers that it was evident from Mr. Montagu's reply that Turkey would be as free and independent as she was before the war. But barring the new concession of the evacuation of Constantinople all the other terms of the Treaty are opposed to the demands of the Indian Muhammadans. How can the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu then say that Turkey will be as free and independent as she was before the war?

Muslim States in Asia.

SWARAJ (Lahore);

2. (*a*) Referring to Mr. Churchill's proposal that Great Britain should subsidise the Shah of the Hedjaz and the ruler of Yemen if they undertake the responsibility of maintaining peace within their respective territories and if they place their

foreign relations and the Hedjaz Railway under the British control, the *Swaraj* of the 15th May remarks that Muhammadans who are bound by their religion to preserve and maintain the honour of the Hedjaz can never agree that a non-Muslim nation should exercise direct or indirect influence over the Hedjaz. How can they tolerate the dissemination in the Hedjaz of the new European civilisation which is apprehended to injuriously affect the simplicity and the sacred character of Arabia? But why is England anxious to control the foreign policy of Arabia and also the Hedjaz Railway? Why is she bent upon taking possession of this barren and desert land? Is there any political motive underlying her desire for keeping control over the Hedjaz? Or are there oil springs or diamond or gold mines, as also great ports, which necessitate the British occupation of that country in the interests of British trade and to add to the strength of the British power? The paper concludes by urging Great Britain to let this purely Islamic country alone and remarks that if in compliance with Muslim public opinion the Government sees its way to evacuate the Arabian peninsula Muhammadans will believe that their cry has not been in vain,

Zamindar (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) It appears to the *Zamindar* of the 18th May that it will be long before the evacuation of Mesopotamia will take place. The paper remarks that when all distinguished politicians and leading newspapers have opposed the occupation of Mesopotamia, it is difficult to say how the British dare establish, directly or indirectly, a permanent control over Mesopotamia. The Turkish nationalists have included in their programme the proposal of evacuating Mesopotamia. They have also proposed to make Sheikh Sannousi its King. What measures will Mr. Churchill adopt if the English come into conflict with the liberal Turks who have the support of the Sheikh and the entire Muslim world? Will not the British people be obliged to leave Mesopotamia bag and baggage, as in the case of Persia? It has always been a feature of British foreign policy to establish friendly relations with important petty states by granting them annual subsidies. Accordingly, it is proposed to subsidise the King of the Hedjaz and the ruler of Yeman. This policy, however, cannot succeed for a long time. In the case of Afghanistan it succeeded so long as Habib Ullah lived, but it signally failed when Aman Ullah Khan took the reins of Government in his hands. The English will commit a grave blunder if they will make Amir Feissul the King of Mesopotamia. In the first place people do not like him at all and his appointment will only lead to disturbance and disorder. Secondly it will most adversly affect the relations between England and France in the Near and the Middle East. The French hate the very sight of the Amir and they cannot tolerate that by becoming a favourite of the English he should rule over Mesopotamia, thereby becoming a source of danger for Syria.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Indians in the Phillippine Islands.

3. The *Kesari* of the 16th May remarks that Indians, who were hitherto excluded from Canada and Australia, have now been excluded from the Philippine Islands also, which have issued an insulting, nay shameful, announcement on the subject. After enquiring how long Indians will go on suffering humiliation at the hands of others, the paper remarks that their sense of honour demands that Indians should retaliate by forbidding the entry of the Fillipinos and others into India. Will the Government of India, it asks, help the Indians in the matter or will they leave them to be thus disgraced and humiliated?

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The Bolshevik agreements with Persia and Afghanistan.

4. According to the *Vakil* of the 14th May, India is keenly interested in the Russian agreements with Persia and Afghanistan, which will largely affect the relations of Persia and Afghanistan with England. England must have been carefully watching the course of events. She must know the real object of the alliance between Russia and these Asiatic Powers and should not treat with contempt the feelings and sentiments of India and the Indian Muhammadans.

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

An Afghan invasion.

5. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 15th May says that in the event of a foreign invasion differences should be sunk and a united front offered to the enemy. Should the Afghans invade India, it behoves Indians to unite and stand against them, as the real question is the protection of the country and not the help of Gov-

ernment. At the District Conference of Allahabad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said that the people of India should sow the seed of *Swaraj* in their hearts, as neither Afghanistan, nor Russia, nor Japan could secure freedom for them. This is a lesson which every true advocate of non-coöperation, every patriotic Indian and every Hindu nationalist should take to heart. *Swaraj* or independence will be achieved by personal efforts and self-sacrifice, though in a peaceful and constitutional way. Let the Indians collect subscriptions for the Swaraj Fund and popularise the spinning wheel, but for God's sake let them not forget the lesson which history teaches them, *viz.*, they should not count upon the help of any foreign nation. They should keep at a safe distance from the savage Afghans.

THE SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The following is from the *Sikh* of the 19th May :—" We are sure no self-respecting and patriotic Indian would agree with Mr. Muhammad Ali in his view. With a knowledge of the past history of these fierce and voracious Afghans and Pathans in connection with India as well as of their present every day raids on the poor peace-abiding British subjects, none would believe for a second even that this barbarous or semi-babarous people would ever sincerely think of making India free. What they have always thought in the past and will always think in the future is of plundering and ravaging the rich plains of India and oppressing the innocent inhabitants, particularly the females. Obtaining *Swaraj* with the aid of such a beastly people is to invite a wolf to guard a flock of sheep against a human shepherd who, however selfish he may be said to be, would never tear off the whole flock in a twinkling."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Afghan invasion of India: The Hindu attitude: Hindu-Muslim relations.

6. Lajpat Rai contributes a series of three signed articles to the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th, 18th and 19th May on the Afghan invasion of India and what attitude the Hindus should adopt if such an invasion really takes place.

The first article, in the issue of the 17th May, opens by saying that the idea is prevalent in the country that the Afghans are about to invade India. This idea has gathered greater significance owing to the ultimatum presented by the Waziris and the views on the subject expressed by Maulana Muhammad Ali. The Hindus are asking the writer what attitude they should adopt in the matter.

The first question is: Will Afghanistan invade India? The writer thinks that this is improbable. He is of opinion that Anglo-Indians have raised this ghost merely to create disunion between Hindus and Muhammadans and to divert the attention of the general public from non-coöperation. In the first place, Afghanistan is not so strong as to be able to invade India. Secondly, the British people and the Bolsheviks have recently entered into a trade agreement. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that the Bolsheviks will help Afghanistan in invading India. It is, moreover, evident that without the help of a European Power Afghanistan is not so strong as to invade India. And even if she does so, she cannot hope to achieve success in the enterprise. The writer cannot find any importance in the announcement made by the Mullas of Waziristan. He is of opinion that the present outcry is premature and Hindus and Muhammadans should pay no heed to it. Nevertheless, he would express his views on the subject.

He fully agrees with Mahatma Gandhi in holding the view that the carelessness which the responsible authorities of the Government display in protecting the lives and property of the Hindus in the frontier districts is not such as to stimulate a feeling of any unusual devotion in the minds of the Hindus for the Government. Dacoities after dacoities are being committed and Hindu families are being extirpated, and still Government will not take steps to protect them. Nay, these dacoities have extended even to the Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Shahpur districts. It is difficult to say whether the lives and property of the Hindus in the frontier districts were more insecure during the pre-British regime than in the present. The Government has been repeatedly asked to at least permit the Hindus to keep arms, if it cannot render any help to them. But it has not granted permission and it is on the lips of every person that whenever any oppressed

Hindu applies for protection to the Government he is tauntingly referred to Mahatma Gandhi. Why does Government act in this way? Is it because the Hindus demand *swaraj* and carry on agitation against it? Does Government wish to impress on the minds of the Hindus what their condition will be if the country is overtaken by disorder and how they will be looted by Muhammadans? If this be so, it means that Government would make the protection of the Hindus conditional and would require the latter to abandon the movement for obtaining liberty. Such being the case, the question naturally arises whether we are prepared to give up the movement. The writer does not feel the least hesitation in replying to this question. He believes that a peace in which people do not enjoy political freedom is worse than chaos. He thinks that lives and property obtained by becoming slaves or perpetuating slavery are of no value. If the Hindus are reduced to a state of complete poverty and indigence and if they are asked to give up all their wealth and property as a price for liberty, the writer will unhesitatingly advise them to sacrifice their wealth and property. A Government which can no longer protect their lives and property has lost its claim to their blood being shed for its sake. Moreover, the Punjab incidents of 1919 are still fresh in our memory. How can we forget them so quickly? The Punjab bureaucracy has been maltreating the Hindus for several years past. In view of these circumstances, even if we did not pass the resolution on non-coöperation, we should, nevertheless, have shown by our conduct that we did not feel so much devotion to the Government as to lead the Government to hope that we would sacrifice our lives and property for its sake. We considered all these matters when we passed the resolution on non-coöperation. So long as that resolution is not cancelled our convictions will not permit us to help in any way a Government against which we have proclaimed non-violent warfare. Our nationalism does not warrant our coöperation with any foreign invader. We do not support the idea of obtaining liberty with the help of any foreign Power, because we believe that no foreign Power can be so honest as to help us in gaining liberty and then allow us to remain free. Even if the Bolsheviks come to such an understanding with us we shall regard their promise with the gravest suspicion. The writer believes that Joseph Mazzini is right in laying down the dictum that the nation which cannot secure liberty by its own exertion is not entitled to liberty. The liberty obtained with the help of others will not be lasting. Hence the writer always differed from those who were in favour of securing the help of Germany or Japan or other countries. We shall obtain liberty by our internal powers, but we are not destined to obtain such liberty so long as the various religious communities in India do not arrive at a mutual understanding. While holding this view, the writer cannot advise his Hindu brethren to help the British Government in any war, whether that war be against Afghanistan or Germany. We can render help only when this Government becomes our own Government.

In the issue of the 18th May, the writer asks what the relations of the Hindus should be with the Muhammadan community. This question is important and interesting. Not very long ago the Muhammadans of India claimed on two grounds that they were entitled to preferential treatment. Firstly, because they had been the rulers of India for a very long time past and secondly, because there were free and independent Islamic States outside India and it was contended that the British Government would gain facility in the maintenance of its foreign relations if it accorded better treatment to the Indian Musalmans. When our Muhammadan countrymen were vigorously putting forward this claim, we tried to impress on their minds the fact that it was not only a great political mistake on their part to beg for concessions from a non-Indian Government on the above grounds, but it was also tantamount to putting their community on the wrong path. The writer would tell Muhammadans, and would at the same time crave their pardon for saying so, that they are to-day reaping the harvest of their mistake. For the sake of the few concessions which Government made to them they sacrificed that political freedom which Islam enjoyed outside India and also injured their social and moral solidarity. The writer is of opinion that if Muhammadans had joined the Indian National Congress from the very beginning with full force and in greater numbers, they could have rendered better service to Islam beyond India. It is true that the Indian Muhammadans obtained some posts in the administration of the country, as also separate representation for their community in Councils and Municipal Committees; but the generality of Muhammadans failed to receive any appreciable advantage. Moreover, it is undeniable that a community which constantly begs for concessions from Government cannot boldly criticise its general policy, especially its foreign policy. Muhammadans never fully realised the truth that the political freedom and power of Islam outside India were in great danger so long as India was under the subjection of a foreign nation. Imperial nations always make use of their subject nations in extending their empires. The British Government has pursued this policy in India. It was necessary for those Indians, be they Hindus or Muhammadans or Sikhs, who were obtaining concessions from Government to help this Imperial nation in extending its empire and to serve as its weapons for unwittingly reducing other nations to a state of slavery. Hindus live only in India and Sikhs also are found only in this country, but Muhammadans have spread themselves throughout Western Asia, Central Asia and North Africa The Indian Muhammadans should have realised that the solidarity of the British Empire in India could, under no circumstances, have proved advantageous for the political power of Islam. In order to maintain the solidarity of their power in India, it was necessary for Englishmen to take possession of all the great routes which connect Great Britain with India. All these routes were in the possession of Muhammadans. The British could secure permanent possession of the routes without foreign intervention only by substituting the freedom of Islam by its subjection. They accordingly took possession of Egypt, introduced British rule in South Arabia and interfered with the affairs of Mesopotamia, Syria, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan in pursuance of the same policy. All sensible persons can realise that to maintain the political freedom of those countries the Indian Musalmans can help their co-religionists only if India is free and their relations with the Hindus are very friendly; while India can never regain liberty if the Hindus and the Muhammadans do not fully trust each other. If the Hindus and the Muhammadans unite and expel British rule from India and if subsequently an Islamic Power secures possession of India, this country will fail not only to enjoy peace but even to maintain its freedom for six months.

The writer then lays down the following principles and remarks that they are so important and self evident that every Hindu and Muhammadan should take them to heart :—

(1) A foreign Government, whether it be British or any other, cannot be expelled from India so long as Hindus and Muhammadans do not trust each other.

(2) India can never remain free so long as this mutual trust and confidence are not complete and permanent.

(3) This confidence cannot be complete and permanent so long as Hindus do not assure Muhammadans that the freedom of India is not synonymous with Hindu rule and so long as Muhammadans do not assure Hindus by their conduct that the attempt to secure liberty for India does not mean that an Islamic Power, external or internal, should establish its rule in India.

(4) The Indian Musalmans cannot help in maintaining or restoring or strengthening the freedom of the Muhammadans of other countries so long as they are not free from anxiety as to whether other and non-Muslim communities in India repose confidence in them. In other words, the political freedom of Islamic countries like Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, etc., depends on a joint democratic rule in India of Hindu, Muhammadan and other communities, whether that rule be within the British Empire or outside it. If India is not strong in maintaining its freedom, foreign Powers will continue to cast avaricious glances towards it. Till then not only India cannot maintain freedom but even the freedom of Central and Western Asia will be involved in danger. The present condition of Asia is such that it is necessary for India to regain liberty for the sake of the freedom of Central and Western Asia. We wish to keep not only India but even the whole of Central and Western Asia free from the encroachments of European Powers. We can arrive at a mutual understanding and peaceful settlement with the British Government on the basis of this principle. We think that British statesmen too will acknowledge this principle, on the basis of which the unity of Hindus and Muhammadans also should be strengthened.

In the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th May, Lajpat Rai asks his Hindu brethren to fully realise that so long as they do not arrive at a perfect understanding with the Muhammadans they cannot be free. They have only two ways open for them, *viz.*, the way of external slavery or of complete friendship with and confidence in the Indian Muhammadans. If they cannot maintain friendly relations with the Indian Musalmans and cannot repose complete confidence in them and if they cannot remove such doubts, misgivings and prejudices as have taken possession of their minds, all efforts to cast off the British yoke will be wholly abortive, because surely we do not desire to expel Englishmen from India and replace British rule by some other foreign rule. We have, therefore, made it a guiding principle for ourselves that in order to regain liberty we do not desire the help of any foreign Power. Hindu-Muslim relations are so deep and reliable that the Hindus should prefer the Indian Mussalmans to all foreign nations and similarly the Indian Mussalmans should prefer the Hindus to all other foreign nations of the world, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. It is impossible for the Hindus to repose trust in any foreign Power, whether Islamic or otherwise, and the idea that a Hindu can summon the Amir of Kabul to his aid or can request him to help India in regaining freedom is quite absurd. Similarly, the allegation that the Ali brothers invited the Amir of Kabul to India is groundless. It is natural that a Mussalman nationalist, in the present state of his mentality and also owing to the non-coöperation resolution, should be so bold as to declare that if the Amir of Kabul proclaims Jehad he will not help the Government of India against His Majesty. Some Mussalman nationalists also say that as Mussalmans, it will be their duty to help the Muslim crusaders. The writer cannot hold such persons blameable. Nay, he admires their boldness and truthfulness. He will not, however, discuss how far their idea falls within the range of practical politics. He does not in the least suspect Muhammadan nationalists who declare that they do not desire that the Amir of Kabul should establish his rule in India. In this matter the duty of the Hindus is plain. So long as they believe in the principle of non-coöperation they can render no help to the Government of India. But when they are no longer under the necessity of acting on the principle of non coöperation in the event of a settlement with the Government of India, their duty will be changed. If ever the British Government becomes so weak as to give rise to the fear that it might fall a prey to some foreign Power, it will then be a matter for the consideration of the Hindus what they should do. In fact, the Hindus will in no circumstance desire that some foreign nation or Power should establish its rule in India. The writer feels no hesitation in saying that he might acknowledge the political power of the Indian Mussalmans as compared with foreign nations, but he is not prepared to acknowledge the rule of foreign nations, even if it be a Muslim one, in any part of India. The real thing, however, is that all this discussion is yet premature. Indeed, it has been started merely with a view to weaken that deep and strong unity which appears to be taking place between the Hindus and the Muhammadans by importing imaginary matters of the future into the discussion. The writer is of opinion that the only reply that can be given is that the Hindus are in every way and under all circumstances prepared to coöperate with the Muhammadans until the Muhammadans liberate their Caliphate from the control of the non-Muhammadans. When the danger of Afghanistan extending its rule over India assumes a practical shape, it will be time for the Hindus to consider what they should do. At present, there is only one thing for us to do and that is that we should strengthen our internal power. This can be done in two ways, *viz.*, firstly, by Hindu-Muslim unity and secondly, by non-coöperation. It is our duty not to allow any imaginary danger to interfere with these two essential duties. The writer still hopes that we shall not be under the necessity of severing our ties for ever with Great Britain. British statesmen will not force us to take up the idea of severing our connection with Englishmen and to prefer a connection with some other nation. But in all conscience this question is wholly premature and Hindus and Muhammadans should not waste their energies in discussing it.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

A Legislative Councillor on the present situation.

7. The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th May publishes the translation of a letter which recently appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of London from the pen of a Muhammadan member of the Punjab Legislative Council, stating that Gandhi's movement against the Council elections had

proved a failure, that the terrorism which Gandhi and his followers were causing was nothing short of Bolshevism, that the local officers were doing nothing and that the Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919 to be brought into operation on such critical occasions. Commenting, the paper asks whether it is proper for a successful member of the Council to say that Mahatma Gandhi's work in connection with the Councils proved a total failure. India is a country of slaves and degraded men like the correspondent referred to above will be found even in a country inhabited by angels. Had India been less unfortunate, such men as are expressing their impatience for the enforcement of the Rowlatt Act against their own fellow-countrymen would not have been found in it. Was the Rowlatt Act passed to deal with the present unrest or is the present unrest the result of the Act itself?

The Prince of Wales.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

8. The *Kesari* of the 13th May thinks that the Prince of Wales need not come to India if he is coming empty-handed like the Duke of Cannaught. He is welcome if he comes with the message of *Swaraj* for India. Otherwise, Indians will not be prepared to welcome him.

Lord Reading's policy.

SANSAR (Amritsar).

9. The *Sansar* of the 13th May observes that the British Government stands in the relation of a parent to Indians and yet it is ready to take action under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, if an Indian comes forward to demand *Swaraj*. When Lord Reading came to India he harped on the theme of justice. But Indians are still thrown into the jail in the same way as before and the Seditious Meetings Act is being enforced. They are, however, determined to get *Swaraj* and will not rest till they have got it. But they will gain *Swaraj* not by the sword but by peaceful non-coöperation. It is said that Indians have been appointed Governors and Ministers. This is true, but what is the result? They are being arrested and thrown into jail in larger numbers than before. The Indian Ministers are in fact strengthening the chain of slavery, instead of securing *Swaraj* for their country. The sole hope of Indians now is centered in God and non-coöperation.

The Viceroy's speech.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

10. The *Vakil* of the 13th May remarks that throughout his speech His Excellency proposed no remedy for the existing disturbed condition of the country. It will be a gross mistake to resort to repression. Nothing can produce so deep an impression on the minds of the Indian people as a satisfactory settlement of the Caliphate question and complete reparation to oppressed Punjab. It also behoves Lord Reading to consider why the *Swaraj* movement is spreading so rapidly in India. The only reason is that at present Indians cannot live as they like and find that even if their demands and aspirations receive the countenance of the Government of India, they secure no hearing in England. Indeed, Indians are helpless in every way. Mr. Montagu may try as much as he likes to assuage the perturbed feelings of Indians, but the latter cannot believe that in the settlement of Turkish affairs full regard has been paid to their views. The same remarks apply to the Punjab affairs. The result is that Indians have now come to believe that *Swaraj* is the only remedy for their political distempers. Lord Reading should see whether it is reasonable on the part of Indians to claim *Swaraj* and what treatment they are entitled to receive from Government. His Excellency should bear in mind that if the grievances of Indians are not redressed, agitation will grow.

The Viceroy's interview with Mr. Gandhi.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 18th May writes:—"The threat that Lala Lajpat Rai held out to Mr. Gandhi at Simla cannot have frightened this great politician and statesman. The Lala said in his speech there that no Reading-Gandhi compromise would be acceptable to India if it falls short of the decision of the Nagpur Congress. We think the Lala has not read the situation rightly. What is India and where is the Nagpur Congress without Mr. Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi, it is an open secret, is the life and soul of the whole national movement in the country. Lala Lajpat Rai and other small leaders like him do not yet command the confidence of the public in the measure in which Mr. Gandhi does and they are so very changing that it is difficult to repose any confidence in them. It is, therefore, futile to say that the country will not follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi if the lead is going to be anything other than what it has been

during the last several months. People have become sufficiently accustomed to follow Mr. Gandhi irrespective of whether the path he lays down leads to success or failure, and we have no doubt they will still be with him if he chalks out a difficult line of action for his followers."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 20th May writes:—"The Government has been trying to suppress the movement by giving it a bad fame and exaggerating its evils. But will it succeed? Hundreds of workers and local leaders have been arrested and sent to jail and most of them have not had a fair trial. What is the effect produced by this policy on the people of India? Does Government ever hope to win back the people to the moderate view and get them to support the present form of Government? Any sane man must admit that the effects produced by repression are quite the contrary and if non-coöperation creates one great obstacle to the Government, repression creates perhaps a dozen more. And where is all this leading to? That is the problem before the country and we hope that Lord Reading, by his interviews with prominent leaders of the people, will look at the situation with that justice and impartiality and also with a true statesmanly insight that is attributed to him. Sir Maneckji and others of his school of thought may recommend heroic remedies. They ask the Viceroy to take the big stick to beat the people for their anger and disappointment. We are sure Lord Reading has a more ennobling conception of his task and, what is more, he will bring real contentment to the people and earn their everlasting gratitude."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 21st May writes:—"We think that there is really no difference of opinion arising out of the Simla interviews, though, as we have already stated, such interviews are likely to lead to a better understanding of the respective positions of the Government and the non-coöperation leaders. We likewise think that there is a common ground on which both can meet without in any way compromising the main principles of their political aims. As the *Statesman* points out, 'the goal which the British and Indian Governments have set before them is the slow but steady realisation of the aims which seem to be precisely those which attract Mr. Gandhi. The only difference between the two schools of opinion concerns the rate at which, and the process by which, the change is to be effected.' If this position is accepted, then a just compromise is not, and ought not to be, impossible."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Government and the Sikhs.

12. (*a*) Writing about the Punjab Government resolution on the Gurdwara movement, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 8th May dwells on the manifold services rendered by Sikhs to the Government during the great European war and remarks that when the Sikhs found that loyalty, devotion, service and sacrifices were of no avail in inducing the Government to accord the best of treatment to them, they were filled with disappointment and sought the help of the Congress for obtaining their political rights. When a Sikh deputation waited on Mr. Hallifax, the latter asked them in a very provocative and insulting manner whether they would now join the Congress. Most of the members of the deputation were convinced that day that the bureaucracy bowed not before loyalty and friendship, but before agitation. Government has been unfriendly to the Sikhs in nearly all matters. Not a single Sikh has been taken in the Indian Medical Service. Even in the matter of commissioned ranks in the army Bengalis have been given preference over Sikhs. Only one or two Sikhs have been admitted direct to the Sandhurst College. The grant of three lakhs of rupees to the Khalsa College building and the appointment of two Engineers for the Kartarpur Gurdwara are small matters. The Sikhs, however, are grateful to Government for them, but it is not becoming of Government to reiterate them in season and out of season. The last affair which is apprehended to bring about an estrangement in the relations between the Government and Sikhs is the Gurdwara movement, which is a purely religious movement. After the deplorable Nankana incident the police officials began to commit acts in Nankana for which the Indian police are notorious. The Sikhs decided to resort to non-coöperation in their relations with the police when they found that the attitude of the police had suffered a change and that some of the police officials were trying to weaken the case against the Mahant and were bent upon involving the Sikhs in trouble and creating suspicion in the minds of the higher authorities against them by compelling the people to make false reports against them. It was owing to

the machinations of such police officials that troops were summoned to Nankana and steps were taken against the Sikhs which reminded them of the days of martial law. Government also gave up its former policy and inaugurated a new policy of repression by arresting Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar. This was followed by the arrest of scores of Sikhs and their consignment to jail on various charges The Mahants and their friends were got up as witnesses against them and the local authorities began to try to crush the Gurdwara movement. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar committed provocative acts which were hitherto never committed by any officer of his position. He arrested the accused himself and administered kicks to them. Certain Government officers openly abused the Akalis. The police are very zealously adducing proofs in cases pending against the Sikhs. In short, local officers are harassing the Sikhs in every way. The paper then goes on to find fault with the Gurdwara Bill and charges Mr Fazal-i-Husain with bearing enmity to the Sikhs without any cause. When he was a member of the Council he strongly opposed legitimate Sikh rights. In these days, too, he is in favour of a policy of repression in dealing with the Gurdwara movement. As religious endowments are under his control, Sikh demands are laid before him and are rejected. In short, the old loyal relations which existed between the Sikhs and Government formerly are now-a-days getting strained. The responsibility for this rests on those officers who regard a purely religious movement like the Gurdwara reform movement as a political movement and who are desirous of crushing it. The movement in question would have come to an end if the Nankana Gurdwara had been entrusted to the *Panth.* But certain police officers would not allow this. If Government had not granted permission for the arrest of Sikhs at Nankana its relations with the Gurdwara Committee would have been cordial. The paper concludes by reminding Sir Edward Maclagan of his promise to mete out justice to the Sikhs made when His Excellency was standing by the burnt Sikh corpses at Nankana, a promise which he repeated when he was entering the train at the Nankana Railway Station. His Excellency should not make the loyal Sikhs unfriendly to Government by acting on the suggestions of a few displeased subordinate officers. He should captivate their hearts by respecting Sikh susceptibilities and acting reasonably. The Sikhs have shed their blood on all the battlefields in the world for the sake of Great Britain, but it is to be feared that the good relations between the Government and the Sikhs are being strained by a policy of repression.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper says that the idea prevails among the Sikhs that the authorities have postponed the Sikh Gurdwara Bill as they are under the impression that the Sikhs have been cowed down. Government has also issued instructions to all Deputy Commissioners that they should promptly attach those Gurdwaras which are in danger. After remarking that His Excellency the Governor is greatly under anti-Sikh influences, the paper says that the Sikhs have not been cowed down. Nay, they have been prevented by their leaders from carrying on an agitation in the hope that Government will surely pass some useful law about their Gurdwaras. The Sikhs who have been arrested were not at all prepared to give any defence in court. His Excellency, however, expressed a wish in the presence of several Sikh leaders that the leaders should induce the arrested Sikhs to prove themselves innocent in court. It is not proper for Government to put the Sikhs to test. Nor is it proper that it should adopt a policy of repression. The relations between the Sikhs and Government were not so strained even in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's régime and Sir Edward Maclagan will do scant justice to his own community if he allows the relations between Government and a community which was hitherto its right hand to be embittered.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar), Sucha Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 11th May remarks that those who advocate the reform of the Gurdwaras should unite and see that no undue delay takes place in the dissemination of their principles. Their main object is that they should take possession of the Gurdwaras, and they should concentrate their energies upon the attainment of that end. Before resorting to passive resistance the Sikh community should adopt non-coöperation as a preliminary step. If they succeed in this, they should start passive resistance.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

[illegible]

The non-coöperation movement.

13. The *Partap* of the 18th May remarks that in a recent issue the *Pioneer* asks Mr. Gandhi to suspend temporarily the non-coöperation movement in order to make

the Reformed Councils a success. But this sort of writing cannot now deceive the Indians, who wish to attain *Swaraj* not with the help of the Councils but with that of non-coöperation. If these Councils have any value it is because nonco-öperation is being practised in the country. Were there no Councils in the country formerly and do not the people now know what sort of treatment was then accorded to them? The *Pioneer* and others of its ilk should bear in mind that the days have passed away when the Indians could be satisfied with mere words. If they wish that India should give up non-coöperation they should secure justice for India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Repression.

14. The *Tribune* of the 16th May writes:—"The present state of tension between the Government and the non-coöperators cannot be continued long without causing serious harm to the country and complicating the future issues. Stern repression on the one hand to be met by grim submission to suffering on the other cannot lead to any satisfactory solution of the present problem and may even lead to further troubles. His Excellency the Viceroy has already sounded a general note of warning as regards the unlawful turn which certain events and forces have already taken. In the official view, the non-coöperators' activities are wholly responsible for the crimes; but in popular view, the repressive policy of the Government is equally, if not largely, responsible. Whichever side is to blame, the result can only be regrettable, and whatever present satisfaction officials may obtain in their efforts to kill non-coöperation by stern repression, the lesson of history unmistakably points to the utter ineffectiveness of this campaign and to the possible creation of worse danger to peace and progress. It is obvious, therefore, that the only way out of the present difficulties is the adoption of a policy of conciliation and compromise, and we have already indicated the lines on which, in our humble opinion, such a settlement can be effected."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The circular letter of the Madras Government.

15. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 15th May states that Indian nationalist leaders have started the non-coöperation movement to obtain *Swaraj* and it is to be hoped that, influenced by considerations of the good of their motherland, Indian Government officials will rally round the flag of this movement. On the other hand, Government expects that for the sake of a few pice which it gives them out of the money belonging to their own country, they should not only forsake their national leaders but even oppose them. We do not know what attitude these men will adopt; but they cannot be so degraded and their minds so devoid of patriotism as to act in the way suggested by Government. If they cannot give up Government service and rally round the national flag they can at least tell Government that they are not prepared to do anything likely to crush the spirit of the nation. Cannot the children of Bharat show as much courage for the sake of their motherland?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 17th May has the following:—"It appears to us that the Madras Government's circular does not make the position of Government officials in regard to their attitude towards the non-coöperation movement perfectly clear. If the movement is revolutionary and as such illegal, Government should definitely declare it to be so and empower its officials to suppress the movement on some definite legal authority. Or, if the movement is not so illegal and so dangerous but it only 'tends to become' so in certain cases and under certain circumstances, then the distinction between the dangerous and the non-dangerous aspects of non-coöperation should be clearly pointed out to the Government servants. Obviously Government is not in a position to declare the movement to be illegal."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib, editor.

A Gyani's expulsion from the Frontier Province.

16. The *Siyasat* of the 19th May has received a letter from Gyani Autar Singh, *Akali*, saying that on the 14th April he got an order from the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province directing him by virtue of the powers vested in him under the Defence of India Act not to stay in the Frontier Province from that date and not to enter the province thereafter. In obedience to the order the Gyani left the Frontier Province on the 15th April. He now finds that efforts are being made to suppress all those committees, such as the Khilafat Committee of Peshawar, the Congress Committee

of Bannu, &c, which were established by him, by throwing their workers into the jail. The Gyani asks the authorities to withdraw this order by the 15th June; otherwise, he will reach Peshawar by the evening train of the 15th June and start work there.

Jaswant Singh maltreated.

17. The *Kesari* of the 19th May refers to Dr. Satya Pal's telegram stating that Government is maltreating Sardar Jaswant Singh. The policy of repression can never succeed in crushing the national spirit of those who do not care even to defend themselves. Government should note that such measures cause public excitement. They can do no harm to the nationalists, who are prepared to sacrifice their all for the sake of their motherland. Government alone stands to lose by exciting the people by such tyranny.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Martial law victims.

18. The *Kesari* of the 16th May remarks that the Government of India are mistaken if they think that it is no longer necessary for them to assuage the popular feeling aroused by the martial-law atrocities. The Indians cannot easily forget the death of hundreds of innocent men. The eyes of India are now fixed on Lord Reading. His Excellency's present attitude of silence is causing anxiety to the people. If His Excellency fails to make full reparation to the aggrieved persons his Viceroyalty will prove a failure.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur editor.

Compensation to martial law sufferers.

19. The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 14th May protests against the resolution of the Punjab Provincial Congress held at Rawalpindi that those who have suffered under the martial law administration in the Punjab should refuse to accept the compensation which Government may grant them for the losses suffered by them.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

A Shia *fatwa*.

20. The *Swaraj* of the 20th May pushlishes the following *fatwa* (religious ordinance) from several Shia *Mujtahids* of Persia and Mesopotamia :—

SWARAJ (Lahore);

Question.—What do the Shia *Mujtahids* say in respect of those persons who support or co-operate with a non-Muslim Power against an Islamic Power which, although not Shia, still respects the innocent *Imams* and defends the sacred places of Shias from non-Islamic aggrandisement and influence?

Answer —All Muhammadans who behave as above commit the grossest sin, whether they are Shias or Sunnis.

Question.—Is non-coöperation lawful and right according to the Koran and the Traditions, if non-coöperation be the only means of putting an end to the wicked policy of a non-Muslim Power?

Answer.—Such non-coöperation is right and lawful.

The decision of the Gurdwara Committee.

21. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 13th May has an article headed "Gurdwara Committee's Plunge: A Headless Horseman," in which it expresses disapproval of the decision of the new Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to resort to passive resistance.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 15th May writes:—"For our part we take strong exception to such hastiness on the part of the Committee in accepting without full and mature consideration the resignations of three leading and highly valuable members, Sardars Harbans Singh, Jodh Singh, and Harkishen Singh."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

Akalis and Namdhari Sikhs.

22. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 15th May publishes an "open letter" from Nidhan Singh, editor of the *Sat Jug*, addressed to the leaders of the Akali Jatha and the members of the Gurdwara Committee. The writer draws attention to the high-handedness of the Akalis in various places in fixing the Namdhari Sikhs to become Akalis on pain of being boycotted socially and religiously by the Akalis.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Liberal* of 18th May writes:—"We now find that the Akalis are becoming a source of terror not only to the Hindu Sikhs, but even to such among themselves who command the greatest respect of the entire community for their purity of character and their high ideals of service and sacrifice."

LIBERAL (Lahore), Jai Gopal Taudan, editor.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Nankana Sahib martyrs.

23. The *Desh* of the 14th May publishes a communication from Khwaja Hasan Nizami, who says that monotheists, be they Christians, Jews, Hindus or Muhammadans, will ever remember the names of the martyrs of the Nankana Sahib till the Day of Judgment. These martyrs laid down their lives after the manner of those who suffered martyrdom at Karbala. A new Muharram will be celebrated in India and meetings will be held every year to keep their memory green.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Water scarcity in Lahore.

24. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 15th May:—"We invite the attention of the local Municipal Committee and of the Municipal Engineer in particular to the public complaints regarding scarcity of water supply in the city as distinguished from the quarter known as the "Civil Lines."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The apology of the editor of the *Akali*.

25. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 13th May refers to the apology tendered by Sardar Partap Singh, editor of the *Akali*, and the withdrawal of the case against him and remarks that it is difficult to say what effect this will have on the non-coöperation movement in the Punjab and on its Sikh promoters. There is, however, one thing about which there can be no gainsaying and that is that the Sardar took this step after consideration and due consultation with his friends. Moreover, the Sardar is an advocate of non-violent non-coöperation, while the article for which he was prosecuted countenanced teachings that are opposed to non-violence. Hence, instead of tendering an apology through fear of imprisonment he considered it his moral duty to do so. It further appears that the incriminating article was written by a Government official. It is certainly the duty of a journalist to keep the identity of a correspondent secret if the latter desires it, but if the correspondent is actuated by dishonest motives his name should be divulged, so that nobody might be misled in future.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th May does not know in what circumstances and on what grounds Sardar Partap Singh has tendered an apology. The article in question had been published in the Sardar's absence. Mahatma Gandhi has now announced that the boycott of courts means that people should not seek any help from the courts and that the accused should offer their defence without the help of pleaders. It is, therefore, not surprising that Sardar Partap Singh's view has changed and he has thought it advisable to express regret for the publication of the article. At any rate, we find no moral weakness in the apology.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 18th May writes :—"While we agree that it would have been more honourable on the part of Sardar Partap Singh if he had taken a straight-forward course in the beginning and avoided trouble to one of his companions, we do not think he is the only non-coöperator who has tendered an apology when he was convinced that he was wrong. We had recently had a free and unqualified apology tendered by the Punjab leader of the non-coöperation movement to Mr. King, the Commissioner. The less we talk of these apologies the better because they are a discredit to some of our most boastful workers here."

PANTH SEWAK (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

Paucity of Sikh officials.

26. The *Panth Sewak* of the 11th May deplores the paucity of Sikh officials in the Jullundur division and the Tarn Taran Tahsil, which paucity accounts for the official prejudice against the Sikhs.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Judicial and executive functions in the Hyderabad State.

27. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th May remarks that by separating judicial from executive functions the Hyderabad State has set an example to the British Government. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will now have no hesitation in carrying into effect this reform, even although the bureaucratic party may stand in its way.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

An attack on Khilafat workers.

28. Akbar Khan, B.A., LL.B., Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Bannu, writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 18th May, states that after the arrest of Mian Jamal Khan, of the Khilafat Committee, Bannu, and Sheikh Ghulam Sarwar,

Muezzin, armed soldiers made an attack at 3 A.M. on Amandi, Mamash, Daud Shah and Mohmand Khel. These are villages where Khilafat work was being satisfactorily carried on. Nearly every house was searched. Many women were disgraced and ornaments were seized from several of them. Many houses were plundered. The crops of the servants of the Khilafat, which were stored up in the barns, were destroyed by fire. Nearly ninety persons were arrested and seven men, who were quite innocent, were shot dead. As martial law has not yet been proclaimed here, it is not known under what law such proceedings were taken.

Garden parties.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

29. The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th May objects to garden parties being given to honour individuals and takes strong exception to the attendance of non-coöperators at such functions.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Muslim States.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. The *Vakil* of the 18th May affirms that the British Government has not succeeded in establishing friendly relations with Persia and Afghanistan, nor has it made an effort to cultivate frienship with the Turkish nationalists. But the Russian Bolsheviks have made formal alliances with Persia, Afghanistan and Turkey. France and Italy too have taken advantage of the opportunity and made friendship with the Turkish nationalists. The matter is deserving of careful attention by British statesmen. The British Government is not strengthening its foundations by losing the sympathy of all Islamic countries and by disregarding the views of 32 crore Indians.

Mr. Churchill's scheme.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 17th May criticises Mr. Churchill's scheme about the future administration of Muslim States in the Near East as unduly extending British sway, likely to overthrow completely the power of Islam and making it impossible for a united and independent Arabia to stand on its feet.

Fighting on the Frontier.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 18th May characterises the frontier policy of Governmennt as a criminal one, to which it ascribes the present ruinous expenditure of India. In explaining the causes which led to an increase of fifteen crore rupees in military expenditure, the Finance Member of the Government of India referred to the hostile attitude of the Waziris. But why is fighting taking place? This fighting is taking place because by occupying central Waziristan Government provoked the Waziris. If Government had not carried on military operations against the Mahsuds no trouble would have arisen. Government knew that a doubtful measure would lead to trouble; it nevertheless stuck to its criminal and ruinous policy because it held the purse strings of the Indian treasury and was aware that it was not answerable to any body for its expenditure. It carried on military operations on a more lavish scale than before. At first it started a war against the Mahsuds, but gradually all the Waziris turned hostile. The question now arises whether an aggressive advance into Mahsud territory

was the only measure by which the Mahsuds could be brought to their senses. The Mahsuds never made an aggressive advance towards British territory. The peace of India was not at all threatened and Government, instead of pushing its army into Mahsud territory and wresting their territory from the Mahsuds, should have adopted measures for keeping India secure from their attack. The British advance into Mahsud territory is attributable solely to a desire for territorial aggrandisement and it served to inflame the neighbouring tribes which feared for the safety of their freedom. To blockade territory which lies beyond the natural boundary of India, to make an attack on it and to occupy and annex it can in no circumstances bring peace to India. They will only increase military difficulties, add to the existing burden of expenditure in India, and lead to an outbreak of war between India and Afghanistan.

(*b*) In its issue of the 19th May, the same paper says that sometime ago there was peace and tranquillity on the border. But while it was expected that prefect peace would be established, events took a sudden and unexpected turn. As the Government of India is the most irresponsible Government in the world and as it is not answerable to the people for their money, it does not consider it necessary to inform them of the progress of frontier affairs. The unexpected turn, therefore, came as a surprise to the people, who are anxious about the increasing expenditure of India. They know that to meet the expenses of the frontier war Government will impose a tax on the people, although morally and justly Government has no right to declare a war which is not approved by the people. Indian soldiers cannot successfully engage in the kind of warfare which is carried on by the frontier tribes. These circumstances clearly point to the necessity of Government promptly abandoning its present attitude. Meanwhile frontier disputes have now assumed the shape of a regular war. This is so, because the Afridis have elected their king and have made a regular attack. This is one of the consequences of the criminal policy of the Government.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

The British Mission to Kabul.

4. The *Vakil* of the 22nd May urges the Government to publish a detailed and authentic report about the work of the British Mission in Afghanistan, explaining when and why the Mission was sent, what correspondence took place between Mr. Montagu and the Government of India and whether the Mission was accompanied by any troops. Did the Amir agree to the sending of the Mission? Were any secret instructions issued to Sir Henry Dobbs? The Anglo-Indian press is giving publicity to extremely alarming news regarding the Afghan Government, writing that Turkish officers are reorganising the Afghan troops and Afghan ambassadors are hastening to Berlin and Angora with secret despatches In view of the present condition of Germany and Turkey, can any sensible man say that they can help Afghanistan in the accomplishment of her designs about India? For instance one of the correspondents writes that it has been stated with confidence that the line of fortresses from Jallalabad to Daka has been further strengthened by troops and that a committee of engineers is considering the question of constructing a road up to Chitral. If the facts are as stated above what is the British Mission doing in Kabul? Should it not come back? From a telegram of the Khyber Transport Superintendent it appears that the road to Kabul has been broken up and hostile tribes have thrown huge stones on it to make the return of the British Mission difficult. If any complications arise there may be hard fighting, but India is not prepared for it. She has grown sick of war and is now anxious to enjoy the benefits of peace. It is the duty of the Government to recall the Mission if it has not succeeded in its object and to publish a full account of its work.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

India and Afghanistan.

5. The *Partab* of the 21st May criticises the British Indian Government for not having paid the usual annual subsidy to Afghanistan and having kept the members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly ignorant of the progress of affairs on the frontier. The result is that while England is anxious for establishing friendly relations with Kabul, the Amir's Government is not actuated by any desire of the kind. Indeed, Kabul is at present the centre of all anti-British influences and a free Afghanistan is sending embassies to Russia and Germany.

II - LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Afghan bogey..

PARTAP (Lahore), Krishan editor.

6 (a). The *Partap* of the 18th May publishes a communication from Agha Muhammad Safdar, Secretary of the Punjab Khilafat Committee, who says that in the speech recently delivered by him at Madras Maulana Muhammad Ali clearly stated that if any foreign Power invaded India with the intention of occupying it he would be the first to oppose the invader, even though the invading Power happened to be an Islamic one. If, however, any foreign Power invaded India to destroy the British Power, he would be glad if British prestige suffered and weak Indians were released from the bondage of slavery. The Maulana's statement, however, has offended certain sections of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities. The Hindus say that the Maulana is inviting an Islamic Power to India. The Muhammadans, on the other hand, complain that the Maulana is preventing Islamic States from invading this country. Both communities will perhaps be justified in expressing anger if they are convinced that some Islamic Power is about to invade India. But facts do not justify such an assumption. The poor Turks are no longer masters of their own house. How can they deliver an attack on India from a distance of a thousand miles through sheer love of territorial aggrandisement? The Afghans are not exceptionally strong, nor have they set their own house in order If the English have suffered any trouble at their hands, it is chiefly due to the Bolshevik influence which is extending towards India. It is true that there is unrest, more or less acute, on the frontier; but if the English leave the frontier tribes alone and evacuate their country, frontier risings will be a thing of the past. The Bolshevik influence has brought a change in the views of people and this blessed change is in reality the beginning of true democracy. No human power can restrain this influence, which is calculated to liberate India. The Muslim invasion from the north is a bugbear and no one should take it seriously. But Indians, Hindus as well as Muhammadans, should try to stand on their own legs and should not miss the present chance, as they will not obtain a better chance for a long time to come.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of the 25th May writes :—"For our part, we have no hesitation in asserting that if ever the Afghan or any other foreign Power will take it into its head to invade India, the whole of India should rise as one man, and should co-operate with the Government in resisting the invasion."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(c) The *Liberal* of the 25th May writes :—"The Hindus, especially those living on the border, have too bitter an experience of the Afghan to welcome him to this country. Personally, we do not see even the remotest chance of an Afghan invasion of India, even with the best help that could be made available for it. And if it ever came, we think the British Government with its unbounded resources would prove too strong for it. The Government in that circumstance will be entitled to the whole-hearted support of the Indian people and speaking on behalf of the Hindus in the Punjab, we are confident it will get it in the fullest measure."

NAYAK (Amritsar); editor.

(d) The *Nayak* of the 22nd May thinks the five unreasonable and unjust demands recently made by Afghanistan are due to Bolshevik instigation; otherwise Afghanistan dare not harrass India. Muhammadans might wish for the victory of Afghanistan in case of a possible Afghan invasion. But Hindus and Sikhs must oppose it to save themselves from serious danger. We cannot forget that we can get *Sawaraj* from the British Government, but not from the Afghan Government.

The status of India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. In noticing Mr. Shastri's statement to the *Manchester Guardian* on the subject of India's status, the *Tribune* of the 26th May writes :—"What both the Executive Government of India and England and the Joint Committee appear clearly to have overlooked is the fact that at the root of the whole matter lies the great and fundamental question of the popularisation of the Government of India, and that so long as this question remains unsolved all attempts to give a dominion status to India, merely by placing the Government of India on the same footing as the British and Colonial Governments in inter-imperial matters, are bound to fail. . . . Now that Mr. Sastri has once more raised this vital issue we do hope no attempt will be made to shirk it, and that the authorities concerned will see as clearly as Indian statesmen have always done, that an improvement in India's status, like charity, must begin at home, and

that before India is again summoned to send a representative to an Imperial Conference, not merely her inter-imperial but her domestic status must be raised to an equality with the Dominions. All talk of imperial solidarity, imperial preference and freedom of trade within the Empire is hollow mockery—a monstrous pretence—so long as India's position remains what it is."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Imperial Conference.

8. With reference to the nomination of His Highness the Maharao of Kutch as a member of the Imperial Conference, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th May knows nothing of His Highness' ability and experience in political affairs and is doubtful if he will be able to do useful work.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy.

9. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 18th May remarks that the present situation is critical. It is the first occasion on which united India has, with one voice, demanded justice in matters relating to the Punjab and the Caliphate. India has also demanded *Swaraj* for the first time and the country is determined neither to rest and nor allow the Government to rest until *Swaraj* has been obtained. Hindu-Muslim dissensions are now a thing of the past and the weapon of non-coöperation has proved very successful. Our fellow countrymen, who profess to be the well-wishers of Government, may say whatever they like but Government is aware of the results achieved by non-coöperation in other countries. The paper refers to Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy and remarks that all the well-wishers of India and the British Government are praying that these two eminent men may arrive at some understanding. If no understanding is arrived at and Lord Reading refuses to accept the Mahatma's demands, there is every possibility of an inextinguishable fire being kindled in India. It is evident that no country can remain content without *Swaraj*. Why should not the British grant *Swaraj* to India, thereby bringing about the restoration of amicable relations between the Indians and the English ?

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 20th May takes exception to the wording of the official *communiqué* announcing that the Viceroy gave an interview to Mr. Gandhi. Perhaps it was intended to indicate to the general public that while their leader sought an interview with the Viceroy they were practising non-coöperation.

JAT GAZETTE, (Lahore); Chhotu Ram editor.

A policy of repression.

10. The *Jat Gazette* of the 18th May is grieved to see that in almost every province the bureaucracy is inclined to adopt a policy of repression and despotism at the present moment. This is especially noticeable in Behar and the United Provinces. The non-coöperation movement cannot be crushed by repression and despotism. While believing that in existing circumstances non-coöperation is absolutely impracticable and extremely prejudicial to the best interests of India, the paper strongly deprecates the policy which Government is pursuing. It does not complain that prosecutions are launched against individuals; but what it complains is that prosecutions are started on insufficient grounds, why undue harshness is practised and why abnormal laws are resorted to in the presence of ordinary laws. If the bureaucracy is anxious to put an end to the non-coöperation movement it should redress the grievances of the people and treat harshly those who are really the enemies of Government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Sir Harcourt Butler's policy.

11. Lajpat Rai contributes to the *Vande Mataram* of the 18th May an article headed "Sir Harcourt Butler's policy is identical with that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer." Since he began to take interest in politics he has always held the view that the more a ruler of foreign nationality is justice-loving, mild, courteous and accessible, the more dangerous he is for the subject nation. Only two years ago Sir Harcourt Butler was being praised. He was also said to disapprove of Sir Michael's policy. Sir Michael was an ill-tempered and repressive ruler, but we do not find any difference in their essential policies. What Sir Harcourt does with sweet words Sir Michael used to do with bitter words and in a clumsy manner. Indeed, Sir Harcourt Butler has won over to his side some leading members of the educated party and has thereby thrown a kind of veil over his own repressive doings. The object of both these rulers is to strengthen the foundations of the bureaucracy

and British rule in India. Sir Michael desired to achieve this end by suppressing all free discussion. Sir Harcourt would give as much liberty to the people as will not interfere with the powers of the bureaucracy. Now that Sir Harcourt Butler has realised that non-coöperation is rendering a blow to the fundamental powers of the bureaucracy, he has been revealing himself in his true colours. The repressive policy which is being pursued in the United Provinces is to a large extent not different from Sir Michael's policy. The United Provinces Government is now-a-days carrying on a campaign against those youths who are extending the programme of non-coöperation under the direction of the leaders. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government arrested both the followers and the leaders, savagely flogged the boys instead of sending them to jail and forced the people to salute the Union Jack. But Sir Harcourt Butler and his Indian counsellors are so cowardly that while letting alone the leaders they are arresting the young men who go about disseminating the writings of the leaders and are throwing them into jail. In the Partabgarh District six students were arrested as they were distributing a handbill which had been written by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. The writer has read this handbill and finds nothing in it that may justify the Government in having recourse to law. On the day on which the writer reached Allahabad, he received news immediately on alighting from train that a large army had been posted there and that in many places machine guns had been paraded. The repression that is being practised in the United Provinces and the absurd proceedings which are being adopted for crushing the non-coöperation movement remind one of the days of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. On hearing and witnessing this the writer is convinced that what Sir Michael O'Dwyer did without consulting Indians is being done by Sir Harcourt Butler with the help of the Indian counsellors and with the legal and moral help of Indian Ministers. He is also convinced that the moderate party is legally and morally responsible for Sir Harcourt Butler's policy. The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, who used to fulminate against the bureaucracy during the days of Sir James Meston, is lauding the same Government and the same bureaucracy to the skies. The writer would invite the attention of Panjabi young men to the courage with which the young men of the United Provinces are resisting this repressive policy. It is necessary that in all districts young men should work under the Congress leaders and be guided by them. So far as possible, they should deliver no speeches but should bravely and courageously bear every hardship with which they may be confronted in the course of their work; lest they should fail as in the days of martial law.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Chemical and Industrial services.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

12. (a) Referring to the proposal of the Government of India to organize Industrial and Chemical Services, the *Tribune* of the 24th May writes:—We will simply say with regard to the extraordinary procedure thus suggested by the Industrial Commission that recommendations like this could be seriously put forward by a Royal Commission and entertained by Government in the teeth of opposition only in a country like ours. There is another important aspect of the question which the Conference of Ministers and Directors of Industries which is now being held at Simla will not, we hope, lose sight of. It is this. 'Industries' is now a transferred subject in the field of Provincial Administration; it is not a transferred subject in the Central Government, where the principle of diarchy has not yet been introduced. Why should, then, the Government of India fetter the discretion of Ministers linking Provincial Services with the Imperial Service? 'Co-ordination' would in practice mean limitations imposed and guidance and control exercised by the Central Government. The Ministers should frame a programme for their respective provinces and then adopt one of two methods. Either they should engage the services of experts from abroad for a *limited term of years* to start pioneer factories, or select and send abroad competent Indians, not necessarily fresh graduates, to learn particular industries. Japan adopted both methods. It did not adopt the method which the Indian Industrial Commission recommend. Indeed, no country in the world has ever thought of promoting its industrial advancement by means of permanent services of the kind proposed by the Government of India."

(b). The *Tribune* of the 27th May writes:—"Industries" being a "transferred" subject, the existence of an Imperial Department with controlling Imperial Industrial and Chemical Services would be, to say the least, anomalous. At the Conference of Directors of Industries held last year under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland, the functions of the Imperial Services were stated to be the "general encourgement of industries" giving "advice" and lending "experts" to Provincial Governments, looking after Government factories, and carrying out research work besides administrative duties. There is not one of these functions which does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Department of Industries. By organising Imperial Services, therefore, the advantages of decentralization, *viz.* the creating of a sense of responsibility in the Ministers, etc., would be largely nullified. If "Industries" is really to become a transferred subject, if the Ministers are to be made responsible for their acts of omission and commission, they should be taken out of the leading strings of the Imperial Industrial and Chemical Services. To maintain an Imperial Service and to make the Ministers dependent not only for "advice" and guidance but also for "expert" officers upon the Central Government, would, we submit, be entirely against the spirit and tenor of the Reforms Act."

SWARAJ
(Lahore);

Treatment of political prisoners.

13. The *Swaraj* of the 19th May asks whether political prisoners, who are generally the victims of highhandedness, are placed under the same jail regulations as are applicable to ordinary prisoners, though it must be acknowledged that the jail authorities are not very severe in dealing with them. But while in some cases they are permitted to receive visits every month, in other cases such permission is not given. The authorities should permit political prisoners to receive visits every month. It will be better if responsible persons accredited to the Congress or the Khilafat Committee or appointed by them are allowed to visit political prisoners in jail and publish accounts of their visits.

SANSAR
(Amritsar);
Gyani Ranbir
Singh,
editor.

The imprisoned leaders.

14. The *Sansar* of the 20th May deplores the forgetfulness of people in no longer remembering Sardar Mangal Singh Maulvi Zafar Ali and other leaders who are suffering the hardships of jail life for the sake of the country. All should pray for the safety of these living martyrs, and the latter should keep the public informed of their condition, as the bureaucray maltreats the servants of the country in jail.

KESRI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal
Kapur,
editor.

An assault by a European on Indians.

15. (*a*) The *Kesri* of the 21st May denounces the conduct of a European Military Officer who is alleged to have assaulted respectable Indians in the Jammu and Wazirabad railway train. It is an ordinary thing for these officers to abuse Indians; but this officer even kicked and gave blows to respectable Indians. It was obvious that one man could not forcibly overpower several Indians and yet the latter kept patience on being beaten and abused. If the men who were kicked had retaliated, there would have been a disturbance and the non-coöperation movement would have been blamed for it. Such English officers inflame Indians against the British Government and peace cannot be restored in India until haughty officers are turned out of the country bag and baggages. Lord Reading has several times declared that he will mete out justice and we ask His Excellency whether steps will be taken to prevent the recurrence of incidents of the kind.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

(*b*) Pandit Piyare Mohan, assistant editor of the *Tribune*, writing to the *Partap* of the 20th May, also refers to the incident and the paper editorially draws to it the attention of the higher military authorities, remarking that the complaint is not the first of its kind.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 19th May hears from a correspondent that on the night between the 15th and the 16th May a Military Officer and an English lady entered a second class compartment in the 58th Down train leaving Sialkot for Lahore and forcibly expelled the correspondent and two other gentlemen, one of whom was accompanied by his wife, and threw away their luggage. When the passengers protested, the officer abused and beat them. Such cases have of late become very frequent and it has become dangerous for self-respecting Indians to travel by first or second class. It is a pity that in spite of repeated complaints, responsible Government officers pay no heed to the matter. It is owing to Mr. Gandhi's peaceful teachings that people peacefully bear such dishonour to their brothers and sisters. When we compare these occurrences with the repression which is being practised on innocent Indians in all places, we find that not only Government provokes the people to commit disturbances but nearly all Europeans individually desire to do so, in order that they may attribute the disturbances to non-coöperation. Will not Lord Reading attend to this shameful occurrence? Is this a specimen of the British justice and equality, of which the English are so proud and for which Lord Reading has come to India?

The Press Act Committee.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

16. (a) The *Tribune* of the 26th May publishes the following communication from a Mussalman:—"What pains me and is causing profound disappointment and pain in Muslim circles is the fact that the agency responsible for the selection of witnesses should not have been able to lay its hands on Muslim journalists of note who alone could be in a position to enlighten the Committee as to the grievances of the Muslim Press and the peculiar manner in which the Muslim Press suffered from the application of the Press Act. The non-existence of the Muslim Press, should have given food for reflection to those charged with the duty of selecting witnesses for examination by the Press Act Committee and should have at once shown to them how essential it was to send the representatives of the extinct Muslim Press before the Committee so that they might explain how the English-edited Muslim Press came to be annihilated. Would Government, if it is responsible for the selection of the witnesses, and also the President of the Press Act Committee kindly consider the light, in fact, contemptuous manner in which the English-edited Muslim Press has been treated, and if no English-edited Muslim journal is extant, will at least send for those who were intimately connected with the conduct of English papers of the Muslim community during the time of their existence."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of the 27th May has the following:—We cannot help thinking that it has been a great mistake on the part of the Press Laws Committee to have decided to hold its sittings *in camera*. Why the proceedings of such a body should not be open to the Press and the public is more than we know or can see. It is quite possible that the Committee will publish all that is worth publishing both in the written statements and the oral evidence of witnesses along with its own report, but such publication can be no substitute for the publication in the Press of the evidence of witnesses from day to day, first, because a busy public would not care to go through a thick volume of evidence, weeks, if not months, after it has been tendered, and at a time when attention would for the most part and rightly be concentrated on the report itself; secondly because the late publication of the evidence would deprive the Committee of the advantages of such criticism as the Press and the public might choose to make in regard to it; thirdly, because the advantage that a later witness would derive from the experiences of a former in the second case would be entirely lost in the first. There has been a similar mistake, also as to the selection of witnesses, We believe originally only seven persons were selected for the purpose of giving evidence before the Committee. A larger number have since been invited, but we are not aware that even the last includes the editors of the *A. B. Patrika*, the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Independent*, three of the most important papers in the country. Nor can we say that the Vernacular Press, whether in the Punjab or elsewhere, has been as strongly or as adequately represented before the Committee as it ought to have been.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Pilgrims' troubles.

Ar-Rai (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

17. *Ar-Rai* of the 20th May quotes *Al-Khalil* as saying that Muhammadan pilgrims will shortly have to face serious trouble, for which Government will be responsible, as it has advised them to take with them to the Hedjaz currency notes instead of gold coins. On the other hand, *Al-Aman* learns from a correspondent that the Hedjaz Government has announced in *Al-Qibla* that the use of currency notes issued by the British Government is forbidden; while on a rumour that forged currency notes abound in Bombay, the people of the Hedjaz do not pay even Rs. 10 for a currency note worth Rs. 100. *Ar-Rai* says that if it is true that the Hedjaz Government has issued an order of the kind referred to above, the British Government should pay prompt attention to the matter, so that pilgrims may not be put to trouble.

Kine-killing.

Liberal (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandon, editor.

18. The *Liberal* of the 25th May writes:—"But while Hindus are supporting the Khilafat on its merits as a cause, just and fair, they expect that the Muhammadans will also deal with the question of cow protection on its own merits. . . .

Khilafat may win or Khilafat may fail, the cow question will remain open till it is settled to the satisfaction of the Hindus. We are sorely disappointed in Mr. Gandhi, whose regard for the cow must at best be verbal."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

President of the Multan Municipal Committee.

19. A Multan correspondent of the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th May warns Muhammadans and other Municipal Committees against the attitude of the Hindu members towards the election of Sayad Rajan Shah as president of the Multan Municipal Committee.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

The exchange rate.

20. The *Tribune* of 24th May says:—"A steady and continuous fall in the exchange rate from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d* is a source of serious loss to the merchants and the country as a whole. But the difficulty is to find out what exactly ought to be done by Government, whose present policy has been generally condemned. Government largely relies on the revival of the export trade in India to bring about the desired improvement, but import merchants cannot naturally leave the whole situation to be corrected by this process, as exports depend on the nature of monsoons and transport facilities. Government has already given the assurance that the question will soon be reconsidered and prominent merchants and financiers will be consulted. We hope that Government will lose no time in holding the necessary consultation and adopting some of the measures recommended to stabilise the exchange rate."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

An illegal impost in the Lower Bari Doab Canal.

21. One Ajit Singh of Montgomery writes to the *Tribune* of the 27th May:—"In the Lower Bari Doab Canal Colony eight annas per acre per annum is also levied on canal irrigated land under the vague heading "acreage." On inquiry the authorities concerned say that it is "for construction of water-courses." It is being charged since this canal came into operation and there is no knowing when it is to come to an end. Under sections 31, 33, 38 of the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act, 1873, the Local Government can frame Rules to levy only the said two rates which under section 3 (1) (*c*) would include the charges for "construction" of water courses also. Rules levying any other rates would, in my opinion, be *ultra vires*, and if the said Punjab Government notification imposes this "acreage" rate, it is illegal."

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Kashmir State.

22. The *Partab* of the 21st May publishes a letter from a correspondent, who says that according to rumour the Resident obstructs the Maharaja in his proposals. For instance the Maharaja is reported to have appointed his brother-in-law, Chaudhri Chatar Singh, to the post of *Motamad-i-Ala* but the Resident does not approve of his appointment and His Highness has not the courage to issue the orders passed by him.

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

Increase in crime.

23. The *Watan* of the 20th May draws pointed attention to the increase in serious crime which deserves the attention of the authorities no less than political unrest. If crime goes on increasing at this rate, it will complicate the situation and add greatly to the general discontent in the country. The internal peace of the country has so far remained undisturbed, as the rural population has been uninfluenced by political movements and respects law and reposes confidence in the British administration. It is the foremost duty of the Government not to let the villagers' faith in its justice and ability to protect life and property be shaken. But it has been noticed for some time that Government has not been exerting itself properly to suppress crime with the result that the unruly element is getting more and more turbulent. Simple-minded people say that increase in crime is due to the economic situation. The paper, however, takes exception to this view and says that those who starve dare not commit crime. Lord Reading has come out to India to raise aloft the standard of law and justice. He might deal as he likes with political maniacs; but it is his foremost duty to crush the heads of "the snakes of society and civilisation."

Present disaffection due to economic trouble.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam editor.

24. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th May refers to the acute distress caused to all classes in general, and the middle class people with fixed incomes in particular, and attributes no small part of the existing disaffection in the country to this economic trouble. The high officers of Government are at a loss to understand the magic which is casting its spell over the people and attracting them towards the camp of Mr. Gandhi. The truth is that the secret of Mr. Gandhi's popularity lies in the abnormal rise in prices. Should Government so manage things as to bring the price of flour down to 10 or 12 seers for a rupee the number of the disaffected is bound to be considerably reduced. High prices account for the unrest and discontent prevailing in the country and Government should appoint a commission to enquire into the means for lowering the prices of food-stuffs.

Sikhs in the Educational Department.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

25. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 27th May writes:—"It has been our ever growing complaint that Sikhs have not been given their proper and equitable share in the distribution of educational posts both in the Provincial and Imperial Services.... We understand that Government contemplates to make shortly certain selections from the Provincial Educational Service to higher grades for the Indian Educational Service.... Out of these seven appointments the Sikhs claim a full one-third share. Considering the interests of the Sikhs involved in this province in the educational efforts it seems only fair and just that they should be allotted their full one-third share. Should the Provincial Service fail to provide the requisite material we think there would be no harm if the Sikhs be selected from outside the Service."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 28th May 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Ireland.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

1. According to the *Kesri* of the 25th May, the advocates of non-violence view with the greatest abhorrence the murderous acts which are being committed in Ireland. But who is responsible for them? The reply is clear. The entire responsibility in the matter rests with the British Ministers and officers. These men are prepared to snub France to safeguard German rights in Silesia and are prepared to make any sacrifice to protect the inhabitants of Turkey who are against the Turks. But they cannot tolerate Ireland's demand for freedom even for a second.

Turkey and Greece: English help to the latter.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

2. (a) In an article headed 'The objectionable attitude of Great Britain', the *Zamindar* of the 21st May quotes the *Islamic News*, which says that as much enthusiasm prevails in Constantinople in favour of the Turkish nationalists, the British military authorities at Constantinople have issued a notice calling upon the inhabitants of Constantinople to surrender arms and declaring that any person attacking Allied troops will make himself liable to the penalty of death. A British Colonel fought against the Turks on behalf of the Greeks and was killed in action. All these things, the *Zamindar* remarks, show clearly that the English are openly helping the Greeks. The *Islamic News* learns from the *Daily Express* that the Allies have allowed the Greek fleet to pass through the Dardanelles. It is evident, adds the *Zamindar*, that the English and other Allied Powers are helping the Greeks against the Turks in every possible way. When the Greeks find such strong supporters in the English they can perpetrate all kinds of atrocities. While passing through Smyrna they set fire to houses, killed four persons and fired at a mosque. The Turkish population is in a state of alarm and consternation. Let Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues bear in mind that their conduct cannot lead to the establishment of peace. If they are anxious to save their own rule in Asia they should leave aside the Greeks and let the Turks deal with them single-handed. If, however, they continue to meddle

with the affairs of others, they should rest assured that they will fall, never to rise again.

SWARAJ (Lahore); editor.

(*b*) The *Swaraj* of the 22nd May quotes the *Evening Standard*, of the 5th April 1921, which states that a British officer accompanied by his regiment went to the help of the Greeks and was shot dead. The event, adds the *Swaraj*, throws a flood of light on the neutrality which Great Britain is observing in the Turko-Greek war.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore; Akhtar Ali, editor.

The bombing of Najaf.

3. (*a*) A correspondent of the *Zamindar* of the 20th May says that newspaper readers are not unaware of the decision arrived at by the Shia Conference in connection with the firing on Najaf and other holy places. Syed Ali Hairi, however, considers it a part of his religion to announce at the close of every sermon that nothing took place at Najaf and that the reports of its bombing have been concocted by the advocates of non-coöperation to influence the feelings of the Shias and win them over to their side. Is it honest on the part of Syed Ali Hairi to sell his religion for the sake of the title of Shams-ul-Ulama and in the expectation of securing the post of a Ziladar for his son, Sayed Razi? Will not the Shias even now try to devise means to save themselves from the grip of Mullas who are traitors to their religion?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 22nd May 1921 reproduces a notice in which Munir Zaidi-ul-Wasti of Delhi says:—The net of deception is being very cleverly spread. Not only illiterate persons but also people possessing average common sense fall into the trap. The enemies of your faith, the rivals of Islam, those who seek to dishonour you and rob you of your reputation are collecting all those writings which have been published to refute the Najaf incident. Thousands of rupees are being, and will be, spent to spread them broadcast while you are sleeping. It is stated that nothing has occurred at Najaf and this statement is explained to mean that nothing has taken place over the holy dome at Najaf. The Day of Judgment is drawing near. Events will be revealed then by means of the sword when it will be discovered what took place and where. Ah! the calamities which have overtaken Mesopotamia, the distress over Najaf and the ruin of the mosque at Kufa! The late Mirza Muhammad Taqi of Shiraz and the chief *Mujtahid* of Mesopotamia and the late Sheikh-ush-Shariat of Isphahan described the above on oath. They suffered injuries and died, for otherwise they would have described their sufferings and the calamities they bore before their death. A letter from the Sheikh-ush-Shariat of Isphahan was published by the Arabic newspapers. This communication was a reply to the letter sent by the English. The *Astakhar* of Shiraz published its translation in Persian after reproducing it from *Al-Haqiqat*. The letter has reached India through the *Astakhar* and an Urdu translation is published below. The *Astakhar* says that the British authorities of Mesopotamia got a letter addressed to the Sheikh-ush-Shariat of Isphahan dropped from an aeroplane. The Sheikh was one of the leading Ulemas of Mesopotamia who was staying at Najaf at the time. In their letter the British authorities had requested the Sheikh to consider the expediency of ceding Mesopotamia and extinguishing the fire of disturbances. The reply by the Sheikh is reproduced below from the *Lisan-ul-Arab*:—

After criticising in his letter the adverse possession of Mesopotamia by the English and describing the breaking of promises by acts of repression and tyranny on children and women and the aged committed by the English, the Sheikh-ush-Shariat says:—

"Ah! You spread forces round Najaf which is the dome of Islam, the cradle of faith, the place of the martyrdom of Ali, the place of worship, the school of reason and the corner of prayers, and throttled us by besieging us on all sides. Your guns continued to thunder round it for more than 40 nights and your bullets fell like rain over schools and mosques. The visitors to the holy place were about to die of suffocation owing to overcrowding, and during this time they had to drink saline water mixed with mud. Ah! no time had passed after this dreadful incident when your aeroplanes continuously dropped bombs on the holiest of all the mosques in Mesopotamia, *i. e.*, the mosque at Kufa, and bullets fell like rain on people engaged in prayers. . . . . In order to grind the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, you have started the mill of war, but they also have got ready to save themselves, their property and their honour. . . . . . We are of opinion that you should leave Mesopotamia for the Mesopotamians without any terms or conditions."

(c) In another place the *Zamindar* of the same date publishes a letter from the Secretary of the Anjuman Khuddam-i-Utbat-i-Aliyat, Lucknow, who addresses the Indian Muhammadans as follows:—

"You have heard the cry of the Sheikh which must have wounded and lacerated your hearts. We believe that not a single family is left which, after hearing the painful tale of Najaf, has not raised the cry of lamentation. After hearing these incidents every Shia must consider it his religious duty at this dreadful time, when non-Muslims are endeavouring to establish their possession over their Arabian peninsula, when Najaf has been desecrated, when the *ulema* and *mujtahids* have been openly humiliated and arrested, when showers of bullets have fallen over mosques and schools, when the supply of water to the Sayads, students and the servants of the holy mausoleum of Amir-ul-Mominin had been cut off for 40 days, when the peace and safety of all the holy places (whose protection is our religious duty) are in danger, to act upon the last command of the Prophet, *viz.*, 'Drive the Jews and Christians out of the Arabian peninsula.' Without the destruction of the holy places by the enemies of the faith, is there any Muhammadan who can keep those enemies away from all the holy places? It is with this end in view that the above Anjuman has been founded. The Secretary asks Muhammadans to get themselves enlisted as members by paying four annas, which is the least amount of subscription, and to have the honour of saving the holy places."

The situation on the Frontier.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

4. (a) The *Siyasat* of the 21st May refers to the situation on North-Western frontier and, in continuation of its previous remarks, states that the tribes which can be influenced by the Khyber Railway are the Afridis, Daka Khels and Afghans. The Afridis consider the railway very dangerous for their freedom and that is the reason why after appointing their king they have turned their attention to this railway. The English knew that the Afridis and the Afghans did not like the railway and it would lead to the outbreak of war. But the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, had the necessary military expenditure sanctioned by the Indian Legislative Assembly without making any mention of the railway. In short, the state of affairs on the frontier is very disquieting and if the Indians pay no heed to it, it is mainly because the British do not give out true facts.

(b) Continuing in its issue of the 22nd May, the *Siyasat* observes that while the Afridis are threatening the Khyber Pass, Afghanistan is making military preparations. The Mahsuds and Waziris also are delivering attacks. This means that the peace of India cannot remain undisturbed so long as the Government of India persist in its present policy. The Bolsheviks are bent upon kindling the fire of war in India and have already made an agreement with the Amir of Kabul. They wish to appoint their agents in Afghan cities adjoining India's frontier to inflame the frontier tribes against the English and supply them with arms, ammunition and money. The Amir of Kabul finds the work done by the English harmful to the freedom of his country. He is already displeased with them and has remained indifferent to their peace efforts. The tribes are tired of the English and are proving very troublesome even now when no one is at their back. But it is difficult to imagine how far their strength will increase when they will obtain help from the Bolsheviks in Afghanistan. The paper thinks that the best way of restoring peace on the frontier is to make over the territory of Waziristan to the Amir of Kabul. This is the only way to dispel doubts from the Amir's mind, to turn him against the Bolsheviks and make him India's ally. Indians do not realise how very dangerous the Ya'ghistan war is likely to prove to their country as Government does not allow true reports to be revealed. The money of this poverty-stricken country is being lavishly spent on the Khyber Railway, which will cost thousands of lives and crores of rupees. The time has come when the people of this country should protest against the policy of Government and force a change in it, so that peace may be restored on the frontier.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SWARAJ (Lahore); editor.

The Afghan invasion.

5. The *Swaraj* of the 22nd May states that the object of the Anglo-Indians and the opponents of non-coöperation in taking exception to the view expressed by Muhammad Ali on the subject of the Afghan invasion is to weaken Hindu-Muslim unity and show that Indian Muhammadans are anxious to establish Muslim rule in India. But those who entertain such views are deceiving themselves. Although Hindu-Muslim unity has not yet grown very strong, still the days have passed away when the two communities quarrelled in ignorance. The Hindus are espousing the cause of the Muhammadans and helping them in the Khilafat campaign. Why should Afghanistan or any other Muslim Power invade India when only a few days ago the Amir of Kabul prohibited cow-killing? But if an invasion from the north takes place it should be remembered that its underlying object will be to liberate the people of India from Western influences and not to oppress the Hindus.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali, editor.

The Afghan invasion and the Hindu attitude.

6. The *Zamindar* of the 20th May observes that by raising the question of the Afghan invasion wily politicians have made the mean effort to bring about a split between Hindus and Muhammadans. We thank God that we are no longer influenced by such efforts. M. Muhammad Ali has expressed his views about *Swaraj*, freedom and assistance to the Islamic Powers in very clear language and Hindu leaders have given a crushing reply to their opponents by declaring that Islamic rule is better than theirs. The idea is abroad in certain moderate and pro-Government circles that if an Afghan invasion of India takes place, the Hindus will forthwith forsake Muhammadans and side with the English. We too say that if the Afghans invade India to enslave her, both Hindus and Muhammadans will jointly oppose the Afghans and not let them occupy this country, though their alliance with the English is a different thing altogether. But if His Majesty the Amir fights with the Government of India not for (destroying ?) our freedom but for the future safety of Afghanistan the Hindus will be surely laying the axe at their own feet if they forsake Muhammadans and make common cause with the English. We regard Great Britain as our enemy. We shall therefore naturally sympathise with one who is her enemy, especially when the foe happens to be a Muhammadan. If on such an occasion and invasion, Hindus give up neutrality and side with the English we shall be constrained to regard them also as our enemies, like the English. But we are positive that this can never be. The Hindu who feels the atrocities and repressions of the British Government and whose heart is full of enthusiasm to obtain freedom and *Swaraj* will never commit such an act as to make an enemy of his permanent Muhammadan neighbour and fellow-countryman. *Swaraj* can be obtained if the Hindus and Muhammadans remain united against the Government. If this tie of unity is broken, India will not be able to obtain freedom even in a thousand, to say nothing of a hundred, years. The attitude of the Muhammadans in this matter is quite obvious. The Hindus want *Swaraj*. The Muhammadans too want it. The Hindus do not cherish the influence of any foreign Power, and the Muhammadans too have made a similar announcement. The former wish to obtain freedom simply with the strength of their arms, while the latter also are declaring that they need no foreign help for the attainment of liberty. We have already practised non-coöperation with the British Government. Now we have no concern with its friendship and enmity. We cannot look upon the enemy of Great Britain as our own enemy without just cause. On the other hand, we should necessarily sympathise with him owing to his objects being the same as ours.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Sana Ullah, editor.

Lord Reading's policy.

7. The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 27th May remarks that people are saying that Lord Reading has not yet declared his policy and that His Excellency is still studying the situation. But we think that Lord Reading has made an open declaration of his policy, which is clearly indicated by the arrests that are being made on a larger scale than before. Things are different from what they were during the time of the previous Viceroy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford club.

8. The *Tribune* of the 3rd June writes :—"His Excellency must look deeper down if he wishes, as he undoubtedly does, to solve the Indian problem. The present problem is not merely that of removing the traces of inequality under British rule in India as between Indians and Europeans. It is a much larger question than that and is synonymous with the transformation of that rule itself into Indian rule. Not the most perfect equality between Indians and European viewed merely as *subjects* can at present satisfy India, so long as she does not become the mistress of her own household, so long as she does not possess a Government carrying out her own wishes, amenable to her own control and removable at her own will. This claim on the part of India, let it be borne in mind, is no longer based upon her contention that the present rule is not as good a rule as she would like to have. It may be the best possible rule in the world. Still precisely because it is not her own rule she can know no rest till she has nationalised it."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Viceroy's speech at the Empire Day dinner.

9. The *Tribune* of the 31st May has a leading article on Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy in which it refers to His Excellency's speech at the Empire Day dinner and goes on to say :—"Surely a Viceroy who thinks that the people of India are already full partners in the Empire, and who, as Mr. Gandhi says, is anxious to do only the right thing, may well be expected to do everything in his power to remove all those galling and humiliating conditions both in India and in the Empire which make life a burden to an Indian and which are utterly inconsistent with India's position as a partner in the Empire, not to speak of a full partner. To such a man the Punjab question can afford no difficulty, the Khilafat question must appear in much the same light as it does to the vast majority of Indian Musalmans, and *Swaraj* itself is the most natural thing in the world. If His Excellency will fulfil the promise contained in his words we have no hesitation in saying that he will by that very circumstance strike at the root of non-coöperation in India, and that not only will the present misunderstanding between India and England disappear, but they will for the first time in history be a source of real strength to each other and that power for good in the world's affairs which none else can be and which they themselves can only be by joining their hands and their hearts."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Are the British the foes of India?

10. Writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 21st May, Lajpat Rai says that he does not consider the English people to be their enemies. Nay, he considers them to be the friends and the guardians of his nation. But he knows that the friendship of Englishman is dangerous for those who have not so strengthened their character as to prevent their national rights being trampled upon under the influence of their friendship. It is customary with Imperial nations to overpower subject nations in two ways, *viz.*, (1) by power and (2) by flattery. They are always on the look out for winning over the majority of the subject nations to their side. They consider this to be the right policy. But the right policy for the subject nations is that they should neither be overawed by that policy nor yield themselves to flattery. It is natural that we should be affected by the conduct of those Englishmen who are polite and who speak well and who help us by personal kindness. We are troubled by those Englishman who are proud and ill-mannered and who cannot conceal their haughtiness. Sir Michael O'Dwyer belonged to the latter class. He was also a liar of the extremest kind. Sir Harcourt Bulter, Governor of the United Provinces, belongs to the first kind. As a consequence, he has brought under his control able and powerful nationalists like Mr. Chintamani and a powerful Muhammadan like the Raja of Mahmudabad to such an extent that the latter have now become his instruments. The present policy of Government is to use Indians in oppressing Indians. Those Indians who are opposed to the principle of non-coöperation and who honestly believe that non-coöperation is injurious to the country are morally bound to express their view boldly. But he cannot respect those Indians, who by becoming the friends or the servants of Englishmen, are now engaged in destroying the non-coöperators. The writer is of opinion that those who profess to be friendly to Englishmen are not performing their duty. They are helping the latter by throwing in the background the views of the general public. The writer thinks that the English should come to an understanding with the nationalists

about the principles which they have applied to their own colonies. But Indians now cannot be satisfied with verbal promises. They desire that the promises should be observed in practice.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Gyani Raghbir Singh, editor.

The way to freedom.

11. The *Sansar* of the 19th May publishes a leader headed: "Fear not jails." It expatiates on the blessings of self-sacrifice and, having extolled the good resulting from the cultivation of the spirit of self-sacrifice, addresses Indians as follows:—

"O Indians, why have you forgotten your greatest proverb, 'O God, place me not under any body. Keep me independent or take away my life.' Of course, it is true that it is better to die than to lead a life of slavery. But you do not like to throw off the yoke of slavery. You are called coolies in other countries, and cannot maintain your honour even in your own home. We enjoy no comfort in our country while we are disgraced in foreign lands. You do not like to live in humiliation and you are shouting 'freedom' but what practical step have you taken for it? You only indulge in verbal talk. You cannot be free by thus moving about. Just as a grain fallen on the surface of the soil does not grow, similarly you can gain the strength of true life by only going deep into the spirit of self-sacrifice, *viz.*, by going to jail. These jails lead to that path which opens into the sphere of freedom. The way to the temple of freedom lies through jails. You are mistaken in seeking any other path. One nation can govern another so long as the subject nation fears the ruling nation. The ruled will certainly reach the door of freedom when their fear of the rulers disappears. O Indians! you are indulging in luxuries, which have really caused great loss. You should now give up all luxuries, bear troubles, make sacrifices and try to gain true comfort. Prisons are the gateway to comforts, where the Guru of the world, Guru Nanak, went and after undergoing suffering afforded comfort to others. By allowing himself to be thrown into prison he made others free. That place is the only door to happiness where Krishan Bhagwan was born who overthrew the unjust rule of Kans and thus placed the world in a comfortable position. We, therefore, say that you should be prepared to bear every sort of trouble and should never fear prisons May *Wahguru* grant you success."

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

The non-coöperation movement.

12. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 21st May writes that according to Mr. Gandhi the non-coöperation movement is a religious and spiritual movement which should remain free from violence. But it is to be regretted that non-coöperators have not cared for the principles laid down by Mr. Gandhi and there are very few non-coöperators who are not prepared to resort to violence. Recent events at Malegaon and Shikarpur have proved conclusively that it is difficult, if not impossible, for the movement to remain free from violence. It is to be regretted that instead of reforming themselves non-coöperators have reached a dangerous point which will bring nothing but ruin and destruction. Indeed it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the turn taken by the movement will bring ruin upon the Indians.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesri* of the 26th May is gratified to note that the non-coöperation movement is in full swing in India. But truly speaking the movement owes its origin to the Punjab, where unbearable martial law atrocities were committed and Mr. Gandhi started the movement to get reparations for the atrocities. The people of other provinces faced troubles to help their Punjabi brethren. Is it not then the duty of the people of this province to become the standard bearers of the movement? But we find that men have come to the fore in the Punjab who are prepared to suppress this sacred movement by means, fair or foul.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Government and prosecutions.

13. In noticing the Government of India Press *Communique* regarding the Ali Brothers, the *Tribune* of the 2nd June writes:—"We do hope the Government of India will not deviate from the November policy, but will confine prosecutions where these are deemed necessary and expedient, only to cases of incitement to violence and tampering with the loyalty of the army. All other cases may safely be left to be dealt with by public opinion, which, whether it always openly condemns them or not, is sure to make its influence more and more adequately felt, more particularly if the Government itself will take steps to strengthen it by the removal of real grievances and the satisfaction of just aspirations."

North-West Frontier Province.

Kesri (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

14. (*a*) The *Kesri* of the 25th May publishes a communication complaining of the laws and regulations in force in the North-West Frontier Province which have tied God's creatures tightly in the chains of slavery. Deputy Commissioners enjoy despotic powers. The entry of Messrs. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Lajpat Rai and others was forbidden in the Frontier Province. People of the Punjab should help the inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province in getting the repressive laws repealed.

(*b*) Continuing in the *Kesri* of the 26th May, the writer says that by taking away arms from the people of the North-West Frontier Province, Government has deprived them of the means of self-protection, while Government itself is unable to protect them. Firearms are supplied to the people on special recommendations. The subordinate staff demands from cultivators and zamindars Rs. 10 as a bribe for every rifle supplied. The writer then goes on to say that hill tribes who harrass the people of British India think that by troubling the latter they will be troubling the British Government. It is wrong to say that the hill tribes raid the houses of the Hindus alone. The writer is prepared to prove that the authorities of the Frontier Province have never shown any kindness to the people of the frontier, but are practising repression. He appeals to the Punjab leaders to pay special attention to the affairs of the North-West Frontier Province and requests the Indian newspapers to sufficiently criticise the policy of repression pursued by the Local Government. If the Frontier Province is not amalgamated with the Punjab, the people of the frontier will settle in other parts of India. This movement is about to be started.

Kesri (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesri* of the 26th May publishes an appeal from the people of the Frontier Province to the inhabitants of the Punjab and other parts of India. It is stated that three Khilafat workers of Bannu have been sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment each and they are kept shut up in separate cells in jail and are given very bad food. Indians should hold meetings everywhere and pass resolutions condemning the attitude of the authorities of the Frontier Province so that they may know that India is aware of their black deeds.

Bannu affairs: a contradiction of the official statement.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

15. The *Partap* of the 29th May publishes a communication from Muhammad Faiz Ullah Abbasi, of the Khilafat Committee, Bannu, contradicting the official *communique* issued by the North-West Frontier Province Administration on the 26th May. The *communique* says that for the last three months the district of Bannu has been harrassed by gangs of armed raiders. But the world knows that it is for the last 9 or 10 years that the Hindus and Muhammadans of the district have been suffering at the hands of the raiders. Some Waziris and Mohmand Khels may have been in collusion with the raiders. But one must ask if the Government surrounded and punished the Mohmand Khel tract or the villages of Mandi Mamash and Daud Shah. This was done and yet the despotic Government of the North-West Frontier Province issued no announcement regarding the matter. Were not the members of the Khilafat Committees at Mandi Mamash Khel and Daud Shah and the Lambardars who had resigned arrested ? Can the Government state if 90 per cent Lambardars, Chowkidars and the *maliks* of these tracts had not resigned their offices. Were not the houses of the inhabitants of these tracts searched ? If so, how, many raiders were arrested by the Government there ? Was not Haji Gull Sher Ali Khan, president of the Khilafat Committee, Mamash Khel, arrested ? Were not ornaments and property removed from houses in these tracts ? Were not women insulted and disgraced ? Were not ready crops burnt at Daud Shah ? Were not two *Baluchis* fired upon and thrown down from a tree ? Was not a person fired upon and killed when he ran away from a field on seeing the troops ? People are as hostile to Zarigul and his seven companions as the Government. But these men were murdered outside the above tracts. In the end, the writer says that an impartial committee should be appointed to enquire into the Bannu atrocities which are in no way less grave than the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The College section of the Arya Samaj.

16. One Mehar Chand, writing from the Dayanand College, Jullundur, in the *Bande Mataram* of the 20th May, observes that it is true to a large extent that the College party of the Arya Samaj is losing its popularity, still the fact is undeniable that the members of the party love *Swaraj*; not a whit less than any nationalist. Indeed, they have been regarded as rebels by the representatives of the Government. Their goal is the same and their policy and their ways are also the same. They regard Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress commands with great respect. This party has been not only preaching *swadeshi* for the last thirty years but also practising it. It is among the Aryas alone that men will be found who have vowed not to accept Government service. They have maintained a college and a school without the help of Government. They consider it bad to seek redress in courts. No leader or member of the party desires titles or grants of land. No doubt some of them offered themselves for election to the Councils, but when they learnt the true state of affairs, they withdrew at once.

VII—MISCELLANEOUS.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Press Act Committee.

17. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 22nd May deplores the attitude of the Committee inquiring into the whole question of press legislation in not having sent for the editor of any vernacular paper to give evidence before it, though the interests of Vernacular papers are as vitally affected by the inquiry as those of the editors of papers conducted in English.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 29th May says that the Committee which is considering the question of the amendment or repeal of the Press Act in Simla appears to have recorded the evidence mostly of English journalists and so far as we know only two Vernacular journalists have been summoned to give evidence, though the Vernacular newspapers have had mostly to bear the rigours of the Press Act. We hope that the Government of India will pay special attention to the matter.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Campaign against the drink habit.

18. The *Kesri* of the 26th May affirms that now that people are beginning to give up the use of wine, it is essential for Government to show zeal in making the anti-liquor movement a success and totally stop the sale of liquor by cancelling all licenses for its sale. If Government adopts any other policy, it will redound to the discredit of Government.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

The Ali Brothers apology.

19. The *Liberal* of the 1st June writes :—" A glare of the Viceroy's eyes which was not even direct and straight, has taken the last breath of the Ali Brothers and they have at once fallen from the olympian heights where they soared to humanly land below. . . . . We think they have exposed themselves to public ridicule by proving that their pretensions—big and high sounding—were false and superficial. They were the greatest denouncers of the British Government and advocated fearlessness of all but God. Lord Reading has, it seems, proved a bigger God for the Ali's than for those who had learnt to follow them. . . . . The leaders of the jail movement stand before the public and before His Excellency's Government with folded hands apologising for their past speeches and assuring of better behaviour in the future. It is hoped the public will be wiser by the event and will learn to value high-flown oratory of the public platform rightly in the future. The Ali Brothers have by their conduct proved greater enemies of the non-coöperation movement and ultimately of *Swaraj* than any measures of the Government could. They have shown to the world that even the foremost among them at the present movement are not free from irresponsibility, insincerity and hollowness."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Afghan invasion.

SWARAJ (Lahore);

1 (*a*). The *Swaraj* of the 28th May states that now that the Hindus have made common cause with the Muhammadans and are sharing the latter's sorrows and troubles, neither Afghanistan nor any other Islamic power would invade India. Of course, if the British Government fails to respect the feelings and sentiments of the Muhammadans, throws into jail their religious leaders who are performing purely religious duties, keeps direct or indirect control over Muslim mosques and declares religious meetings to be unlawful assemblies, the Muhammadans of India will feel constrained either to emigrate beyond the boundaries of this country or free themselves from the restrictions imposed upon them. But surely the British Government will not let such a time come and will solve the Khilafat problem in conformity with the religious sentiments of the Muslims of the world.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 5th June writes:—"Now as the Afghan invasion, if, God forbid, it ever takes place, will be against the British sovereign and Empire, woe be to a true Indian who, with a knowledge of the past and the present dealings of the fierce people of the North with us, will think of refraining from giving what help he can for the defence of his own hearth and home."

The repressive policy of Government.

SWARAJ (Lahore);

2. The *Swaraj* of the 29th May observes that the repressive policy of Government has served to rouse the public. Patriots are now willing to suffer all sorts of hardships and practice peaceful non-coöperation in order to obtain freedom.

In these circumstances, it is useless to protest against the conviction of Hamid Ahmad or other political workers. Let Government go on with its policy of repression and our countrymen will emerge successful from the ordeal.

SWARAJ (Lahore);

The North-West Frontier Province administration.

3. The *Swaraj* of the 29th May refers to the Bannu and Peshawar arrests and to the arrest of the students of the Muslim National University and says that the North-West Frontier Province Government should bear in mind that a policy of repression cannot bring peace and order. On the other hand, it will open the eyes of the people and the authorities should be very cautious, especially in the Frontier Province. The Government of India should ask the North-West Frontier Province administration to refrain from sullying the fair name of British rule.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Unrest on the frontier.

4. The *Siyasat* of the 1st June remarks that the Kabul correspondent of the *Aman Afghan* writes that the recent attacks of the Afridis and Waziris on the frontier have been far severer than was the case in the past. There is great unrest in Peshawar owing to the imprisonment of Haji Jan Muhammad and other Khilafat workers. It has transpired that the British Government is considering the question of its evacuation if the present agitation continues in Peshawar. Hostile attacks are being made from other directions also, which have caused great loss of life and property to the English. Unrest is daily growing on the frontier, in spite of the fact that heavy expenses are being incurred to maintain peace. It is stated that the frontier officers have said to Government in clear terms that either full measures should be adopted to suppress the disturbances or the administration of the frontier should be handed over to the local inhabitants.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

Lord Reading's policy.

5. The *Shanti* of the 27th May writes that the policy of Clive's successors in India is altogether different from his policy. The aspirations of the people are kicked, their demands laughed to scorn, cases of sedition instituted against Indian patriots, lovers of truth are gagged under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and respectable persons are called upon to furnish securities. In short the feelings and sentiments of the people are crushed by diverse acts of tyranny and repression. Is Lord Reading watching the course of events? If His Excellency is confronted with problems of a more difficult nature than those which Clive and Hastings had to face, His Excellency should display a spirit of greater generosity and mercy than they did; otherwise he will not be able to surmount the difficulties of his rule.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

Lord Reading and Sikh grievances.

6. Writing in connection with the memorial presented to Lord Reading by retired military Sikh officers at Lahore, the *Sikh* of the 5th June says:—"We have yet to know what that welcome apostle of "Justice" in India, Lord Reading, has so far done to redress our grievances and to remove the complaints once for all. That Sikh arrests and trials are still in their full swing proves the result to be quite the contrary of what we expected it to be.... We may respectfully point out to His Excellency that full justice to this afflicted community is impossible so long as he will depend upon a Sir William Vincent for advice or information. He had better attend to the matter personally with a determination to do justice and thus restore between the British Government and the Sikh community the same friendly, nay, the most affectionate relations, as the world has always hitherto noted. Failing that, satisfaction in this great community and perfect peace of mind in the Punjab—the land of the Sikhs—are simply unthinkable. We are afraid the Punjab Government have been committing blunder after blunder, depend as they did on the official reports on the basis of which they issued *communiqués* which can easily be disproved by facts. We hope the appeal of these retired military soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Army will sufficiently move His Excellency to do the needful."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Gurdwara Bill.

7. With reference to the Government Press *communiqué* announcing the abandonment of the Gurdawara Bill, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th June says:—"We trust Sikh societies will strongly protest against it and demand from the Government immediate passage of the Bill."

The Gandhi-Viceroy interview.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

8 (*a*) The *Sikh* of the 5th June writes:—"The Government has achieved its immediate object. It has received an apology and an undertaking for the future from the Ali Brothers, the prop of the Muslim League and the Khilafat movements, and for the matter of that from the Mahatma Ji himself whose right hand men they are and through whom all this arrangement must have been effected. It is said that mountain went into labour and brought forth a mouse. The interviews seem to have been meant for nothing but *pulling the ears* of the leaders and warning them to take care in future that their conduct does not incite to violence. . . . We congratulate Lord Reading on this his first remarkable achievement and hope that the example of Ali Brothers will serve others of that type as a cynosure."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th June observes:—"Although in principle the British Government stands for equality of all races but in practice, so at least in India, racial inequality forms the root cause of the popular disaffection. His Lordship is not right when he says British Government has always stood for equality. But we shall forget the past if His Excellency sets things right even in the future at any rate. His Excellency seems to be conscious of having scored a triumph in extracting a public apology from the Ali Brothers. We do not think it became the dignity of His Excellency the Viceroy to have gloated thus publicly over the expressions of regret of two of the devoted sons of the motherland, unless of course it be to please the anxious European community and to lower the Ali Brothers in the estimation of the public."

Self-Government through imprisonment.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

9. M. Abdul Kalam, Azad, has recently issued a manifesto declaring that the only way to obtain *swaraj* is for Indians willingly to offer themselves to be thrown into jails, that the secret of liberty lies within the four walls of jails and that one hundred thousand persons are wanted for the purpose. The *Desh* of the 1st June, in commenting upon the manifesto, remarks that although political prisoners command popular respect in every country, still to say that in order to obtain *swaraj* one hundred thousand persons should go to jail is to put the matter in a novel form. The Maulvi has not explained the type of men he requires. There are persons who can go to jail by denouncing the officials, but using harsh language against the Government is a line of policy which Mr. Gandhi disapproves. It is one thing to suffer imprisonment for the sake of a principle but it is quite another thing to go to jail merely dreaming of *swaraj*. The Maulvi must know that a lakh of men cannot gain *swaraj* any more than thirty crore Indians, who have not been able to obtain it without a national awakening. It is a most dangerous movement, aiming at the incitement of people to break the law and disturb the public peace.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Seditious Meetings Act at Lahore.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. (*a*) Referring to the prohibition of a meeting of the Lahore City Congress Committee, the *Tribune* of the 7th June writes:—"The action of the [District] Magistrate is not only supremely inexpedient but without any legal justification . . . . . It is incumbent upon the Magistrate to show that the meeting is a public meeting. How does he show it? . . . . We believe there is also judicial finding in support of the view that a Committee meeting is not a public meeting within the meaning of this section. The Magistrate seems to think that the mere assumption on his part that the meeting would have been attended by 2,600 persons is enough to convert a committee meeting into a public meeting. Will he be good enough to inform the public where it is laid down that a committee must consist of so many persons and no more? Secondly, with what propriety does he treat a draft rule as if it were a rule already in force, or assume on the strength of this rule that 2,600 persons were going to attend the meeting. . . . . The second thing, as to which the Magistrate must satisfy himself before he can take action under this section, is that the meeting was likely to promote sedition or disaffection or to cause a disturbance of the public tranquillity. How does the Magistrate discharge this obligation? "The agenda for to-day's meetings," he writes, "contains

several items the unrestricted public discussion of which is undesirable while the Seditious Meetings Act is in force." Now in the first place we look in vain for any such item in the agenda. Secondly the assumption that the meeting, if allowed, would have afforded an opportunity for unrestricted public discussion of these subjects, is on a par with the other assumptions in the order and is unwarranted. Thirdly a finding like this, whatever its value, is not enough to enable the Magistrate to prohibit the meeting. . . . We deeply regret the Magistrate should have given so just a cause for offence to the public at a time when there is already so much dissatisfaction over the proclamation of the premier city in the province under the Seditious Meetings Act."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 8th June says:—"We put it to the Magistrate that he has wholly misread the Seditious Meetings Act if he imagines that that Act gives him any power to adjudge anything undesirable which would otherwise be desirable. The fact that the Seditious Meetings Act is in force has indeed nothing to do with his determination of the prior question whether 'the unrestricted public discussion of the items referred to is desirable or not.' It is only when he has arrived at the conclusion, quite independently of the existence or otherwise of the Seditious Meetings Act, that such discussion is undesirable, and that too in the restricted sense that it would be likely to promote sedition or disaffection and cause a breach of the public tranquillity, that the Act gives him the power to intervene. In overlooking this vital fact and allowing the knowledge that the Act is in force to influence his judgment regarding the desirability or otherwise of the unrestricted discussion of the items referred to, the Magistrate went clearly against the letter and spirit of the law and the wishes of the legislature."

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesri* of the 7th June chracterises the order of the Deputy Commissioner, stopping the meeting of the Lahore City Congress Committee, as disappointing and likely to worsen the existing situation instead of improving it.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*d*) According to the *Partap* of the 6th June, the order has created considerable sensation and indignation in Lahore.

KESRI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Two Gujrat Honorary Magistrates.

11. The *Kesri* of the 27th May states that there is strong local feeling at Jalalpur Jattan, Gujrat District, against the appointment of Chaudhri Fateh Ali and Lala Devi Ditta Mal as Honorary Magistrates.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The case of Hira Singh and Partap Singh.

12. The *Tribune* of the 10th June writes:—"Whatever view one may take of the conviction of Sardar Partap Singh and Sardar Hira Singh, who, as the reader is aware, expressed their inability to give evidence in the case against Sardar Sardul Singh, most people will think that the sentence passed upon them is too severe. The maximum punishment in such cases is usually reserved for extreme cases, and in the present instance we can see no exceptional features in the case, unless the fact that the two accused based their refusal on the ground of their non-coöperation is treated as such. Non-coöperation as such is, however, no offence in the eye of the law, and we do not think the magistrate could have taken it into account in awarding the sentence."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Hamid Ahmad's conviction.

13. The *Siyasat* of the 29th May writes that it is not a matter for surprise that M. Hamid Ahmad has been sentenced to transportation for life. An alien magistrate may interpret the law or evidence in any way he likes; but being a non-coöperator the Maulana displayed great courage in refusing to defend himself. He could not deny the charge that he had said that if non-coöperation failed, he would espouse the cause of the Caliphate by holding the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other. Inspite of this, the sentence is unjust, as a conditional statement cannot be held to be seditious. Rivers of blood have been shed after Sir Edward Carson's speech but nothing of this sort happened before or after the speech of the Maulana. It is an act of gross injustice to allow Sir Edward to go scot free and to inflict upon Hamid Ahmad the severest punishment by holding him guilty of waging war without the use of weapons against the King-Emperor. It is indeed the outcome of racial distinction.

Labour troubles in Assam.

Tribune (Lahore); K.N. Roy, editor.

14. The *Tribune* of the 8th June writes:—"It is difficult to believe that the coolies would have left their employment by thousands and gone through great privations on their way home merely because they were persuaded to do so, unless they had substantial grievances. Assuming for the sake of argument that political agitators had something to do with the coolie exodus, it cannot be denied that if the employers had kept their labourers in a fairly satisfied condition no amount of outside persuasion would have led to an exodus of so determined a character as that reported. In any case, a thorough enquiry must be held to ascertain the truth and to prevent a recurrence of an episode happily without a parallel in the history of Indian labour..... If the Government had helped to repatriate the coolies at an early stage many of the subsequent troubles could have been avoided. If it is part of its policy not to help the labourers in proceeding home against wishes of their employers, then that policy should be changed immediately. It was primarily the duty of the teaplanters to have repatriated the coolies as soon as their unwillingness to work under the conditions was made known to them. When they failed to recognise this imperative duty, the Government should have done so, because the recruitment of tea-garden labourers was affected under a scheme approved of by Government. Industrial expansion in the country would be bound to suffer if the Government policy towards labour was so pronouncedly unfriendly as that alleged to have been exhibited by the Bengal Government. It is the imperative duty of the Bengal Government to lose no time in appointing an independent Commission or Committee to enquire into the serious allegations made by the labourers and in the Press. As Mr. Andrews has pointed out, much valuable evidence will be lost if there is delay in making the enquiry."

The Chandpur incident.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

15. The *Tribune* of the 11th June writes:—"Sir Henry Wheeler simply repeats the official story, that no more violence was used than what was necessary. It is wonderful that the official superiors of the officers immediately responsible for these assaults seldom, if ever, find, at any rate in the first instance, that more force was used than what was needed. Even in such a flagrant case as the Jalianwala Bagh massacre, in which everybody is now agreed that the conduct of the officer concerned was without any justification we did not hear for long months from any of his official superiors that he had used more force than was needed for dispersing the men. But the question is not merely whether more force was used than was needed but whether it was necessary to use any force at all. The official theory is that it was necessary, on sanitary grounds as well as to prevent a repetition of what had happened on the previous night, to remove the men from the station, that they would not have moved unless some force had been applied, and, therefore some force, which looking to all the circumstances, was not excessive, was used. We are quite prepared for the sake of argument to accept the first of these propositions, but not the second. There is, indeed, nothing to show that the coolies could not have been induced to move without any force at all, or even if the presence of the military police was needed, merely by a show of force. The circumstances, therefore, do not support Sir Henry Wheeler's conclusion that it was necessary to use some force, but only show that that conclusion is, to say the least of it, wholly unwarranted. It is not at all clear, in this connection, why the officials did not ask for the co-operation of the local leaders in this matter. Why were the Gurkhas employed in this work at all? As Mr. Dutta points out, the authorities had to deal with a crowd of famished and diseased people including a good many women and children. Would not any other body of men have succeeded just as well in dispersing such a crowd? In view of certain well known incidents and the part played in them by Gurkha soldiers, it was, we think, the clear duty of the authorities not to employ Gurkhas except when there was imperative need for using them. At the root of the whole trouble, it seems to us, was the supreme indiscretion of the authorities in allowing Mr. Macpherson, the representative of the planters, to be associated with them. We have the official admission that there was practically no interval between the time when the order to disperse was given and the time when the beating began. Was not this substantially the case at Jalianwala Bagh, where the order to fire was given as soon as the soldiers appeared on the scene. Secondly, in both cases the crowd on whom the assault was made was at the time perfectly peaceful. Thirdly, we have the significant admis-

sion made by the District Magistrate that the assult was made to produce an impression. And yet two years after the event we have a responsible official, in the position of a District Magistrate, coolly repeating this plea in the presence of his official superior, and in supreme obliviousness of all that has happened in the intervening period. To complete the parallel with the Punjab, Mr. De is reported to have actually held out the threat that he would fight the non-coöperation movement with the aid of Gurkhas, that he would stop the *hartal* at any costs, that if it did not stop he would have the ringleaders arrested and take other drastic repressive measures, and lastly that he would send the Gurkhas to the town. The question that we desire specifically to raise is, what notice are the authorities going to take of the attitude and the conduct of these responsible officials? If Lord Ronaldshay and his Government will not answer this question as it ought to be answered, the country has a right to expect and does expect Lord Reading, who has come out to administer justice according to equity in India, and Mr. Montagu and the Imperial Government who so strongly condemned frightfulness in the case of the Punjab, to take due notice of it."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Mr. Keough.

16. Referring to the alleged objectionable attitude of Mr. Keough towards Sikh undertrial prisoners, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th June writes :—"Galling and distressing as the alleged conduct of Mr. Keough seems to be we cannot help raising our voice against it. The British Government takes its stand on a claim for unalloyed justice. We ask : is this the way of dispensing justice? We understand the accused have submitted a representation to His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab as also to His Excellency the Governor-General of India against the treatment meted out to the Sikh accused and we trust that both Governor-General and the Governor will strongly vindicate the good name of the British Government for dispensing impartial and unalloyed justice by taking to task those who happen to bring a bad name to it."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

The feelings of a Muslim.

17. The *Zamindar* of the 27th May publishes a poem from "Muslim" of Vellore. The poet says :—

"O Jerusalem, the martyrs of the Muslim nation shed their blood in thy streets.

"Do not forget our self-sacrifice.

"O Muhammad, save us and hold us up;

"Keep Muhammadans steadfast in their hour of trial.

"March towards the field of Smyrna and repeat the scene of the battle of Badr;

"Neither care for your life, nor be afraid of extinction.

"O spirit of Islam, what is the delay? Why is not permission given?

"How long will you bow your head before the Trinity of infidelity?

"O God, the army of Islam has come out to wage a religious war;

"Keep them steadfast in the name of Thy dear Prophet.

"They of Angora have arrived at the battle-field with the green flag;

"O Muslim, it is no longer lawful for thee to stay at home."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan editor.

The Ludhiana Female Hospital.

18. A correspondent of the *Zamindar* of the 28th May objects to the acquisition of a house for the extension of Miss Brown's Female Hospital at Ludhiana on two grounds: In the first place the owner of the building is the grand-daughter of the late Sardar Saleh Muhammad Khan of Kabul, who rendered valuable services to the British Government and whose descendants are, therefore,

entitled to considerate treatment at the hands of that Government. In the second place the house is an *Imam Bara* and thus used as a religious building, the acquisition of which for a Christian missionary lady will be unwise and largely resented.

VII – MISCELLANEOUS.

The alleged bombing of Najaf.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

19. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th June publishes the following :—

" Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan's apology to Government.

" A rumour was current in certain circles in Lahore during the past two or three weeks that Government was about to set the machinery of law in motion against M. Akhtar Ali Khan, who is the son of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, late editor of the *Zamindar*. This rumour, after all, turned out to be true and it has been learnt from a reliable source that M. Akhtar Ali Khan went to Simla and tendered an apology to a Minister of the Punjab Government with the request that a pardon might be secured for him from the Punjab Government. When Akhtar Ali Khan was asked that, being a supporter of non-coöperation, what necessity there was for him to tender an apology, he replied that his conduct was of no consequence when his leaders, the Ali Brothers, had already apologised. Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan also broached the question of his father's release on an apology being tendered by him. Let us see whether the Punjab Government accepts these apologies. It is advisable for it to do so and release Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan. This does not lower the prestige of Government. On the other hand, public unrest will be considerably allayed owing to the release of a few men. Government should act on the good adage :—'The pleasure that lies in forgiveness is not to be found in revenge.' "

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 8th June publishes the following :—" The bombardment of Najaf.—Our readers will remember that we reproduced the report about the bombardment of Najaf from our contemporary, the *Aman Afghan*. But when subsequently the report was officially contradicted and the *Zamindar* was accused of giving currency to it, the *Zamindar* produced its defence by writing a leading article. It published an extract in full from the *Aman Afghan* and proved that we never give currency to unfounded rumours but that we write on some basis. The article was simply meant to clear our attitude. It had no concern (with the question) whether the report was true or false. A Shia deputation is now making preparations to proceed to Mesopotamia. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who belongs to the Sunni sect, will also go with it. Let us see what information the deputation gathers on reaching there. At any rate, we await the return and report of the deputation. And so long as a complete report is not published in the *Zamindar*, we think it useless to go on unnecessarily expressing our opinion about the matter."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*c*) Elsewhere, the *Zamindar* of the 8th June publishes the following :—

" A mean falsehood on the part of the *Paisa Akhbar*." " Did Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan tender an apology to the Government ? " " I and refuse to drink ? What a lie ?

" In the *Paisa Akhbar*, dated the 7th June 1921, there appeared a groundless statement that Government was about to set the machinery of law in motion against Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan, but that it was ascertained from a " reliable source " that Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan went to Simla and requested one of the Ministers of the Punjab Government to intercede to secure a pardon for him. When Akhtar Ali Khan was told that he was a supporter of non-coöperation and asked why he should tender an apology, he replied that when his guides and leaders, the Ali Brothers, had apologised, who was he (to stand on his dignity) ? M. Akhtar Ali Khan also broached the subject of his father's release on an apology. After having written these words, the *Paisa Akhbar* has recommended to the Government to accept Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan's apology as well as his father's.

" We wonder what reply we should give to this mean falsehood on the part of the *Pasia Akhbar*. If it had been an ordinary thing, we would have kept silent by considering it as absurdly nonsense, but as it is likely to adversely affect the reputation and good name of Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, we have deemed it necessary to contradict this tissue of impure falsehoods. We proclaim it by beat of drum that Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan never tendered an apology to the Government and that the whole of this story is wrong and baseless from beginning to end. A world knows how Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan have disregarded their mundane interests to maintain the prestige of Islam and secure the independence of India. To-day Maulana Zafar Ali Khan is manfully suffering the hardships of imprisonment and after his imprisonment the security of Rs. 2,000 of the *Zamindar* was confiscated and a fresh security of the same amount deposited. If Maulana Zafar Ali Khan had to apologise, could he not do so when he was confined in a dark cell in the Lahore jail? If Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan had to apologise, could he not do so when orders regarding the confiscation of the security of the *Zamindar* were received? What special difficulty had these patriots and supporters of Islam to face to-day that they should have gone to lick the shoes (*lit.*, to rub their foreheads on the threshold) of Government?

"We challenge Munshi Mahbub Alam, editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, who has always been a confirmed opponent of national movements and the freedom of India, who is an enemy of truth and righteousness and whose record of national work is darker than even a pitch dark night, to prove that Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan has tendered an apology to Government and has also tried for (the release of) his father. If he fails to prove this, then morality, humanity, religion and good manners demand that he should apologise to us in his paper for this impure tissue of lies.

"We would like to point out to Munshi Mahbub Alam, every vein in whose body is saturated with the salt of Government and every cell in whose body is brimful of the poison of blind loyalty to the Government, that such mean and vile lies cannot in the least affect the reputation of the servants of the nation and the supporters of Islam. The sputum thrown at the moon falls on one's own face and the barking of dogs cannot make a traveller forego his journey.

"We assure all Indians that so long as the non-coöperation movement continues, so long as our demands are not fulfilled and so long as we do not commit any grave offence, we are not at all prepared to tender an apology to any Government in the world. We are the devotees of national honour and of the dignity of Islam and we are prepared to sacrifice our life, our property and our all to preserve this honour and dignity."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th June publishes the following :—

"Mean falsehood on the part of the *Zamindar* newspaper.

"It was stated in the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th June that Mr. Akhtar Ali Khan, son of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, late editor of the *Zamindar*, went to Simla and apologised to a high officer of the Punjab, praying that the proposed legal action might not be taken against him. He also said that in future he would not let such strong articles as those about Najaf, the Kabul letter, etc., appear in his paper.

"Mr. Akhtar Ali has felt much exasperated at this and very arrogantly writes that he would never apologise to any power in the world. He has, at the same time, made a very mean attack upon Munshi Mahbub Alam, editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, although the article had not been written by him. If we too have no regard for courtesy, we would shower abuses still more profusely on Mr. Akhtar Ali, his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. But such work befits only the conductors of the *Zamindar*, the object of which in uttering this big and mean lie is to deceive the people. If the above newspaper had the least iota of honesty, it would have informed the people of true facts and told them why Akhtar Ali went to Simla, which of the Government officers he saw at Lahore and Simla and for what he gave an undertaking that he would repent in case he was let off this time. The rest of the details will be given on receipt of a reply to these questions, if it is found necessary to give them. An idea of the honesty of the *Zamindar* can be formed from the mean falsehood which it has uttered by unduly supporting Mr. Akhtar Ali with vehemence."

The new Government Loan.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

20. In a signed article published in the *Bande Mataram* of the 26th May, Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the recent 7 per cent loan raised by the Secretary of State for India and says that the Bombay merchants protested against it on two grounds, *viz.*, that the rate of interest was high and that India was not allowed to contribute towards it. Now the Financial Department of the Government of India has issued a *communiqué* to clear the position. But the explanation given is absurd and unconvincing. As a matter of fact, the financial policy of Government is ruining the country, and this is so because Indians have no control over the fiscal policy of their Government. The first stage of *swaraj* is that the whole financial policy of the country should be formulated with a view to benefit India and the representatives of its people should have full power to regulate it.

The Ali Brother's apology.

Kesri (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

21. The *Kesri* of the 4th June characterises the Government *communiqué* as highly disappointing. We could never expect that Lord Reading would make a public declaration of the future policy of the Government in such discouraging words. Instead of applying the ointment of sympathy to the lacerated hearts of the Indians, the Government of India have inflicted another wound.

The Birthday Honours.

Sikh (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

22. (*a*) The *Sikh* of the 5th June writes :—"The Birthday Honours List this time has little to appreciate so far as this Province is concerned. Honours to persons of the type of Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Kazilbash and Rai Milkhi Ram show that the Government likes and tries to elevate those in whom the people have no confidence, thus illustrating that 'Government is Government and people are people, never shall the twain meet.' .... So far as the Sikh community is concerned, the list is unprecedentedly brief."

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th June observes that most of those whose names have appeared in the Honours list are deserving men. It suggests that in future Government should inform people for what services title-holders are granted distinctions.

Bribery during the martial law days.

Virat (Gujranwala); Banke Dial, editor.

23. The *Virat* of the 23rd May quotes from a letter from one Ganesh Das, of Akalgarh, stating that during the martial law days Malik Sahib Khan, Revenue Officer, Ghulam Kadir, Zaildar, Kot Bhaga, and Sardar Khan, Zaildar, and the police obtained Rs. 30,000 as bribe from the inhabitants of Ramnagar and Akalgarh. The writer produced witnesses before the Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala, but no attention has been paid to their evidence. Scores of people in Ramnagar, Akalgarh and Wazirabad complain against Sahib Khan, Revenue Officer. If Lord Reading wishes that people's minds should be pacified, he should mete out justice to them.

Sikh Prisoners and jail treatment.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

24. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 10th June writes :—"We invite the immediate attention of the Government to the statements in the press of the highly provoking and grossly insulting treatment being meted out to Sikh prisoners at the hands of the jail authorities of the Montgomery Central Jail. Their mendacious audacity is stated to have risen to such a high degree of temperature as to force the Sikh prisoners to salam them by taking off their turbans. His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan will thus be able to see how the subordinate Government officers are undoing what the Government has done in the past to allay the Sikh unrest."

Escape of prisoners from the Rajshahi jail.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

25. Commenting upon the resolution of the Bengal Government on the escape of prisoners from the Rajshahi Central Jail, the *Partap* of the 25th May tries to ridicule the suggestion that Mr. Gandhi's propaganda had undermined jail discipline.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

Lahore :
The 11th June 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A Turko-Afghan agreement.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. The *Vakil* of the 13th June says that it is reported that an offensive and defensive alliance has been arranged between General Muhammad Ali Khan, Afghan Envoy at Moscow, and the Angora Government. Some of the provisions are as follows:—

(1) It is an agreement for coöperation in the event of attack and defence.

(2) This agreement places on a strong and solid basis the liberty of all Asiatics on the principle of national self-determination. It does not acknowledge the influence or control of any foreign power over the foreign and home relations of these races. It fully acknowledges the freedom and self-government of Bokhara and Khiva.

The paper hopes that the peaceful alliance of these two Islamic powers will prove especially useful for the stability of the East and the peace of the world.

England and Afghanistan.

KESRI, (Lahore), Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

2. The *Kesri* of the 6th June remarks that since Afghanistan gained freedom from the control of the British Government it has been consistently trying to secure friendly relations with all the free countries of the world. The Afghan deputation which is touring in Europe intends to go to America and Japan also. We are highly pleased with this progress of our neighbour and naturally desire that the relations between Britain and Afghanistan may always remain friendly.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

England and the Angora Government.

3. The *Zamindar* of the 12th June says that the Turkish nationalists have been thoroughly convinced that the British Government is the friend of the Greeks and is anxious to see them gain a victory over the Turks and the attitude of its secret partiality for the Greeks has also come to light. For these reasons, the Government of Angora is not well disposed towards the English and does not agree to the exchange of war prisoners, is punishing British spies and considers the presence of British ships on the coast of Anatolia as prejudicial to its safety. This state of things is filling the British Government with much indignation. But instead of feeling indignant, it behoves the British Government to fully convince the Turkish nationalists of its neutrality in the present conflict between the Turks and the Greeks. If, however, the British Government cannot adduce weighty proof in support of its neutrality, then why should it fly into rage? It should openly declare war against the Turks. But all this is absolutely at variance with the maintenance of law and order. If hostilities break out between the English and the Turks, the results will be extremely disastrous for both parties. All those powers which are opposed to the territorial aggrandisement of the English will make common cause with the Turks and the tide of the Bolsheviks will rush on with a view to crushing the spirit of imperialism under the pretext of giving help to the Turks. Again, differences have arisen with France over the question of Silesia. If things assume a serious aspect France will also take up the side of the Turks and the most terrible blood-shed will ensue which Europe and Asia have ever witnessed. The peace of Mesopotamia, Egypt and India will be endangered and the Indian Muhammadans will be filled with the greatest indignation and resentment on seeing the British Government waging war with the pioneers of the Islamic Caliphate without any provocation. It is possible that at the time Dr. Ansari and Syed Hassan Imam interviewed the British Ministers, the demands of the Caliphate may have been in a hopeful state; but to-day things appear to have become more complicated and British politicians are quite indifferent in the matter. In the end, the paper advises the British Government to act wisely and strengthen the ties of friendship with the Turkish nationalists by acceding to all the demands of the Caliphate at an early date; otherwise it will be no use crying over spilt milk.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SWARAJ (Lahore);

M. Abdul Kalam Azad's manifesto.

4. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 3rd June associates itself wholeheartedly with the views contained in the message which Maulana Abul Kalam has recently issued and strongly advises the Muhammadans of India to respond to their leader's call. It is to be hoped that Muhammadans will offer themselves in thousands for carrying on the propaganda of peaceful non-coöperation.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 15th June publishes the following from Abul Wafa Sanaulla, Editor, *Ahl-i-Hadis* (Amritsar):—

"It is widely rumoured that the British Government is about to declare war against the nationalist Turkish party. We think this war will not be confined to the limits to which it is *prima facie* supposed it will be limited. On the other hand, its flames are apprehended to spread equally, nay more fiercely than before, throughout the whole world. The British Government knows better than we do about the danger to the world, but we should acquaint the Muhammadans of India with their religious affairs.

"During the last war the Government of India and their devoted slaves had vigorously spread the view in India, Mesopotamia and other Islamic centres of fighting that the war with the Turks was not a religious but a political war and that religiously speaking the Muhammadans had no connection with the Turks. Although the *Ulema* of Islam laughed at this assertion and grievously bewailed the doings of the Musalman slaves of the Government, still as a result of their protest not being sufficiently loud the world finds that all the religious places of Islam are today in the possession of the strangers. It is curious that these are the sacred places about which the British Government had promised that no attack would be delivered on them, whether they be in Arabia or Mesopotamia (see the Rowlatt Committee report). But in the end what happened is well-known. This, however, teaches a sufficient lesson to the Indian

Musalmans, especially the slaves of Government, as to whether the recent war was a political or a religious one. These people had got up a fiction to which the *Ulema* of Islam could give no name. The result was a veritable sore in the hearts of the Musalmans; nay, it caused them still greater pain. If war is re-declared against the Turks, an attempt will be made to reassure India by saying that the war is not a religious but a political war, nay a war against Kamal Pasha (may the hand of God come to his help!), who is a rebel against the Caliph. But the Government and the slaves of Government should now rest assured that no Musalman will lend his ears to this statement because it is mentioned in the *Hadis* (Traditions) that "no Musalman is bitten twice (by a snake) from one and the same hole." I, therefore, support Maulana Azad and warn the British Government and the Indian Musalmans about the future danger, concluding with the following quotation:—

"'God creates mischief wherein lies our welfare'."

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 17th June reproduces the above.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

An Afghan invasion.

5. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 28th May asks that if the Amir of Afghanistan invades India what guarantee the Muhammadan leaders have to offer that the Hindus will not suffer under Muslim rule. History bears ample testimony to the fact that the Muslim rulers of India perpetrated various atrocities on their Hindu subjects. Are Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and other Hindu leaders anxious to witness a repetition of the sight? It is a question of life and death and for the sake of Muhammadans they cannot allow the Afghans to overrun the country. India can make religious and secular progress under the ægis of the British Government and not by severing all connection with it.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club.

6. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd June writes that the manner in which a meeting is said to have been arranged between Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi is unbecoming of the Viceroy who has been a Supreme Judge of the Privy Council and who enjoys the reputation of being a great statesman. Indeed, why should the Mahatma have applied to His Excellency for an interview, especially when His Excellency referred to his address partly in a jocular and partly proud, nay undesirable, manner? Again, on being convinced by Mr. Malaviya that the arrest of the Ali Brothers would set the whole country ablaze and that His Excellency should take no steps without consulting Gandhi, His Excellency summoned him through Mr. Malaviya to find out a solution for his difficulty. But when Mahatma Gandhi came to Lord Reading like a gentleman, without any regard for his honour or disgrace, His Excellency explained the visit in a different light and wished to show that even the Mahatma had bowed before him and extended his hand like a suppliant for an interview. Every Indian will feel deeply grieved at this betrayal of trust, which is held by Indians to be one of the greatest sins. Mahatma Gandhi is now the admitted leader of India and the Indians are prepared to bear every calamity at his bidding. This is the secret of his power. He went to see Lord Reading as a representative of the people who have a right to know how he had decided their fate. And this demand was actually made. But with due regard to Oriental manners and particularly those of the Aryan race, Mahatma Gandhi preferred rather to incur the displeasure of the Indian people and cause them general disappointment than utter words which he was forbidden to utter. Lord Reading, however, disclosed the facts, although he had repeatedly desired his visitor to keep them secret. One can easily understand what shock His Excellency's treatment will cause to India His Excellency related all these facts not because he thought that he was thereby committing a breach of promise, but because he thought that these facts signified Government victory. If His Excellency is even now silent over certain matters, this is simply because he does not find any sign of Government victory in them. Now that Lord Reading has himself revealed the secret will not Mahatma Gandhi lay before the country the whole conversation? Has it not become unnecessary, after this treatment, for the leaders of the nation to pay a visit to His Excellency? In the course of his speech the Viceroy observed that he would place equality between Englishmen and Indians on a stronger basis. This, in other words, means that there is already

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

equality and it is now necessary to make it stronger. If even a truth-loving person like Lord Reading can put plain facts in a wrong light, who can complain against ordinary men? His Excellency is under the impression that there is neither racial distinction nor racial supremacy in India but racial equality. But we find nothing but racial distinction in the whole of the British Empire. So far as Indians are concerned they feel at every step that they are being degraded in the world simply because they are Indians. Are Indians treated on terms of equality in Canada, Australia, South and East Africa, Fiji and the Colonies. Are Indians tried by juries like Englishmen, who invariably escape scot free even after committing murders? Do Indians enjoy the same facility in keeping arms as are enjoyed by Englishmen? Have not Indians been deprived up to the present of the right of becoming volunteers, in spite of their conspicuous loyalty? Are high ranks in the army open to them and are they employed in the aeroplane service? Does not every Indian constantly feel that while travelling in railway trains he can be at any time dishonoured by a ticket collector getting Rs. 10 per mensem. Do not the words "For Europeans only" written on third and inter-class compartments and even on platform benches go to show that racial distinction has gone deep down to the bottom? Are not complaints daily made that European Government officers disgrace Indians travelling in first and second class compartments simply because they are Indians? No explanation is called for from these officers. Where is then the racial equality to which Lord Reading so proudly refers? European politicians have the easy knack of putting forward false things skilfully. The question now arises whether the mistrust pervading the minds of the Indian people is justified or not. The paper then refers to the promise of equality contained in Queen Victoria's Proclamation and duly reiterated by Emperor Edward VII and asks whether this promise has been fulfilled. Lord Curzon when repeatedly pressed merely declared that it was only a pious wish on the part of the noble lady. We too can merely observe dryly that this promise was made not for the sake of its fulfilment but for setting up a trap of deception. Did not British politicians and the local authorities repeatedly make promises which were never fulfilled? If after so many disappointments Indians do not like to pin faith in every promise they are not to blame. As observed by His Excellency, it rests with the British rulers themselves to remove this mistrust. It will be removed not by mere talk but by acts. It is now-a-days complained that no change has occurred in the minds of the British rulers and that if they ever accord lenient treatment to the people they do so simply for the sake of expediency. In their hearts, however, they are feeling more exasperated than ever. Lord Reading says that he and the members of his Executive Council are unanimous and they are all trying to attain the same object. But if no change has by some heavenly influence occurred in the minds of Sir William Vincent, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mian Muhammad Shafi, we can easily understand what that object is. We can form an idea of what path Lord Reading will pursue from the repression which is being practised upon political leaders and from the step which was going to be taken against the Ali Brothers and which was checked by Mr. Malaviya's interference. It is evident that the present policy of the Government of India is based on greater repression and narrow-mindedness. Government officers have now received the general order that they should oppose the non-coöperation movement. As a result, enthusiastic subordinate officers are vying with each other in practising rigour on the people to show their own loyalty. Naturally unrest and disorder will spread in every village and the blame for this unrest and disorder will then be wholly thrown on the advocates of non-coöperation.

Tribune
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor,

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 14th June remarks that in that part of the Viceroy's speech in which His Excellency makes a reference to racial equality in India one misses both the stern Judge who has professedly come out to India to do justice, which necessarily includes justice to the past no less than to the future, as well as the wise statesman who is expected to realise that a sincere recognition of the failures of the past is the only sure guarantee for their avoidance in future and finds only the idealist who believes what he desires. As for His Excellency's allusion to the Ali Brothers it would have been noble and more statesmanlike on the part of His Excellency either not to have referred to this matter at all or to have referred to it in language less calculated to suggest that the Government had scored a triumph and could not forget it. The paper then goes on to quote from Mr. Gandhi's remarks in which he says that *swaraj* is India's birthright and India throughout these long years has been baulked of her birthright, the only difference between the extremists and the moderates in this matter being that while the nationalists are prepared to face a period of inefficient government, of misgovernment, of chaos itself, rather than continue in the present state of tutelage, the moderates would make sure of fair, good and efficient government when the British surrender their authority before launching upon the great enterprise. They believe, moreover, in obtaining self-government either as a spontaneous gift from England or, at any rate, by means of friendly negotiations coupled with ordinary methods of protest and prayer; while the nationalists do not believe that that can or will ever be had, unless they show by their determination their earnestness and their readiness to make sacrifices that England has more to lose than to gain by withholding it. If self-government were a matter of gift, then surely England would have the right which she has been claiming of determining the time and measure of each advance, and of withholding the gift as long as she was not convinced of India's fitness. If, on the other hand, it is India's birthright, then the only question, both for England and for herself, is how soon and how best things in India can be properly adjusted for the necessary transfer of power and authority, and to set about the work of adjustment at once and in right earnest.

Mian Muhammad Shafi's speech.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

7. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 11th June, accuses Mian Muhammad Shafi of gross partiality and sycophancy in speaking as he did at the Chelmsford Club. The Viceroy did well to ignore his speech. It may be a matter of pride for the Mian Sahib to be the subject of an alien race and the citizen of an Empire which will refuse him admission in its various parts simply on the ground of his Asiatic descent. But no other Indian, possessed of intelligence and self-respect, can take pride in belonging to an Empire which treats Indians in the way they are treated in Canada, Australia and South Africa.

The Gurdwara Bill.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

8. (*a*) The Hon'ble Sardar Jogindar Singh, of Iqbalnagar, Montgomery District, writing to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 29th May, declares that in order to make the Gurdwara movement successful it is necessary for the Sikh community to accept the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Bill and to pass resolutions everywhere praying Government to pass the Bill. The Sikhs should eschew the *satyagarh* movement and abstain from giving a political tinge to their religious affairs.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 16th June says:—"So the expert drill master of the Punjab Government has ordered "as you were" after making the drillers of the Punjab Legislative Council perform all the exercises connected with the so-called Gurdwara Bill. . . . . When the state of things is to be the same as it was before the arrests were made and the bill was introduced, why have not all the Sikhs arrested in connection with the Gurdwara movement been set free at once and why are other Kirpan-wearing and black-turbanned Sikhs being arrested and persecuted?"

Inflammatory speeches.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

9. The *Akkbar-i-'Am* of the 1st June thinks that speeches which are likely to create estrangement between the rulers and the ruled do more harm than good to the country. Ignorant persons set to work against the Government without thinking of consequences and thus create unrest in the country. Such utterances afford an opportunity to the officials to crush violent speakers. The paper would, therefore, advise the Indians to abstain from making inflammatory speeches and demonstrations that are injurious to the interests of India.

Wanted public workers.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan editor.

10. The *Zamindar* of the 2nd June says that the Seditious Meetings Act is in force in most districts in the Punjab, and as a consequence no meetings are held and no speeches delivered. Even if a Sikh Diwan is held anywhere, it is attended by very few speakers, because several leaders are in jail and the months of many of them are gagged under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code or the Defence of India Act. In short, national movements in the Punjab are very slack. Repression is reigning supreme and none can utter a single word. Nevertheless, the authorities are feeling exasperated and uneasy, as is evident from the arrest of Sardar Sardul Singh. The Sardar has committed no theft or dacoity and has brought about no disturbance. He waged no war

against His Majesty nor did he rebel against the King-Emperor. Nevertheless, he has been thrown into jail. A rumour is current in Lahore that arrests will continue and certain other servants of the nation will be arrested and another effort will be made to suppress the present movement. At any rate, we are prepared to meet repression by silence and non-violence. But we shall point out to Government that while its greatest representative opens negotiations with the greatest representative of India and wishes that Indians should not practise violence, Government itself is practising repression as ever. Is this honesty? If it is desired that Indians should ignore non-violence and India should be converted into another Ireland, they can do whatever they like and go on practising every sort of repression and try to provoke Indians at all times. This is not a threat but the expression of truth. If Government continues acting on the policy of repression, there is the fear of the situation becoming uncontrollable even by our leaders. We wish to say to Indians in general and the Punjabis in particular that they are being daily deprived of their leaders. It is a pity that none has come forward to replace them. If this state of affairs continues, not a single worker will remain free. We appeal to educated young men to come forward and offer their liberty, property and life at the altar of the motherland and be engaged in national service in a selfless spirit. The Punjab requires at least one hundred sincere, enthusiastic, educated and selfless workers. We wish that our voice may not prove a cry in the wilderness.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Imprisonment the key to *Swaraj*.

11. The *Partap* of the 15th June supports Mr. Gandhi's view, as expressed in *Young India*, that the advocates of non coöperation should be quite indifferent to imprisonment and most of them should daily lead the life of prisoners. If the Congress wishes that the struggle for *Swaraj* should be maintained it should create general enthusiasm throughout the country. Imprisonment alone will lead to a general movement of *Swaraj*.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

Prohibition of the meeting of the Lahore City Congress Committee.

12. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 8th June wonders what benefit the authorities will derive by committing such deplorable acts. The fact is that tyrannical orders enhance dissatisfaction and hatred towards the existing system of administration. The Deputy Commissioner's orders remind one of the O'Dwyerian régime. The Congress Committee is no secret society.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th June thinks the order of the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, is despotic and his fear that the committee meeting will assume the form of a public meeting and lead to the disturbance of the public peace is quite unfounded. Congress meetings cannot be prohibited under the Seditious Meetings Act.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); Kali Nath Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 14th June says:—"The meeting was not a public meeting, and the Committee had on this occasion taken additional care to exclude members of the public from it, and there was no reason to believe that the discussion of the subjects included in the agenda or any of them would have caused a breach of public tranquillity. In the circumstances, neither the sameness of the *agenda* nor the business of the hall could possibly justify the Magistrate in issuing the order he did."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

13. The *Siyasat* of the 17th June publishes the following:—

The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore.

"Martial Law in Lahore.—Breaches of law by the Military Deputy Commissioner.—Congress leaders should prepare to go to jail.

"We have repeatedly written before this that it constitutes the greatest oppression that in the present so-called new era, about which English people have beaten kettledrums in the four quarters of the globe with the greatest pride, the highest civic authority at the capital of an important province like the Punjab should be a military Englishman. Moreover, the said military officer is one who has on several occasions proved by his example and precept that he has no taste for legal knowledge. For him to act in conformity with law is meaningless. Foresight and prudence are words which convey no meaning to him.

"Major Ferrar is the officer who summoned the local editors and insulted them. When the time for an explanation came, he most boldly invented excuses. He is the person who turned out all those who were present in his court, including the correspondents of the local newspapers, in the course of proceedings in connection with the case against Sardar Partap Singh, although this step was not necessary. A proof in support of this statement is that in the court of Mr. Harris, Sardar Hira Singh Gyani and Sardar Partap Singh recently refused to give evidence, but Mr. Harris did not feel the necessity of turning out the gentlemen present from his court. Major Ferrar is the person who, on the occasion of the last elections to the Punjab Council, solemnly declared by placing his hands on his chest, outside the house of Mr. Mathra Das Puri, that the person who had fired at the people would be placed before a judicial court. But that promise has not yet been fulfilled. Truly speaking what is a promise which is not made to be broken? Major Ferrar is the District Magistrate who was guilty of the illegal action of stopping election meetings at the recent municipal elections of Lahore. He who wants to form an estimate of the haughtiness of this officer should go to the District Court in the morning. Each and every act of the Major is such that if it were committed by any officer in England or other civilised country, he would be promptly punished, suspended or at least transferred from his place. But in unfortunate India, especially in the Punjab, it is the principle of the Government for the time being that the prestige of the authorities should be maintained by proper or improper methods. The Government of this country wastes the people's money, but it is not answerable to the people for its wrong doings. As a result, notwithstanding the repeated indignation expressed by the people of Lahore, the Major is still installed on the chair of Deputy Commissioner. People hardly forget the unpleasant remembrance of an offensive act on his part when he inflicts by his wrong doings another wound on the self-respect and national honour of the people of Lahore. In this way he reminds the people that they are the subjects of the English and it is their duty to obey all orders, proper or improper, and that their chief local officer is a military Britisher who can break the ordinary law with impunity.

"The latest case in which this officer has caused a breach of law needs no description. From the beginning the Seditious Meetings Act has been enforced in Lahore. This law was enacted without the consent of the people. It usurps the natural rights of the people to enjoy the freedom of assembling together. Hence, in view of morality and justice, this law does not deserve that it should be given the name of law. It is insulting to law to call it a law. But even by this repressive law the oppressed people have the right that their committees should hold meetings. Taking advantage of this right, various committees of the people of Lahore have held meetings. For instance, the Muslim League, the Sikh League, the Provincial Congress and the City Congress Committee held meetings. But it appears that the martial haughtiness of Major Ferrar was anxious to deliver a blow even to this right. The first blow was dealt when meetings were suppressed in connection with the municipal elections. It was, however, a temporary affair and people paid no heed to it. This emboldened the Major. He kept quiet for some time and then he came down on the people to test once again the universal applicability of his magisterial powers and stopped by his order the meeting of the City Congress Committee on the lame excuse lest non-members should take part in the meeting .... Non-members never take part in the City Congress Committee of Lahore. If any non-member attends a meeting or wishes to become a member, he is made a member before the meeting is held. Notwithstanding this, the unjustifiable order of the Deputy Commissioner was accepted and tickets were distributed among the members before the second meeting was to be held. But the Deputy Commissioner would not be satisfied in the matter of displaying his dignity and he stopped the other meeting also.

"It is necessary to say here that the proceedings which were to have taken place at the meeting were peaceful. Opinions have been expressed on these affairs at various meetings and the apprehension of provocation and disturbances is merely an imaginary bugbear which is being raised by Major Ferrar. The question is: what should the Congress leaders of Lahore and the other supporters of the Congress now do? The reply is very easy. There are two paths open for the Congress Committee. One path is of degradation and that is that the order of the Deputy Commissioner should be obeyed. This, in other words, means that an end should be put to the existence of the Congress Committee. The other path is of honour: that is that the meeting should be openly held. The result of this will be that the conveners of the meeting and the respectable audience will be arrested, sent to jail and in this way *Swaraj* will approach nearer.

"The era of rigour commenced in the Punjab and martial law was introduced. As a result, the whole of India has united and, taking the weapon of non-coöperation in its hands, is trying to attain to *Swaraj*. The time has come when the sons of the Punjab should, by preparing again for going to jail, clear the path leading to *Swaraj*. If there be any doubt about the attainment of *Swaraj* it is this, that the sons of the country have not gone to jail in sufficient numbers. Come! let us Panjabees fulfil the demands of Maulana Azad and, by going to jail in sufficient numbers, let us save Lahore from continual martial law; *i. e.*, from the rule of a military officer. Nay let us release the *Gurdwara* of India from a Mahant whose skirt is besmeared with the worst of sins and solve the question of the Khilafat in a few days by obtaining *Swaraj*.

"Our respectful opinion is that even if the Congress Committee, Mahatma Gandhi and the other leaders hold the view that passive resistance should not be resorted to, the self-respect of Lahore demands that we should do this. Yes! In one case alone we should tolerate the degradation of obeying the unjustifiable order of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore and that is (when) we should not be sure that, at the time of our arrests at the meeting, people would maintain peace. If, however, we are sure (and we are sure by the grace of God) that we shall go to jail in peace and people will gladly witness this spectacle, then we should certainly hold the meeting and maintain the honour of the country by going to jail. 'Our duty is to convey the message to you.'"

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Prosecution of Sikhs.

14. In a signed note published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 1st June, Lajpat Rai refers to the recent prosecution of *Akalis* and says that by its repressive policy Government is creating difficulties for itself. Several cases are being launched against *Akalis*. Very harsh treatment is meted out to them in jails and during the trial of cases, though a Sikh is in the Executive Council of the Government. In these circumstances, either the Sardar Sahib should resign or the public will be constrained to hold him responsible for this policy. Indeed, the appointment of Indians to responsible Government posts is neither advantageous for the country nor does it add to the popularity of those who are appointed to such posts.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Sardul Singh, Caveissieur.

15. Writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 29th May, Lala Lajpat Rai says that Government has not acted wisely in arresting Sardar Sardul Singh, Caveissieur, who is a thoroughly sincere and law-abiding nationalist. He has always advised the people to be on the side of law and order and to avoid hasty action. After deploring the loss of so capable a leader, the writer exhorts the Sikh community to exercise self-restraint and forbearance and not to do anything that may be prejudicial to the interests of the Sikhs and the province. The Sikhs should not be guilty either of violence or of cowardice, seeing that their community is above and beyond these weaknesses. Moreover, they should not listen to the advice of those who poison them against their fellow-countrymen.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

The case of Partab Singh and Hira Singh.

16. The *Sikh* of the 12th June says :—"So the Magistrate has awarded Sardars Partab Singh and Hira Singh *Giani* of the *Akali* 6 months each—the maximum punishment prescribed by law for contempt of court! But did they behave insolently or say anything against the Magistrate anywhere? No, nothing of the sort. They simply adhered to their own principle of non-coöperation—rightly or wrongly we need not discuss—and refused to make any statement. That is they kept quiet when they were asked to speak. Otherwise they were as respectful to the court as any law abiding person. And what was the result? They were convicted for contempt and sentenced as if they had beaten record of insolence to a court."

The Arya Samaj of Mombasa.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K.N. Roy, editor.

17. Writing in connection with the memorial of the Arya Samaj of Mombasa to the Government of India, the *Tribune* of the 18th June say :—"We do hope the Government of India will remove the just grievance of the Arya Samaj in this matter, now that the grievance has been so prominently brought to their notice ; but if they do not, it will be necessary to bring up the matter before the Legislative Assembly at the earliest opportunity."

M. Hamid Ahmad's conviction.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

18. In commenting upon the conviction of and sentence passed against Maulvi Hamid Ahmad, the *Vakil* of the 28th May exhorts the political worker to avoid the use of objectionable language and also advises the Government to refrain from displaying a spirit of vindictiveness. The Viceroy should calmly think over the severity of the sentence and do justice.

A European fined for killing an Indian.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

19. The *Zamindar* of the 7th June quotes the *Englishman* which reports that a European fireman, Joseph Muir of the E. B. Railway, was charged with having caused the death of his Madrasi cook by giving him a blow. The court fined the accused Rs. 300, out of which Rs. 250 would be awarded to the cook's grandmother as compensation. Commenting, the paper remarks that the Magistrate might have written in his judgment that Joseph Muir gave a blow to the deceased, which did not do him much harm but simply caused his death. He therefore held the hurt to be a simple one and fined the accused Rs. 300. This is the British justice the songs of which are sung day and night and which Lord Reading is so much talking of. If any whiteman kills an Indian, he is held guilty of having caused simple hurt. On the other hand, if Maulana Hamid Ahmad of Allahabad even thinks of violence and says conditionally that under such and such circumstances he will resort to violence, he is charged with the offence of waging war against His Majesty the King-Emperor and is sentenced to transportation for life and confiscation of property. We think that the British courts are instigating the whites to kill Indians and are holding out to them a guarantee that no severe punishment will be inflicted on them.

Assam coolies.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

20. The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th June remarks that the deplorable condition of the coolies of Assam has drawn the attention of the entire country to it. To shut our eyes against the poverty of India and to call all economical movements political agitation will give rise to political agitation.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lahore Municipal Committee.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

21 (*a*). Lala Lajpat Rai contributes a leading article to the *Bande Mataram* of the 1st June, in which he discusses the present condition and the future working of the Lahore Municipal Committee. The wrong step taken by Government in the nomination of two defeated candidates—a nomination for which the responsibility rests on Mr. Fazil-i-Hussain and which will be taken as the first fruits of the much-vaunted scheme of Indian Reforms—will perpetuate a deplorable display of party spirit, while the outgoing committee showed bad taste and unconstitutional high-handedness in agreeing to the appointment of an executive officer. The new committee, which cannot so soon cancel the resolution, can at least express disapproval of it. The committee should also take steps to elect a non-official President out of the elected members and force the Deputy Commissioner to withdraw from the position of President. It should be on the guard against the Hindu-Muhammadan question which is being raised by interested parties.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 15th June asks in what capacity Major Ferrar holds the office of President, Lahore Municipal Committee. If he holds it as Deputy Commissioner, why is not the Lahore Municipality allowed to elect its own president ; and if as a member, when was he elected and by whom ? Will anybody in the know throw light on the matter ?

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Punjab Administration Report.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

22. The *Liberal* of the 15th June writes :—"One thing (in the Punjab Administration Report) that must arrest every reader's attention is naturally the reference to the Jallianwala Bagh incident. It was an act which could not be justified by any

stretch of imagination on any ground whatsoever, but we have looked in vain to find a word of condemnation of the heinous and unpardonable crime committed by that ill-fated Brigadier-General Dyer. It is some relief to find the suppressed admission that the fire was opened *without further warning*.... Let the Government say whatever it may like of "mob violence," but let it not forget that the more it tries to shield Dyer, the more it tries to minimise the gravity of his offence, the greater is the resentment that is caused among the public, whose verdict about the Jallianwala incident is as clear and unanimous as anything can be."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Indian Finance Committee.

23. The *Tribune* of the 18th June says :—"The committee met in *camera* and what brief account of its proceedings is now supplied is furnished by officials and is very inadequate. We hope in future the proceedings of the Finance Committee will be open to the press. There is nothing in the account of the proceedings published to show that the Committee has influenced Government in the direction of rigid economy and, but for the rejection of one solitary item of £500, all the grants amounting to about 2 crores have been sanctioned. From the public point of view this is very unsatisfactory, and we hope that in future the Finance Committee will be composed of at least 25 members, representing all interests and duly elected by the Assembly and that only men known for their financial knowledge and insight into budget intricacies will sit on the Committee. The defects of the individual financier living on his capital are already visible in the finance proposals of the Government of India and the call for all-round economy is inexorable."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur editor,

The new Government loan.

24. With reference to the new 7 per cent. loan, raised by the Secretary of State for India, the *Kesari* of the 29th May observes that the financial policy of the Secretary of State has proved ruinous to India. India, in its present state of helplessness, is bound by the proceeding of the Secretary of State and can raise no objection. *Swaraj* is the sole remedy.

SIYASAT (Lahore; Habib Shah, editor.

An Indian Extra Assistant Commissioner disgraced.

25. The *Siyasat* of the 13th June says that recently an Indian Extra Assistant Commissioner entered the 1st class waiting room at Darya Khan where Mr. Stephen, Extra Assistant Commissioner and Sub-Divisional Officer, Bhakkar, was holding court. The Indian Extra Assistant Commissioner noiselessly occupied a seat in a corner ; but how could the European Extra Assistant Commissioner tolerate that a negro should sit close to him ? He insulted the Indian officer who was equal to him in rank and position and had him turned out at once. Formerly this European Officer had disgraced a Khan Bahadur and Sessions Judge of Dera Ismail Khan. What has Lord Reading to say to this ?

SANSAR (Amritsar); Gyani Raghbir Singh, editor.

Punished for wearing black turbans, etc.

26. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 23rd May understands that 13 Sikhs of Regiment No. 56-I, Kohat, were arrested for wearing black turbans and were kept in the lock-up for 28 days, eight of them were released and five were discharged after trial by court-martial.

(*b*) The *Sansar* of the 26th May reports that Sardar Mohindar Singh, Naik of the 17th Cavalry, has been reduced on being tried by court-martial for wearing a black turban.

(*c*) The *Sansar* of the 10th June reports that on the 20th May 6 men of M. T. Company No. 17 were sentenced to one year's imprisonment each for refusing to sweep the workshop at the bidding of their Sergeant. The whole company is now prepared to get itself discharged, because 6 innocent men have been imprisoned.

(*d*) The *Sansar* of the 30th May publishes a communication from Tara Singh, who reports that Ujjagar Singh and Hazara Singh of the Amritsar District, Bhai Dyal Singh and Ishar Singh of Gurdaspur and Sohan Singh of Gujranwala were discharged from Regiment No. 56, Company No. 1, Kohat, on the charge of wearing black turbans.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

Maltreatment of political prisoners.

27. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 2nd June observes that its readers will be grieved to learn that Haji Jan Muhammad, Muhammad Aslam Khan and Milap Singh, political prisoners of Peshawar and Bannu, have been shut up in solitary cells

in the Montgomery Jail. They are made to grind corn and have been given ordinary clothes to wear. The diet that is supplied to them is such that even animals do not like to eat it. Maulvi Muhammad Jan, Barrister, and Hakim Ibrahim Khan also have been sent to the Montgomery Jail. They too are similarly mal-treated. Lord Reading claims that he treats the people of the East and the West equally. He is a great advocate of non-violence. Will the public judge the blessings of his rule from these incidents ? On the one hand, we are being asked to eschew violence and, on the other, Government is daily practicing hardships on us. We learn that the frontier authorities have sent instructions to the Montgomery Jail authorities to show the utmost hardship to these prisoners. If the report is true, we can do nothing except lament the unwisdom of the bureaucratic Government.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Gyani Raghbir Singh, editor.

(*b*) A correspondent of the *Sansar* of the 10th June learns that political prisoners in the Dera Ghazi Khan Jail are subjected to great hardships. Sardars Jaswant Singh Jhubal, Sadhu Singh of Kohat, Mul Singh of Chawinda, Narindar Singh, Akali, Narinjan Singh and Sewa Singh are treated like dacoits and murderers in the jail. Their health has suffered.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

Bugga and Rattan Chand.

28. The *Partap* of the 9th June does not know whether Chaudhri Bugga and Rattan Chand have been brought back from the Andamans. If Government wants to carry out its declarations it is its duty to bring back from the Andamans all martial law prisoners and keep them in the Punjab jails till they are released.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Akhtar Ali's apology.

29. The *Desh* of the 13th June says that the question whether Akhtar Ali Khan apologised to Government or not is a public question and cannot remain confined to bickerings between the *Zamindar* and the *Paisa Akhbar*. We lay the following facts before our readers and claim that no one dare refute them :—

(1) When recently Lala Harkishen Lal came to Lahore, Akhtar Ali Khan paid a visit to him and learnt that Government was contemplating to take legal action against him on the basis of three articles.

(2) Akhtar Ali Khan at once went to Simla and saw Sir John Maynard, who is in charge of the newspaper department.

(3) In the course of the interview, Sir John Maynard informed Akhtar Ali that he was to be tried under Sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code.

(4) Akhtar Ali then gave an undertaking to Government which ended the matter. He then safely returned to Lahore.

What was the undertaking which Akhtar Ali gave to the Governmnt ? As Akhtar Ali Khan loudly claims that he did not apologise to Government, he should publish a copy of the undertaking in question. The public will itself judge whether the *Paisa Akhbar* or Maulvi Akhtar Ali is right.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Mustafa Saghir's identity.

30. The *Vakil* of the 9th June wants to fix the identity of Mustafa Saghir to whom so much importance is given in the telegraphic messages about the differences between England and the Angora Government. The man is unknown in India. He must be either a spy or a beggar.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE :

The 18th June 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The British attitude towards the Greeco-Turkish situation.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Muhammad Sanaullah, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 10th and the 17th June remarks that it was hitherto said that the Allied Powers, specially the British Government, would observe an attitude of neutrality in the war between the Greeks and the Kemalists. The newspapers regarded this with suspicion and their suspicions have been verified, as England has ordered her warships to proceed to the sea of the Kemalists. If now a war is declared between the Turks and the English, the duties of the Musalmans will be much different from the former occasion. In the previous war Muhammadans made a serious mistake. It is to be hoped that they will not commit this mistake in future. Muhammadans were told on that occasion that the Turkish war was not a religious but a political war and that the feelings of the Indian Muhammadans could not be injured. This was accepted by the devoted slaves of the Government among the Muhammadans. As a result, all the sacred places of the Muhammadans passed into the hands of their enemies with the help of the Muhammadans themselves. Muhammadans are deeply lamenting this. If a war is again declared, the same lesson will be taught to the Muhammadans who are well aware of its reality. They will never believe the statement of Government because they will not be

taken in by a trick which deceived them once. When war is declared between Englishmen and the Turkish liberals, the Muhammadans of India will decide their duty themselves and will not suffer to be guided by others.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th June remarks that now that it is fully proved that the Greeks have suffered a crushing defeat, and are no longer able to retain possession of Thrace and Smyrna without the help of others, the question arises whether the attitude of the British Ministers has undergone any change. If it has, then the world will frankly say that they are showing undue and open partiality for the Greeks. Since Greece acted against the wishes of the Allies in waging a war against the Turks, it would be fair to restore Smyrna and Thrace to the Turks.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(*c*) The *Swaraj* of the 11th June remarks that the Turkish population of Thrace and several parts of Asia Minor is being forcibly removed and no mercy is shown even to women and children. The object of this cruel oppression is to place before the Supreme Council figures to prove that the Turkish population of these areas is very small; but this will rouse the religious feelings of the liberal Turks of Angora and add to the difficulties of the Allies. The British Government should prove by deeds that it is not partial towards the Greeks.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

The Allies and the situation in Central Asia.

2. The *Swaraj* of the 12th June says that the best remedy against the activities and machinations of the Russian Bolsheviks and the situation thereby created for the Allies is that peace should be established with the Muslim states of Central Asia and Turkey and that, in the interests of the peace of the world, the silly idea of siding with the Greeks be given up. Otherwise a terrible war is likely to break out, in which the inhabitants of all the Muslim countries will feel compelled to take part. Nor is this all. Unrest will prevail throughout the world, the responsibility for which will rest on the shoulders of the European Powers.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

England and her obligations.

3. Referring to a speech delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, defining the British Government's new policy in the Middle East the *Tribune* of the 22nd June says :—"Mr. Churchill talks of his readiness to undertake fresh obligations for his country, and of his determination to pervent peoples who, for more centuries than one can easily count, have managed to live without his assistance from becoming a prey to confusion and anarchy. Is it not possible for the peoples concerned to retort if they like that the prevention of confusion and anarchy, like charity best begins at home, that if Mr. Churchill is anxious to prove his capacity in this particular respect, he had better apply himself to the task which lies at his very door, where for long months a whole people have been in a state of revolt against his countrymen and a confusion and anarchy have prevailed than which nothing more serious or descreditable to an established Government can easily be thought of? . . . The time has come when in her own interests no less than in the interests of the world's peace, happiness and contentment, England should definitely call a halt to her policy of undertaking ever new and fresh obligations. . . . Ireland, Egypt and India individually and collectively represent a series of problems, so formidable in their scope, dimension and difficulty as to stagger any British statesman who honestly tries to find a way out of them. . . . If she is wise, she will think not once or twice, but a hundred times, before she finally assumes fresh liabilities, when the liabilities already resting on her shoulders have admittedly proved too heavy for her. Not until the Irish, Egyptian and Indian questions have been solved, not according to her own satisfaction which means nothing, but according to the satisfaction of those principally concerned, not until, that is to say, all these countries have become self-governing in the fullest sense of the term in purely internal affairs and have had allotted to them a free and equal share in the shaping and controlling of the Empire's foreign relations and policy, can it be either politically expedient or morally justifiable for England to undertake fresh "obligations" whether in Asia or elsewhere."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

India and Afghanistan.

4. The *Desh* of the 22nd June observes that a contemporary writes that relations between India and Afghanistan have become seriously strained and there is a possibility of war being declared between the two countries after the Id. It is

not known how far this information is correct, but the statement is likely to create anxiety. The Government of India should explain the present situation with regard to Afghanistan for the information of the Indian people.

Indians in East Africa.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

5. Writing in connection with the decision of His Majesty's Government that the Kenya Government should adopt a policy of marking time in controversial matters and that no sales of township plots should be held in Kenya at which Asiatics are excluded from bidding, the *Tribune* of the 19th June says:—"We object to the use of the word *Asiatics* in this connection, as tending to show that Indians are in no better position in this matter than other Asiatics, and we see no reason why the final decision in a matter which is as simple as simple could be should take so prodigious a length of time."

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club.

Kesari, (Lahore), Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Kesri* of the 5th June argues that His Excellency cannot deny that the present situation in India is very critical both from the Government and the public standpoints. The people of India are prepared to make every sacrifice to secure their rights and it has become an ordinary thing for them to go to jail. The Viceroy has shown weakness in not strictly keeping in view the understanding arrived at between him and Mahatma Gandhi.

Kashmiri Magazine (Lahore); Muhammad-ud-Din, editor.

(*b*) The *Kashmiri Magazine* of the 7th June says that His Excellency's speechs are producing no effect on his white subordinates. To quote a few instances: The Seditious Meetings Act is in force in most districts in the Punjab. National leaders are being daily sent to jail. Great oppression is being practised on the people of the frontier and the United Provinces. Advocates of the anti-liquor campaign are being harrassed. In short, every effort is being made to excite public feelings. What notice is His Excellency going to take of these things?

Vedic Magazine (Lahore); Ram Deva, editor.

(*c*) The following is taken from the *Vedic Magazine* for June:—"The Viceroy is committed to the removal of racial inequality which is writ large over every branch of British administration in India—military, civil and criminal administration of justice, railways. The tone of the entire administration is the tone of British domination. This spirit of British domination has to be removed, if racial equality is to be established on a firm basis. No changes in laws, however solutary, can bring about this. . . . In India the law prescribes capital punishment for murder, no matter what the race or complexion of the murderer be, but the spirit of British domination supervenes and we read of ruptures of spleen and accidental shootings in judicial pronouncements. . . . In plain words racial inferiority will not receive its quietus so long as complete Swarajya is not established in India. Dyerism and O'Dwyerism are bye-products of racial domination and so long as the Indian people have not the *power* to punish or to forgive Dyers and O'Dwyers, it is vain to say that the day of racial equality has dawned.... If Lord Reading will have the supreme courage to apply the only infallible remedy just as he has had the supreme vision to sense the malady, he will have rendered an inestimable service to England and India both. It is open to His Excellency to make a bid for this supreme position; only he must be prepared to brave the wrath of the hierophants of Simla and their bureaucratic novices scattered all through the country. The Indian bureaucracy constitutes at present the most powerful, the most formidable and the most efficiently entrenched citadel of vested interests and reactionary influence in the entire civilised world. Lord Ripon attacked this citadel and came to grief. Lord Reading is more advantageously placed.... Non-coöperators will heartily co-operate with Lord Reading if he chose to non-coöperate with the forces of stupid reaction and visionless racial supremacy and placed himself at the head of the movement for freedom."

The Village Panchayat Bill.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor

7. With reference to the Panchayat Bill which the Hon'ble Mr Fazal-i-Hussain intends to introduce at the next sessions of the Punjab Legislative Council, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th June remarks that village panchayats should be invested with real powers and made quite independent and able to manage their

affairs. They should be freed from official control and pressure. Otherwise no useful results will accrue.

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Gurdwara Bill.

8. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th June is gratified to see the Gurdwara Bill dropped by the Government.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 5th June remarks that the agitation recently set up by the Hindus against the Gurdwara bill, was artificial and meant to deceive Government. Attempts were made to inflame the Hindus against the Sikhs by sending telegrams to the authorities and newspapers about the imaginary meetings convened by the Punjab Hindu Sabha to protest against the Gurdwara Bill. Government has made a serious mistake in attaching weight to the resolutions of the Hindu and Sanatan Dharam Sabhas and it is a pity that being overawed by Hindu agitation Government has dropped the Bill. In fact, there in no Hindu Sabha in the true sense of the term.

(*c*) The *Sanatan Dharam Parcharak* of the 16th June takes exception to the above remarks and says that the Punjab Government should not suffer itself to be deceived by the writings of the *Loyal Gazette*. Government should bear in mind that more than ninety per cent. Sikhs and cent. per cent. Hindus think that *Akalis* or neo-Sikhs, who pose as the representatives of the whole Sikh community, have no right to Sikh Gurdwaras. The writings of the *Loyal Gazette* are likely to sow the seed of enmity between the Hindus and the Sikhs. Government and the Hindu community should note that the *Loyal Gazette* does not represent Sikhs as a whole.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 12th June thinks that the Government has made a serious mistake in dropping the Sikh Gurdwara Bill. If Government had acted a little more generously the state of affairs would have been improved and a large number of Sikhs would have been satisfied. Difficulties will now multiply in the absence of a new law and litigation will increase. Government cannot be congratulated on its decision. It has tried to save itself by taking advantage of the advice of the advocates of non-coöperation.

PARKASH (Lahore); Radha Kishan, editor.

(*e*) The *Parkash* of the 12th June says that by dropping the Gurdwara Bill Government has made it known to the Sikhs that the Gurdwaras belong to them and they will be managed in conformity with their wishes. Government has made great efforts to please the Sikhs. Let us see whether the latter are pleased or not.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Syed Habib Shah, editor.

Abul Kalam Azad's manifesto.

9. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 16th June publishes a manifesto from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the relations between England and Turkey and the attitude of the Indian Muhammadans. It has been repeatedly said that we have adopted the non-violent non-coöperation programme after the most careful consideration and with the consultation of the *Ulema* and Muslim leaders. But it should be clearly understood that we did not adopt this programme out of fear of imprisonment or to save our lives. We thought that non-violent non-coöperation was an excellent means for the redress of our grievances. But we never promised to stick to it always. We assured Mahatma Gandhi that so long as we worked in coöperation with him, we would act in conformity with the principle of non-violence. The writer understands from the creed expressed by the Ali Brothers that the Viceroy has taken undue advantage of their announcement. We feel that the policy of unjust treatment which Government has adopted with regard to the Khilafat and other national workers and the general policy of heartless repression are intolerable. Especially the repression which is being practised on the frontier and the treatment which is being accorded to Maulvi Hamid Ahmad and other servants of the nation are highly inflammatory. In view of these circumstances, it is necessary that we should reconsider our programme and change it. The considerations of our future way of conduct becomes all the more necessary when we find that owing to the aggressive and hostile attitude of England towards the Angora Government, the only surviving Islamic Government of Mustafa Kamal Pasha is in danger. We have repeatedly asserted that all our hopes are centered in the followers of Kamal Pasha. It is the only body which is performing its duty in protecting the interests of Islam. If even this Government too is weakened Muhammadans will have no other alternative but to die the death of honour and attain salvation. The recent hostile attitude of England towards the Angora Government and the proposed proceedings against that Government have filled to the brim

the cup of our patience and we are obliged to reconsider our programme and effect a change in it. We hope that a consultation will be shortly held. England should evacuate Mesopotamia without further delay and withdraw her army and leave the people free to settle their affairs themselves. England should proclaim neutrality on other Islamic fronts. She should evacuate Palestine. The Musalmans will settle their affairs with the Jews in that country and with the French in Syria. England should observe neutrality in Anatolia in European-Turkey also, where Muhammadans are arriving at a settlement with the Greeks. If England fails to do this, she will be at war with Islam.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 18th June says that Abul Kalam Azad has expressed the view that if England declares war against the Turkish Nationalists, the Indian Muhammadans will not be able to stick to their promise to practise non-coöperation. No community in India can fight the British or any other Government with arms. If England declares war against the Angora Government, Indian Muhammadans should carry on the non-coöperation movement still more vigorously. In our opinion non-violent non-coöperation alone can bring the greatest pressure to bear on Government in existing circumstances. But this is possible only if the Hindus join hands with the Muhammadans.

How Indians can forget the past ?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. The *Bande Mataram* of the 17th June thinks that before advising Indians to forget the past it is essential for the bureaucracy to forget that it is the master of India and India's fate lies in its hands.

Swaraj through jail.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

11. The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 6th June remarks that probably not one Indian will endorse the view of M. Abul Kalam Azad that the only way to obtain *Swaraj* is for the people of this country to offer themselves willingly to go to jail. *Swaraj* can be obtained not by going to jails but by securing the release of all the prisoners confined in jails.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The North-West Frontier Province.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. The *Tribune* of the 19th June says:—"The number of raids by trans-border gangs on peaceful British subjects has increased during recent years, while the power that was vested in the executive officers of the Frontier Province for checking and punishing raiders and dacoits has not unoften been used for the suppression of political activity in the province. The only explanation why the people of the Frontier Province are not allowed to carry on their political activities, even within the narrow limits which circumscribe such activities in other provinces, is that some of the higher officials are afraid of the political awakening of a long suffering population. The result of all this is that there is very little of political activity in the province; and the province has not even got a press of its own to champion its cause, to ventilate the grievances of its people, or to supply the rest of the country with reliable news of the happenings in it. Seldom if ever, is there a word in these [Government] *communiqués* about the hardships and suffering of the people of that province; and one gets only an occasional glimpse into the real state of affairs, when some individual more public-spirited than the rest lifts up the veil that enshrouds the frontier administration, and appeals to the outside world for help and assistance in securing justice. It is the imperative duty of Government to reform the administration of the Frontier Province. The people of that Province have often expressed their wish to have the frontier districts re-united to the Punjab; and their desire for a larger association with Government, though that desire is not allowed to find a free expression, is every day on the increase. Most of the evils of the frontier administration are due to the fact, that the people have almost no opportunities of influencing the Government; and no Government can be expected to be efficient, under modern conditions, unless it is amenable to the influence of public opinion. An adequate solution of the frontier raids cannot be found, so long as the elected representatives of the people are not given their proper share in moulding the policy and carrying on the work of Government. We, therefore, sincerely hope that the Government of India will seriously consider the whole frontier question and overhaul the present machinery of Government in the Frontier Province, with a view

to giving the people a real and effective voice in the administration of their affairs."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Alleged high-handedness at Bannu.

13. Muhammad Nawaz Khan, pleader of Bannu, writing to the *Siyasat* of the 11th June, refers to the *communiqué* issued by the Chief Commissioner of the Frontier Province in connection with the alleged high-handedness at Bannu and says that it is extremely disappointing to note that the Chief Commissioner views with approval the oppression to which the people of Bannu have been subjected by the Deputy Commissioner. After expressing the opinion that the measures taken to restore peace at Bannu are useless, the writer urges the appointment of a committee of enquiry consisting of people who enjoy the public confidence. If the Chief Commissioner is opposed to the Khilafat movement and hates the very name of Islam, he should issue orders prohibiting the preaching of the Koran and the Traditions. It is an act of cowardice on the part of the district authorities to suppress the Khilafat movement by indirect methods. History bears testimony to the fact that the results of oppression and despotism have always proved fatal to a Government. The Bannu atrocities are in no way less serious than the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Government and the Sikhs.

14. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 1st June says the Sikh community is passing through very critical times. It is feeling uneasy over the protection of its religious rights. Its leaders are being sent to jail in large numbers. We wish to point out to Government that it will not succeed in suppressing the Sikh community by a policy of repression. The paper refers to Sardar Sardul Singh's arrest and says that the Sardar is an educated and leading Sikh and is actuated by the sincere desire to promote the interests of his community and country. His arrest will widen the gulf between the Government and the Sikh community. We, however, ask the Sikhs to act on the advice given to them by Lala Lajpat Rai in the *Bande Mataram* that they should control their sentiments and do nothing calculated to harm their community and province.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 23rd June writes :—" As to Government, it has not realised its blunder up to this moment even, for what to say of releasing all those arrested in connection with the Gurdwara movement, it has not so far cared to remove the most serious complaint of the poor undertrial Sikh prisoners being denied the ordinary comforts (if we may call them comforts) of jail life. Is it not a pity that even the Hon'ble Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia should not have seen his way to convince the Punjab Government of the desirability of setting free all of them and thus restoring peace in the community. At least with the *ex*-Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Dewan, an *ex*-President of the Sikh Educational Conference and an *ex*-President of the Shromani Gurdwara movement as one of its limbs, the Punjab Government cannot be expected to commit a greater blunder than treating religious reformers as dacoits, &c."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Akalis and the Punjab Government.

15. (*a*) Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd June, asks the following questions :—

(1) Can any one explain why the Punjab Government, which has so often adopted a paternal attitude towards the Sikhs, is now so hard on the Akalis ?

(2) Is it not a fact that all political or semi-political cases are started with the sanction of the Executive Council of which Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia is a member ? Is it not a fact that the Sardar is in charge of the Police Department. Is it not also a fact that an Indian Minister is in charge of the Jail Department ?

(3) Is it not a fact that all the political cases which have been started against the Akalis have been started after consultation with Sardar Sunder Singh ? Does the Sardar regard the Akali *jatha* as dangerous for the country ?

(4) Is it not a fact that prior to his becoming a member of the Executive Council, Sardar Sunder Singh was a member and for sometime President of the Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee, that in his time the Akalis took possession of a number of Gurdwaras and that the committee, having recognised the possession, took the management of the Gurdwaras into its own hands ?

(5) Which were the Gurdwaras the management of which the Akalis made over to the Parbandhak Committee ?

(6) Can any one say whether Sardar Harbans Singh of Attari or his party ever moved a resolution in the Parbandhak Committee preventing the Akalis from taking possession of Gurdwaras ? If the Parbandhak Committee and Sharomani Committee have recognised the possession of Gurdwaras by the Akalis and have encouraged them to take forcible possession of Gurdwaras why are the Sardars who state themselves to be the leaders of the Punjab Sikhs sitting silent and why do they not raise their voice against the treatment of the Akalis (at the hands of Government) ?

(7) Is there any special reason for the treatment which is being accorded to the Akalis in jails ? Did any Minister or member of Council take the trouble of personally enquiring into the matter ? Did he go to jail to see whether the grievances of the Akalis were legitimate ? If legitimate, has any action been taken to redress them ? It is the duty of the Indian members of the Government to remove the misgivings which are arising in the minds of the people by replying to these questions. Otherwise, we shall hold them responsible for all the mal-treatment to which the Akalis are being subjected now-a-days.

(8) Will any Indian member of Government say if by making a rule regarding the size of *kirpans* the prestige of Government will be effected ? While it is not stated what the lawful size of a *kirpan* is, criminal cases are being instituted and every magistrate exercises his own discretion in deciding them. Such high-handedness was not practised even in the days of the Czars of Russia. What is the harm in telling the unfortunate Akalis that according to law such and such should be the size of a *kirpan*.

SIKH (Lahore); S han Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 26th June writes :—"These questions do not stand in need of any comments. They must be answered or else the public will form the conclusions that are but natural in such circumstances. At any rate the questions are very interesting and unless they are satisfactorily answered, the public will be justified in joining the chorus."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Arrests for wearing *kirpans*.

16. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 17th June writes :—"The wearing of *kirpans* by Sikhs constitutes no offence in the eye of the law. The arrests of Sikhs therefore, for simply wearing the *kirpans* exempted from the Arms Act by a Government established by law not only involve violation of that law and inflect unwarranted hardships on the Sikhs but constitute a wanton injustice to the Sikhs and the negation of law, and we have been repeatedly assured that Lord Reading stands for justice, unalloyed and unaffected by any partizan spirit. Would Lord Reading see that in the matter of the *kirpan* immediate justice is done to the Sikhs. Only the other day the twelve Akali Sikhs of Jhelum, who had come to Lahore to hear the case of Bhai Teja Singh, Akali of Jhelum, who had been arrested for wearing a *kirpan* and was undergoing a trial for the offence, were arrested and challaned by the police. If their arrests were for simply wearing *kirpan* we do not think the action of the police was justified. But no, they are determined to strike a terror in the hearts of the Sikhs by actions legal or illegal. The police has no jurisdiction or authority to arrest Sikhs wearing *kirpans* unless of course the law of the land is to be respected by an utter disregard and violation. The police thus set at naught the law of the Government established by law. We invite the immediate attention of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India to the illegality of the proceedings which the Punjab Government is instituting against the Sikhs in contravention of the terms and essence of the standing law and request His Excellency to take immediate, strong and effective steps to remove the gross injustice involved in the Punjab Governments *ultra vires* proceedings."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Mr. Keough.

17. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 5th June says that the magistrate who has been especially appointed to hear the Gurdwara cases is so hot-tempered that all accused and most witnesses are complaining of ill-treatment. The accused are in jail and Mr. Keough is postponing the hearing of cases to distant dates. He prevented the represenrative of a Sikh paper from sitting under a fan close to pleaders and witnesses and taking down a report. He disgraced a witness, Sardar Narain

Singh, who is a Barrister, the member of a respectable family and the Secretary of the Gurdwara Parbadbhak Committee Mr. Keough has been in Lahore for the past five or six years. He was a favourite of Colonel Frank Johnson who removed Mr. O'Neil Shaw from the martial law court, because he was a lenient man and inflicted a lenient punishment. Will Sir Edward Maclagan oblige the citizens of Lahore by transferring Mr. Keough to some other place?

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Sialkot case.

18. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 12th June observes that recently the white population in South Africa was so much enraged on an African molesting a white woman that a dreadful disturbance took place in which scores of his tribesmen were killed. The paper refers to the Sialkot case in which a European soldier was charged with having outraged the modesty of a Muhammadan widow and fined Rs. 50 by the Cantonment Magistrate. The attention of Lord Reading might be invited to the Magistrate's judgment and His Excellency asked if the Magistrate's attitude would have been the same in case an Indian had perchance committed similar mischief with any white woman. Is it just to abuse an oppressed woman, her relatives, and countrymen and help the wicked accused in spite of his confession of guilt?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th June refers to the above case and asks whether this is the equality of which Lord Reading boasted so much. In our opinion even the strongest speech cannot produce even a thousandth part of the hatred towards and aversion for the English as is produced by such a shameful connivance at the satanic crimes of white offenders by officers who disgrace British justice. These officers worship prestige. They are throttling innocent political workers and are filling jails with them. But they do not think it necessary to call for an explanation from those who are blackening the face of British justice and are creating hatred in the Indian mind towards its very name.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai editor.

The Lahore City Congress Committee meeting.

19. (*a*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th June, Lala Lajpat Rai says that there is peace in Lahore in these days. Nevertheless, the District Magistrate, who is a military officer, does not like this peaceful situation. The District Magistrate was solely responsible for the continued enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in Lahore during the municipal elections. A non-member has no right to attend meetings of the Congress Committee, and even Press reporters are not allowed to attend it. The District Magistrate's order prohibiting the meeting to be held on the 13th is quite opposed to law. It is very dangerous to appoint as District Magistrate a narrow-minded and peevish officer who does not seem to be fully acquainted with law and it is the duty of the All India Congress Committee to reconsider its resolution on civil disobedience. To obey such unjustifiable orders means to stop the Congress work.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) According to the *Bande Mataram* of the 14th June the arguments contained in the order issued by the District Magistrate of Lahore, prohibiting the second meeting of the Lahore City Congress Committee to be held at the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, are ridiculous. Will not such meaningless orders force the country to resort to passive resistance?

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, B. A. editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 16th June characterises the order of the District Magistrate of Lahore as illegal. If this matter can be taken to the High Court, the District Magistrate's order will be surely cancelled. This can be done only by resorting to civil disobedience. But the Congress does not permit this.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*d*) The *Siyasat* of the 18th June congratulates Major Ferrar on his victory over the Lahore City Congress Committee which has, on receiving a telegram from Mr. Gandhi, eventually decided not to offer passive resistance. It is a matter for regret that the committee cannot hold a meeting at all.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Agriculturists and non agriculturists.

20. The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th June writes that disputes have been long raised between Hindus and Muhammadans, Sikhs were also greatly incited against Hindus and the eyes of people opened when all of them had stumbled. Now the work of sowing the seed of discord between the agriculturists and non-agriculturists has begun. All know to what straits non-agriculturists have been

generally reduced in the Punjab by the Alienation of Land Act. The report will be read with pity that in village Adhoba, Ambala District, cultivators brought a suit that non-agriculturists should be deprived of every right, such as land proprietorship, etc. The suit was dismissed. Now, however, thefts are being committed in the houses of *Mahajans*.

The Assam coolies.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

21. The *Kesari* of the 13th June remarks that Indians are being humiliated and disgraced not only abroad, but even in their own country. Most of them do not get food sufficient to fill their stomachs and clothes to cover their bodies. The paper deplores that Government is paying no attention to the miserable condition of the Indian coolies in Assam and while the poor labourers are dying of hunger, thirst, cholera, etc., hundred of miles away from their native lands, Anglo-Indian newspapers are irritating the former's fellow-countrymen by contending that the advocates of non-coöperation are entirely to blame. These newspapers are making shameful misstatements but the fact is that the Indian coolies in the Assam tea plantations did not at all go on strike at the suggestion of the advocates of non-coöperation. What compelled them to give up work was unbearable hunger. Let us see when God ends their troubles.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Hindus and Akalis.

SANATAN DHARAM PATRIKA (Lahore) Diwan Chand Sharma, editor.

22. The *Sanatan Dharam Patrika* of the 29th May remarks that the first position it took up was that all those Gurdwaras which were in the possession of the Akalis should be boycotted and new temples of their own established by the Hindus, where episodes from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagwat Gita should be recited, Hindus treating Akalis like non-Hindus. Next by means of justifiable legal help the Hindus should obtain rights in those temples and property worth crores of rupees attached to them which were built with the hard-earned money, not of the Akalis, but of the Hindus and which were hitherto in possession of the Hindus. The Akali Sikhs are not only creating dissensions between Sikhs and Hindus but are also trying to create a breach of the peace in the country. They are guilty of transferring the attention of the people from *Swaraj* to other matters. Recently they consulted Mahatma Gandhi before giving the ultimatum of *Satyāgraha* to the Hindus, but the Mahatama advised them not to do so. The Akalis, however, disregarded the advice of this " god " who is worshipped in all parts of the country and decided on the 11th May to take possession of the *dharamsalas* of the Hindus. They tried to create breaches of the peace and accused others of creating dissensions for which they alone are responsible. The orthodox Hindus have a grievance against the political leaders of the country. The latter noticed that the rights of the former had been trampled upon so far as their religious affairs are concerned and yet they dared not reprimand the Akalis.

Interference with the 'Id prayers.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Muhammad Sanaulla, editor.

23. The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 10th and 17th June remarks that on the occasion of the last 'Id, the authorities of Akola ordered that the coöperators and non-coöperators should say their prayers separately in the 'Idgah. Thereupon Khan Bahadur Rahman Beg and his fifteen relatives were permitted to say their prayers first and after them a thousand Musalmans gladly recited their prayers. Mr. Shaukat Ali advised the Musalmans of Akola to obey the unjust orders of the Magistrate and avoid force.

The Khilafat funds.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

24. M. Sana Ullah, of Amritsar, writing to the *Vakil* of the 19th June, supports the suggestion of Zabir Hussan, Pleader of Calcutta, that the workers of the Amritsar Khilafat Committee should be tried for keeping irregular accounts. But the question arises in what court they should be tried. The writer suggests that they should be tried by the Amritsar National Court.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lahore Municipal Committee.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

25. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 2nd June objects to the nomination of the defeated candidates, Rai Bahadur Lala Milkhi Ram and Chaudhri Shahab-ud-din, as members of the Lahore Municipal Committee. Government has flouted public opinion and annoyed the electors of Lahore.

(b) According to the *Kesari* of the 19th June, the people of Lahore are bitterly opposed to Major Ferrar's remaining President of their Municipal Committee. The Deputy Commissioner should withdraw from the position of President; otherwise it will be necessary for the nationalist Municipal Commissioners to take up the question of removing him from this position.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Hindu-Muslim unity in Municipal affairs.

26. The *Kesari* of the 3rd June refers to Hindu-Muslim dissensions among members of the Amritsar, Gujranwala and Multan Municipal Committees and appeals to them in the name of the country and nation to change their attitude and so act that Hindu-Muslim unity may remain intact.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Maltreatment of political prisoners.

27. (a) The *Kesari* of the 2nd June complains of the maltreatment of Haji Jan Muhammad, Mian Muhammad Aslam, Sardar Milap Singh and other political prisoners, who have been transferred from the Frontier Province to the Montgomery Jail. Such maltreatment will quicken the pace of *Swaraj*, but it will prove harmful to the best interests of Government itself.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(b) Referring to the report published by the *Kesari* that Sikh prisoners in the Montgomery Jail are required by jail officers to salam them after removing their turbans, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 5th June says that this constitutes the grossest insult to the Sikh religion which no Sikh can put up with.

PARTAP (Lahore); Kishan, editor.

(c) The *Partap* of the 23rd June refers to the alleged harsh treatment accorded by the jail authorities to Pandit Amir Chand Bamwal and Sardar Jaswant Singh Jhabal, and says that scores of instances can be cited in which political prisoners have been maltreated. The jail authorities are not to blame in this respect. So long as Government does not issue clear instructions to the contrary, the officials of the Jail Department must treat political prisoners like ordinary criminals and accord them the worst of treatment. Either the Jail rules should be changed or Government should acknowledge the principle that political prisoners should be dealt differently from ordinary prisoners. Their movements should be restricted but they should not be subjected to any trouble or humiliation in jails. The British Government is a civilised Government and it should treat political prisoners in a manner worthy of their position.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Ali Brothers' apology.

28. The *Desh* of the 3rd June thinks the Ali Brothers' conduct in tendering an apology is inconsistent with their professions. What confidence can the public have in men who say that they fear nobody except God and are yet terrified on the threat of prosecution? The Ali Brothers' apology indicates their natural weakness, fickle-mindedness, selfishness and anxiety for personal safety.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The responsibility of Government for maladministration in the Native States.

29. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 16th June, affirms that the British Government is really responsible for maladministration in the Native States. It is the first principle in the law of nature that people should have the right to change their Government. The Government of India has deprived the people of the Native States of this right, who are helpless and do not enjoy the privileges which the British Government has granted to its own subjects. Every Chief is expected to oppose the non-coöperation movement. But a few bold men, who live in the Native States, should come forward and expose the Chiefs' conduct and also publish the treaties existing between them and the British Government.

LIBERAL (Lahore), Jai Gopal editor.

Lajpat Rai and the Kapurthala Darbar.

30. (a) The *Liberal* of the 22nd June writes :—"The order issued by the Kapurthala Darbar against the entry of Lala Lajpat Rai into the State is as absurd as it is indefensible. The order was verbal and no reason was assigned for it. We think the order against Lala Lajpat Rai being absolutely meaningless and insulting, his sense of public duty coupled with a sense of self-respect, which he possesses in such an eminent measure, should have prompted him to at least insist on a written order by a responsible official of the State before he submitted himself to it. Naturally enough, great resentment prevails among the State public and probably that will serve the object

of Lala Lajpat Rai's visit better than the visit itself. It is a great reflection on Indian mentality that it is an Indian State which has passed an order of externment against a public leader without any just cause."

(*b*) The *Tribune*, of the 22nd June writes:—"The Kapurthala Durbar has issued a verbal order of externment against Lala Lajpat Rai. This is what is called outheroding Herod."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st and 24th June, the *Partap* of the 24th June and the *Kesari* of the 25th June also protest against the order of the Kapurthala Darbar.

Mustafa Saghir.

31. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 17th June remarks that Reuter's report of the death of Mustafa Saghir is estimated to excite the feelings of the people of India, but it is to be hoped that the Indians in general and the Muhammadans in particular will be very cautious and pay no heed to such news. They would do well to continue their peaceful struggle for the attainment of freedom.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(*b*) Writing to the **Zamindar** of the 19th June Abdur Razzaq of Malihabad gives an account of the life and character of Mustapha Saghir who was executed at Angora by the Kemalists. Mustapha Saghir Beg's real name was Saghir Beg and he belonged to the United Provinces (Muradabad District.) The writer describes his educational qualifications, linguistic ability, immoral character, druken habits and activities as a spy of the British Government in Egypt. On return from Egypt, the Maulvi came to know from a Barrister in India that Mustapha Saghir had gone to Switzerland where he was engaged in his satanic activities, which came to light through a member of the Khilafat deputation. In 1920 he informed an Indian leader that he was going to Constantinople. Recent news shows that from Constantinople he went to Angora where he must have indulged in satanic activities for which he was shot by the Kemalists. Every one can judge for himself whether the Turks were justified or not in putting Mustapha Saghir to death. The Maulvi has felt much pleased at his having been killed and is grateful to the Turks for placing India under an obligation by killing the man. It is surprising that Englishmen still consider Indians to be so stupid as to be deceived by such tricks. If Englishmen have felt grieved at Mustapha Saghir's death, they should erect his grave in England and place the Cross over it. The Maulvi is positive in describing him as a renegade and a mischievous person.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

32. The *Siyasat* of the 19th June publishes the following:—

The necessity for *Jehad*.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

"Declare *Jehad* if you are anxious to have India freed." A special correspondent of the ***Aman Afghan*** writes that two or three days ago notices were found posted on the gates of big mosques in Peshawar to the effect that 'we two *mahajirs*, having reached Tirah, have tried to incite the people of the *ilaqa* to *jehad*. India can become free only when it begins *jehad* on receipt of a declaration of *jehad* from us."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1 The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th June takes exception to the reply recently given in the House of Commons on behalf of the Government that the British Government could not be expected to make a definite promise to give no help to the Greeks against the Turks. This answer conflicts with the neutrality proclaimed by Great Britain. People would be justified in inferring from the reply that Great Britain will help the Greeks for expediency or on an occasion of emergency. Such answers confirm the public view that Great Britain wishes the Turks ill.

Islam and the Angora Government.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th June states that it was Mr. Lloyd George who characterised the recent European war as the last crusade. Now that the Angora Government has shown its capacity to protect the honour of Islam, it will not be surprising if Mr. Lloyd George again feels the necessity of waging a crusade against it. Although the British Government has arrived at no final settlement, still it is quite apparent that it is bent upon adopting an hostile attitude toward Angora. The Indian Muhammadans should particularly remember that the administration at Constantinople is practically in the hands of Great Britain and the Government at Constantinople is not free to exercise its will.

If the Muhammadans feel constrained to settle the Khilafat question with the help of the sword, the Angora Government is the only Government that can successfully participate in the struggle with the assistance of Muhammadans living in different parts of the world. In India efforts are being made to depict the Liberal Turks in the darkest colours possible and it is stated that they are athiests and not Muhammadans. They are said to be under the influence of the Bolsheviks, who have no religion and are therefore the worst enemies of Islam. Some selfish people, particularly Anglo-Indian newspapers like the *Englishman*, are always trying to create mistrust and prejudice in the minds of Muhammadans against the Turkish Nationalists. But the ruin of the Angora Government will mean the ruin of Islamic civilisation and Muhammadans should note the coming crusade against Islam.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Unjust treaties.

3. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th June reproduces from the *Islamic News* of London the text of the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the King of Arabia during the war, which will enable the readers of the paper to form an idea of the injury that has been done to the religious and national interests of Muhammadans all over the world. The treaty will produce far-reaching results. Being influenced by this treaty, Husain and his son, Feisul, have been guilty of an act of treachery such as is unprecedented in the history of Arabia. For his labours Husain got nothing except the sandy tract of the Hedjaz. According to another treaty concluded between England and France a few months after this secret treaty, the whole of the fertile territory where Arabs live was transferred to non-Arab aliens, a disastrous result of Husain's treachery. It is quite certain that if the Arabs had known that Palestine and Damascus would be transferred to Christians owing to their rebellion against the *Khalifat-ul-Muslimin*, they would have never raised the standard of rebellion against the Sultan of Turkey, but would have fought against Husain. It is now the duty of Muhammadans to gird up their loins to have both the treaties cancelled.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Mustafa Saghir's execution.

4. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 17th June writes that if on Mustafa Saghir's execution Britain takes any action against the Angora Government either alone or in conjunction with the Allies, Muhammadans may be led to believe that it intends to wage war against Islam and such a belief is likely to produce the most disastrous results in so far as it will give rise to innumerable misgivings and complications. It is necessary to point out in unmistakable terms that the attitude of the British Government in regard to Turkey and the Caliphate, which the Muhammadans regard as prejudicial to their interests, must undergo a change. Otherwise, if the Muhammadans generally come to consider England as their enemy and the enemy of the Islamic Caliphate and the Turks, a further blow will be dealt to its reputation and influence in the Islamic world. The responsibility for all this will rest with Mr. Lloyd George and not the Muhammadans, who have been tired of laying their grievances before the British Government and whose cup of forbearance is now full to the brim. Britain is not wanting in high statesmanship and it is to be hoped that no action will be taken against the Angora Government and the demands of the Muhammadans regarding the Caliphate and Turkey will be sympathetically considered.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd June writes that while Britain takes no notice of the doings of the Greeks, it is casting wrathful eyes at the Turks over the execution of Mustafa Saghir. The threats which the Muhammadans of India are holding out or the resolution that has been passed by the working committee of the Congress, that in the event of an Anglo-Turkish war people will be dissuaded from rendering military help to England, must have stung the Government of India to the quick; but the threats of war which responsible British statesmen are holding out to the Turks are also reprehensible.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 24th June publishes a leading article in justification of the Turks' execution of Mustafa Saghir. On the one hand, the English seem to have been very indignant at the execution; on the other, a leading Muhammadan like Maulana Azad has announced that if the British declare war against the Turks, the Indian Muhammadans will abandon peaceful non-coöperation and be forced to use more effective and more violent means to protect Islam. The *Independent* of Allahabad holds that the Maulana's manifesto is justified as England's declaration of war against the Turks will amount to an attack upon Islam and show that the English are determined to destroy Islam. If it is true—and there is no room to doubt its truth—that Mustafa Saghir was busy in wrongly using the name of the Indian Muhammadans to create dissensions between the Turks and the Bolsheviks, the Turks were absolutely within their rights in executing him; for without Bolshevik aid, the Turkish nationalists would be helpless in the hands of the Allies. The responsibility for the deed therefore rests on the British and not the Turks. Are the English really astonished at the attitude of the Turks? Do they not know that, rightly or wrongly, the latter regard the former as their worst enemies, basing this view on bitter experience and maintaining that Britain is making all possible efforts to secretly destroy them? It will not do for the English to feel indignant over trifles and threaten the Turks with "strong action" over the execution of a man like Saghir. Such a line of action will strengthen the Turks' friendship with the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks are declaring that it is their object to free Asia and they have announced that the only way to achieve this object is to free India from the tyranny of the English. In the circumstances, military operations undertaken against the Turks will lead to the nations of Asia further suspecting the English and joining hands with the Bolsheviks. Thus the English will themselves be the means of ruining and destroying their own purpose. The Turks have said that the Allies cannot make peace with them alone but that they will have to make peace with all the nations that attended the Baku Conference.

Mesopotamia.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

5. (a) The *Zamindar* of the 25th June writes that the forces of Kama Pasha have completely defeated Greece. If Constantine is foolish enough to make another attack, strong resistance will be offered to him and it is to be hoped that Greece will be silenced once for all. After this Kamal Pasha will have to deal with the English and his best plan will be to invade Mesopotamia. We believe that after having disposed of Greece, the Turkish nationalists will adopt this very course, provided the Allies do not create any complication by their stratagems. But what will happen if France is displeased on Amir Feisul's being made a King, if the Arabs are not reconciled, if Kamal Pasha also hurls down an attack and no aeroplane shed is ready by that time? Has Mr. Lloyd George and his other satellites chalked out any programme for that day? If they have decided to leave Mesopotamia bag and baggage like Persia, why leave it in this humiliating manner? They would do well to act with prudence and foresight and evacuate Mesopotamia in time.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(b) The *Swaraj* of the 25th June characterises the idea of the English gaining ascendency in Arabia and Mesopotamia as foolish. It was in India that owing to internecine fueds they were able to establish a footing. The British Government would have been well-advised to remain aloof from the internal affairs of the Arab tribes and it is to be hoped that the perseverence of the Angora warriors and the statesmanship of the European Powers will bring about a solution of this intricate problem and avert the dangers of a world-wide conflagration.

The Premier on India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. The *Tribune* of the 29th June says:—"It is something that Mr. Lloyd George did not entirely forget India in his speech at the opening of the Imperial Cabinet, as he does so often. But the speech that he did make can scarcely be said to be of any practical value. All that the Premier did was to repeat the somewhat unprofitable commonplace that 'important changes have been effected in India this year' and the questionable statement that 'India is making *rapid* strides towards the control of her own affairs.' That India is not making sufficiently rapid strides is at the root of the whole trouble. But it was not with his eyes on India that Mr. Lloyd George spoke, but with his eyes on Europe and America. On no other basis can one explain his astonishing remark that 'India's loyalty in the crisis of the war is eloquent of the *Empire's success* in bringing the civilisations of the East and the West together, in reconcilling wide differences of history, tradition and race and in bringing the spirit and genius of a great Asiatic people into willing coöperation with our own.' The unconscious humour of the observation cannot fail to strike even a casual reader. To talk of 'coöperation' at a time when the most important political

organisations in the country have resolved on a policy of non-coöperation with the existing form of government is a piece of splendid audacity of which only Mr. Lloyd George is capable."

II - LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales.

7. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 26th June writes :—" There seems to be a general consensus of opinion in India that either the visit of the Prince of Wales should coincide with the beginning of a new and a further epoch in the evolution of responsible government, or it should be postponed to a more favourable time. It is no use having two royal visits within a brief space of one year, if one does not carry a substantial step forward the process begun by the other."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 26th June remarks that India cannot welcome the Prince with its lacerated heart. We were under the impression that Lord Reading would apply the balm to India's wound by changing the old policy and render her capable of offering a warm reception to the Prince of Wales. But this does not appear to be possible. It would be better if the Prince's visit were postponed for some time. How strange it will be that while the Prince of Wales is touring in India, the Indian National Congress might be announcing the establishment of a democratic government in this country at its Ahmedabad session.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 26th June says that on learning about the Prince's proposed visit to India people are beginning to observe that the Prince will perhaps himself release the martial law prisoners. But if Lord Reading has already decided to release them, what will be gained in keeping them in jail for a further period of four or five months ?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th June remarks that if the Prince comes to India merely to see its buildings and scenery, enjoy sport and partake of the invitations of Native States, he is welcome. If he is coming to apply the balm to the wounded heart of India he will still be welcomed. If, however, he desires to please India by the display of his magnificence, it will be better if he does not take the trouble of coming. If His Royal Highness desires that the whole country should offer a hearty reception to him, he should change the atmosphere of India and try to win over the hearts of the people.

TRIBUNE (Lahore; K. N. Roy, editor.

India at the Imperial Conference.

8. The *Tribune* of the 1st July says :—" India's theoretical right is no longer in dispute and the Imperial Conference is fast assuming the proportions of a miniature Imperial cabinet. At such a time the issue must be faced properly and squarely if it is to be faced at all, and the only way of facing the issue is to definitely ask : (1) that *the Government of India itself shall be responsible to the Indian Legislature* as the Governments in the Dominions are to their Parliaments, and (2) that *it is the head of the Government so responsible that shall represent India at the Imperial Conference* as the Premiers of the self-governing Dominions do represent their respective countries. Nothing short of this can in the altered circumstances of to-day either meet the requirements of the situation or prove acceptable to India herself. Even the suggestion we made some time ago, that the Government of India should adopt the elected representative of the Legislature as their own representative, can no longer serve the purpose. To be able to do justice to his office, the representative of the Legislature must at least be a member of the Government and preferably its head."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Viceroy's compliment to British officials.

9. The *Tribune* of the 26th June says :—" If we could venture, without impertinence, to offer a word of personal advice to the Viceroy, we would say that His Excellency had better be a little chary of general and indiscriminate compliments to all Britishers in India. In his latest speech, the one made by him in reply to the address presented to him by the Ahmadiya deputation, he expressed the same view even more pointedly. There is not an Indian, no matter how tall he may be, who will not rub his eyes in wonder as he goes through these observations, so beautiful in their simplicity and yet so contrary to general, we might almost say universal, experience in India Does His Excellency mean to tell us either that he knows more about things in India after his less than three months' stay in this country than all Indians put together, or that generations of Indians, including persons as competent to form correct opinions as any Englishman and certainly as honest, have conspired to twist mere errors of judgment into

exhibitions of racial superiority? And why, in the name of commonsense, is it to be assumed that the British official or officer in India is at the worst capable only of an error of judgment, when his compeer in his own country is constantly accused of worse things? We will plainly tell His Excellency that the universal negative proposition in which he has been led by his advisers and informants to put implicit and unquestioning faith is just as untrue as the universal affirmative, which asks us to believe that every single Englishman has ever since the commencement of British rule been infected with racial bias or the spirit of racial inequality. The many and glorious instances to the contrary, while they undoubtedly disprove the second, do not by any means prove the first. At the root of the error which His Excellency has been led to make lies a grossly defective method of enquiry. We assure His Excellency that he will never know the truth if he will only ask individual Britishers, whether in the civil or the military service, whether they believe in racial superiority. If His Excellency wishes to know the truth, he must change his method. Either he must analyse his countrymen's actions and bring the searchlight of criticism to bear upon them, instead of merely relying upon their professions; or he must ask Indians who, being the wearers of the pinching shoe, can alone tell where it pinches. His Excellency has three Indian gentlemen on his own Council and every Provincial Government has now three or more Indian members. Let him ask these gentlemen individually and collectively if they do not know and have not quite frequently heard of cases in which Indians have been made to feel their subordinate position and in some instances actually treated with rudeness because they were Indians. . . . The only effect of such a statement as that made by His Excellency is to create the impression that he has already begun to see things with Anglo-Indian eyes and to cultivate, what to a ruler is the worst of all habits, that of believing whatever he desires."

The Reform Scheme in the Punjab.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. In an article published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd June, Lala Lajpat Rai reviews the working of the reform scheme and contends that it has been a failure so far as the Punjab, at least, is concerned. Under the scheme there has been an increase in the number of Government officials and an addition to Government expenditure and the strength and powers of the bureaucracy. But the presence of three Indian members in the Punjab Government has not improved matters. The bureaucracy and the police are practising high-handedness and bribery is still rampant in the Police Department, while Government takes no notice of it. The oppression that has been practised in the Province during the past six months is unrivalled in the history of the Punjab. Lahore has a District Magistrate who has no regard for law. The treatment accorded by the magistracy to respectable political prisoners is opposed to the orders of the High Court. The Seditious Meetings Act is still in force at the capital of the Punjab and four other districts, for which there seems to be no reason, except that District Magistrates are not able to maintain order without the help of the Act. The three Indian members of the Punjab Government appear to support this policy. The public should now demand that either they should give an explanation for their policy or resign their posts. The whole history of the Gurdwara Bill shows that the Punjab Government lacks both legal acumen and administrative ability. The policy and the language of the Bill were so defective that the Punjab Government has had to drop it. If the existing law was sufficient to remove defects in the management of the Gurdwaras, why did the Government introduce the Bill?

The new régime.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

11. The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd June publishes a signed article by Lala Lajpat Rai. The writer states that the loss caused to India during the past two years by the financial policy of the Government of India and the Secretary of State is perhaps unprecedented in the history of British rule in India. The currency policy of the Government of India has ruined millions of Indians. The reformed Councils have totally failed to protect the people from the destructive policy of the Government. What is still more surprising is that the Secretary of State for India has raised a 7 per cent. loan in England. The Government of India have to this day raised no loan at so heavy a rate of interest. The Indian Councils are maintaining an attitude of silence, while efforts are being made in England to utilise the loan in purchasing English-made

articles. The Indian members of Councils and Ministers daily deliver speeches against non-coöperation and are giving expression to their opinion that the nationalists should be sent to jail. They are proud of their policy and are satisfied with mild criticism against the plunder that is going on in their own house. The English are a wise people. They give a few showy articles to Indians and keep the really useful things to themselves and seal the mouths of the former. What loss have they suffered by the grant of new posts to Indians? The Indian people have been saddled with additional expenditure, but the policy of the Government remains unchanged and the Indians themselves have proved tools in ruining their nationalist fellow-countrymen.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Indianising the army in India.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd June quotes *Liberty* as reporting that to reduce expenditure the French Government proposes to replace French troops by purely Indian sepoys. Will not India's crores of rupees be saved if the British Government also follows the wise example of France and replaces by Indian volunteers all the white troops, who are proving a useless and unnecessary burden for starving India? But this is possible only when India is governed for the benefit of the Indians. The English can never dream of it so long as India is being governed for their good.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

The Royal Instructions.

13. Referring to the Royal Instructions to the Viceroy, the *Akbar-i-'Am* of the 25th June thinks the message shows that His Majesty the King-Emperor entertains feelings of sympathy for Indians and desires to grant *Swaraj* to India. It is to be hoped that those who always blame the Government for keeping Indians in a condition of slavery will remove this misunderstanding from their minds.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Gurdwara Bill.

14. Bhai Tara Singh, B.A., Secretary, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, writes to the *Tribune* of the 29th June :—"The Government *communiqué* dated June 6th has made it necessary to explain certain matters relating to Gurdwara reform. The Gurdwara Bill, as it issued from the Select Committee, was not accepable to the Sikhs, because among other defects the proposed Board of Commissioners was not to be comprised wholly of Sikhs, its president was to be a non-Sikh, and tended to give the control of the Sikh Gurdwaras into the hands of Government officials .... The anti-reform party found still further support from the fact that Government *communiqués* were having some effect in producing misunderstandings among our Hindu and Muhammadan brethren. .... As to persuation and pressure of public opinion it is an unexceptionable method; but the chances of its success have been greatly minimised by the policy of repression adopted towards the Sikhs. As to the use of the existing law, it is no new thing and did not require so much explanation. The Sikhs are too familiar with its dilatory and expensive working and the Government too has admitted its defectiveness. It seems to have been forgotten that the present Gurdwara movement is the outcome of the failure of this law, and the fear is that with the present policy of the Government, it may work more effectively against the Sikhs who want to reform the Gurdwaras."

ZULFIQAR (LAHORE), Syed Ahmad Shah, editor.

The Press Act.

15. The *Zulfiqar* of the 24th June 1921 thinks that the opinion of the people in general is that the Press Act should not be repealed for the present, seeing that even in existing circumstances certain newspapers spread unrest in the country by publishing false news. If they are let loose the repeal of the Press Act will prove disastrous.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Fighting on the Frontier.

16. The *Vakil* of the 23rd June remarks that two years have passed in the conflict between the tribesmen and the Indian army and we repeatedly heard in the meantime that many influential Waziri and Mohmand jirgahs had offered their allegiance to Government; still no pleasant change has taken place in the present situation. In spite of the loss of nearly 10,000 lives and 23 crore rupees the Government of India have so far failed to bring the tribesmen under complete subjection. How long will the hard-earned money of the Indians be wasted merely for the idea of governing the free and warlike frontier people?

Sikhs and the Government.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Gyani Raghbir Singh, editor.

17. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 13th June 1921 says that the Sikhs fully understand the moves of the Government. The bureaucracy wants that somehow or other the non-coöperation movement may be discontinued, and it is for this reason that the Sikhs have been and are still being sent to jail.

(*b*) The *Sansar* of the 14th June remarks that ignorant people accuse Indians of cherishing the desire to expel Englishmen from India, but the accusation is entirely wrong. From the way in which Indians have shown blind loyalty, it is difficult to believe that they desire the expulsion of the English. The fact, however, is that it is becoming increasingly difficult day by day for the bureaucracy to live, the days of which divine dispensation has numbered. We have repeatedly stated that the policy of rigour can never succeed; but the sense of the bureaucracy is so overclouded that it cannot understand this and is rigorously practising repression, especially on the Sikhs. The true servants of the community and the jewels of the Panth are falling victims to repression. This is perhaps due to the loyalty and friendship which the Sikhs have shown towards the British Government. If this is the real reason, then the Sikhs have undoubtedly paid dearly for their friendship. But the greater the oppression which the bureaucracy practises, the happier we feel, as this is the most effective method of putting an end to one's prestige and power. The greater the sins of the bureaucracy, the more speedily will its funeral hymn be sung. We, however, request our brethren to bear their troubles patiently. Do not fear the handcuffs of the bureaucracy. Dot not be afraid of jails. It does not matter if indiscriminate arrests are being made. So long as a single Sikh child is alive the bureaucracy cannot sweep us out of existence by arresting our representatives. If you turn yourselves away from your religion, you will enjoy shortlived name, honour, and happiness, and in the end, such name, honour and happiness will surely turn to misery. Will you renounce your religion for the sake of transient happiness? Certainly not. Let the bureaucracy then practise repression. Be prepared to gladly welcome all kinds of sorrows. Revive the memory of those pages of history which show that the Sikhs love martyrdom and are ready to emulate each other in its attainment. The time has come for the attainment of martyrdom. With the power of our innocence, we should not allow the bureaucracy to lead a distressed life but help in putting an end to its existence.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

(*c*) The *Sansar* of the 23rd June 1921 says that since the advent of British rule in our country, the bureaucracy has been proudly declaring that the Government is gradually preparing Indians to confer on them full freedom. This is a lie. The control of the Sikh Gurdwaras even is not entrusted to the Sikhs on the pretext of their inability to effect reforms. A community which was at one time able to govern a province does not now possess the ability to manage its own religious places. Strange are the ways of Providence! If the Sikhs cannot manage their Gurdwaras the fault lies with the Government which has, instead of making them more capable, made them deteriorate. If the Sikhs have lost the ability to reform their Gurdwaras, they should secure such a rule under which they might improve and such a rule is only *Swaraj*. It is sometimes argued that we have not yet prepared ourselves for *Swaraj*. But with whom does the fault lie? When the British Government has not been able to prepare us for *Swaraj* within 150 years, it should give up governing such an unworthy country and hand over the reins of the country to the Indians. In reality the Government is not preparing us for *Swaraj*. On the other hand, it is tightening its hold over the country day by day. The Government neither desires to grant us *Swaraj* nor prepares us for it. The only course left open to us is to stand on our own legs and not to expect anything from the Government.

III.—General Administration.

Racial differentiation in the application of law.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, editor.

18. The *Sansar* of the 29th June says that the laws under which we are pressed in the rack are not applied to Englishmen. As a matter of fact and justice, only arrogant disciples of the bureaucracy incite to rebellion. They practise highhandedness and oppression on the people and do not let the oppressed heave a sigh and imprison those who raise an outcry. The result is that discontentment spreads throughout the country and peace is disturbed.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen editor.

Martial Law prisoners.

19. The *Partap* of the 20th June refers to the rumour that all martial law prisoners, except those accused of murder, will be released. If the rumour is correct it means that Chaudhri Bugga and Ratta will not be released. We respectfully say to Lord Reading that if he wishes to close the controversy about the martial law prisoners he should release all of them.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore), Amar Singh, editor.

Gurdwara Malji at Nankana Sahib.

20. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 19th June says that Mahant Kirpa Ram, of Nankana, had the land attached to Gurdwara Malji registered in the name of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The Gurdwara has been now in possession of the Committee for two months; but the Mahant is trying to bring into the Gurdwara convicts and other bad characters after making them wear black clothes and *kirpans*. There is also a rumour that black clothes are being supplied to the bad characters living in the villages of the Mahtams and Sainis and preparations are being made for more bloodshed. It will be given out on the occasion of the coming scuffle that it took place among the Akalis. It is stated that Fakir Ullah, Sub-Inspector of Police, has had it announced in the villages that women should not come to Nankana as they might be disgraced by the Akalis. Fakir Ullah who is trying to inflame the Akalis is an intimate friend of Mahant Kirpa Ram. A memorial has been submitted by the people to the Deputy Commissioner, making serious charges against him. A telegram has been sent to the Governor, complaining that attempts are being made to bring armed men to Gurdwara Malji and cause a disturbance there.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Uttam Singh's release.

21. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 19th June refers to Sardar Uttam Singh's release but complains that he has been given no compensation for the loss and troubles he has suffered. Will His Excellency the Governor move in the matter? It is strange that respectable men should be arrested and thrown into jail and should after some time be released without anything being done to compensate them.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

An unpopular tax.

22. A correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th June says the recent announcement by the District Board about the imposition of a professional tax has caused great unrest among the people of the Ambala district. The imposition of this tax does not appear to be justified on grounds of principle. This tax can be realised from non-agriculturists on the basis of certain benefits derived by them, *viz*., education, roads and hospitals. So far as education is concerned non-agriculturist boys are required to pay school fees. Hospitals are, however, charitable institutions where persons belonging to other districts also can get medicines *gratis*. Of course, some money can be demanded from the agriculturists for the repairs of roads which they use. The writer thinks that the tax is open to exception in every way and is likely to cause uneasiness among the public. He hopes that the District Board will not compel the public to totally refuse to pay the tax.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Sardul Singh's case.

23. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th June says:—"We deeply regret to learn that the Additional District Magistrate, Lahore, who heard the case against Sardar Sardul Singh Cavessieur, passed a sentence of 5 years' transportation upon him yesterday. Conviction in political cases, however weak, has ceased to surprise the public who treat it as a matter of course; but a sentence of 5 years' transportation in a case like the present will, we have no hesitation in saying, be generally regarded as monstrous, even in these abnormal times."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 1st July writes:—"There is one question which we may be permitted to ask at once. The Magistrate finds that Sardar Sardul Singh was guilty both of incitement to violence and of what a recent Government *communiqué* described as 'disaffection of a less violent kind.' Now so far as the first charge is concerned, was not Sardar Sardul Singh entitled to the benefit of the procedure followed by the Government of India in the case of the Ali Brothers? No one can say that his articles were stronger than the speeches of the Ali Brothers, or that they had more of the element of incitement to violence, if it was present in them at all, than those speeches. Why was he not then afforded the same opportunity that was offered to the Ali Brothers? Secondly as regards sedition proper itself, with what reason or propriety could the Government prosecute a man for expressing views which others have been expressing in even stronger language and with perfect immunity? Can the Punjab Government say that judged by any ordinary test its action in the present case, in the circumstances just referred to, is either expedient or statesmanlike?"

(c) The *Tribune* of the 2nd July says:—"Indeed it is our deliberate opinion that if ever there was a case in which the guilt of an accused person was not established to the satisfaction of the man in the street it was this case. Looking at the case of Sardar Sardul Singh we have no hesitation in saying that there has been a grievous miscarriage of justice, and that not only the sentence but even the conviction is entirely unsustainable. We do not attach any excessive importance to the question whether, apart from the Sardar's own admission in his written statement, there was adequate proof, in the evidence recorded for the prosecution, that he was the author of the incriminating articles. That is a more or less technical point, though in the eye of the law a point of the greatest importance, and we have heard it freely said by those who ought to know that on this one point the Sardar would have been entitled to acquittal, if it had not been for his own admission. The thing that does matter a vast deal more than anything else, and on which the whole issue in this case obviously hangs, is the question whether the articles were seditious, and that is the one thing we have before us when we take strong exception to both the conviction and the sentence. Of the nine extracts on the basis of which the accused was prosecuted, two cannot obviously furnish material for a charge of sedition, because they refer not to the Government but to certain officers of Government. This was clearly explained in his written statement by the accused who pointed out that he had nowhere referred to Government officers in general. How does the magistrate dispose of this explanation"?

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

(d) The *Liberal* of the 29th June writes:—"No argument, however strong, could justify the sentence that has been passed upon him by the Additional District Magistrate of Lahore..... Five years' transportation for an offence against the State, only on one-sided case, is more than cruel, and we wish the Magistrate had avoided it, especially in view of the fact that there was to be no appeal against his order. As regards the charge itself we think a person who is alleged to have given an undertaking to the Government to withdraw from public life altogether for a period of five years for fear of being challaned could not possess the courage to try to overthrow Government or to incite violence against it. Anyhow, the undertaking, which is said to have been made for a period of five years, seems to have suggested the Magistrate the length of the sentence. Five years' wilful undertaking and five years' enforced transportation. Would not the Government recognise the fairness of counting the sentence from the date of the undertaking, if the object seems to be the enforcement of that undertaking which is said to have been violated?"

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(e) The *Zamindar* of the 30th June remarks that repression on the part of Government is reaching its utmost limits and Lord Reading's subordinates are putting the Indians' spirit of non-violence to the severest test. We wish to remind the people of the Punjab in general and the brave Sikhs in particular that they should exercise patience and perseverance, as they have taken the sacred vow of non-violence. We express our sympathy with this respected leader of the nation [Sardul Singh].

DESH (Lahore); editor.

(f) The *Desh* of the 1st July thinks that the news of Sardul Singh's conviction will be received with profound sorrow and even astonishment. No one could dream of such a severe sentence. It is to be hoped that Government will interfere and reduce the terrible sentence, thereby paying due regard to public susceptibilities.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamd, editor.i

(g) The *Swaraj* of the 1st July congratulates the Khalsa community on Sardar Sardul Singh's conviction and says that Government has given them a fresh opportunity to step into the arena of action. The Sikhs should adhere to their principles, continue their peaceful struggle and make non-coöperation a success.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen editor.

Martial Law prisoners.

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BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

An unpopular tax.

22. A correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th June says the recent announcement by the District Board about the imposition of a professional tax has caused great unrest among the people of the Ambala district. The imposition of this tax does not appear to be justified on grounds of principle. This tax can be realised from non-agriculturists on the basis of certain benefits derived by them, *viz.*, education, roads and hospitals. So far as education is concerned non-agriculturist boys are required to pay school fees. Hospitals are, however, charitable institutions where persons belonging to other districts also can get medicines *gratis*. Of course, some money can be demanded from the agriculturists for the repairs of roads which they use. The writer thinks that the tax is open to exception in every way and is likely to cause uneasiness among the public. He hopes that the District Board will not compel the public to totally refuse to pay the tax.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Sardul Singh's case.

23. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th June says:—"We deeply regret to learn that the Additional District Magistrate, Lahore, who heard the case against Sardar Sardul Singh Cavessieur, passed a sentence of 5 years' transportation upon him yesterday. Conviction in political cases, however weak, has ceased to surprise the public who treat it as a matter of course; but a sentence of 5 years' transportation in a case like the present will, we have no hesitation in saying, be generally regarded as monstrous, even in these abnormal times."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 1st July writes:—"There is one question which we may be permitted to ask at once. The Magistrate finds that Sardar Sardul Singh was guilty both of incitement to violence and of what a recent Government *communiqué* described as 'disaffection of a less violent kind.' Now so far as the first charge is concerned, was not Sardar Sardul Singh entitled to the benefit of the procedure followed by the Government of India in the case of the Ali Brothers? No one can say that his articles were stronger than the speeches of the Ali Brothers, or that they had more of the element of incitement to violence, if it was present in them at all, than those speeches. Why was he not then afforded the same opportunity that was offered to the Ali Brothers? Secondly as regards sedition proper itself, with what reason or propriety could the Government prosecute a man for expressing views which others have been expressing in even stronger language and with perfect immunity? Can the Punjab Government say that judged by any ordinary test its action in the present case, in the circumstances just referred to, is either expedient or statesmanlike?"

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd July says:—"Indeed it is our deliberate opinion that if ever there was a case in which the guilt of an accused person was not established to the satisfaction of the man in the street it was this case. Looking at the case of Sardar Sardul Singh we have no hesitation in saying that there has been a grievous miscarriage of justice, and that not only the sentence but even the conviction is entirely unsustainable. We do not attach any excessive importance to the question whether, apart from the Sardar's own admission in his written statement, there was adequate proof, in the evidence recorded for the prosecution, that he was the author of the incriminating articles. That is a more or less technical point, though in the eye of the law a point of the greatest importance, and we have heard it freely said by those who ought to know that on this one point the Sardar would have been entitled to acquittal, if it had not been for his own admission. The thing that does matter a vast deal more than anything else, and on which the whole issue in this case obviously hangs, is the question whether the articles were seditious, and that is the one thing we have before us when we take strong exception to both the conviction and the sentence. Of the nine extracts on the basis of which the accused was prosecuted, two cannot obviously furnish material for a charge of sedition, because they refer not to the Government but to certain officers of Government. This was clearly explained in his written statement by the accused who pointed out that he had nowhere referred to Government officers in general. How does the magistrate dispose of this explanation"?

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

(*d*) The *Liberal* of the 29th June writes:—"No argument, however strong, could justify the sentence that has been passed upon him by the Additional District Magistrate of Lahore. . . . . Five years' transportation for an offence against the State, only on one-sided case, is more than cruel, and we wish the Magistrate had avoided it, especially in view of the fact that there was to be no appeal against his order. As regards the charge itself we think a person who is alleged to have given an undertaking to the Government to withdraw from public life altogether for a period of five years for fear of being challaned could not possess the courage to try to overthrow Government or to incite violence against it. Anyhow, the undertaking, which is said to have been made for a period of five years, seems to have suggested the Magistrate the length of the sentence. Five years' wilful undertaking and five years' enforced transportation. Would not the Government recognise the fairness of counting the sentence from the date of the undertaking, if the object seems to be the enforcement of that undertaking which is said to have been violated?"

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*e*) The *Zamindar* of the 30th June remarks that repression on the part of Government is reaching its utmost limits and Lord Reading's subordinates are putting the Indians' spirit of non-violence to the severest test. We wish to remind the people of the Punjab in general and the brave Sikhs in particular that they should exercise patience and perseverance, as they have taken the sacred vow of non-violence. We express our sympathy with this respected leader of the nation [Sardul Singh].

DESH (Lahore);

editor.

(*f*) The *Desh* of the 1st July thinks that the news of Sardul Singh's conviction will be received with profound sorrow and even astonishment. No one could dream of such a severe sentence. It is to be hoped that Government will interfere and reduce the terrible sentence, thereby paying due regard to public susceptibilities.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamd, editor.

(*g*) The *Swaraj* of the 1st July congratulates the Khalsa community on Sardar Sardul Singh's conviction and says that Government has given them a fresh opportunity to step into the arena of action. The Sikhs should adhere to their principles, continue their peaceful struggle and make non-coöperation a success.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*h*) The *Partap* of the 1st July remarks that those who hear the sentence are struck with wonder. Nobody expected that the Sardar would be released. Nevertheless, people unanimously say that the sentence is very severe. We bid farewell to our brother on the occasion of his pilgrimage to *Swarajya*. Many brothers have gone to jail before him and many will go after him. The destination is yet distant. Blessed are those who obtain an opportunity of undergoing a sacrifice.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*i*) The *Kesari* of the 2nd July says that Government has failed to prove that Sardar Sardul Singh is guilty. But the Sardar boldly and courageously acknowledged that he would take upon himself the responsibility of having written the articles, although Government could not show that the articles were written by him. We think that by inflicting the maximum punishment the Magistrate has done no good to the Government. His judgment has wounded the feelings of the people. Sardar Sardul Singh has really made a great sacrifice for his country, nation and religion. Every nationalise will congratulate him.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Khoreal shooting case.

24. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th June writes :—"The result of the Khoreal shooting case has not come upon the Indian public as a surprise—it is only a small though not unimportant addition to a long list of cases in which European jurors in India refused to convict their countrymen—but it will cause the most cruel surprise to Lord Reading, if he has read all about the case. His Excellency has been told by his advisers and by those of whom he has made enquiries that there is no such thing as racial feeling among Europeans in India, for that we presume is what is meant by saying that no European believes in racial superiority. This case will present to him, as in a nutshell, the working of the racial feeling that undoubtedly exists among a class of Europeans in one important sphere of life. . . . We repeat that His Excellency has only to go through the record of this case at the two trials to find out for himself not only whether there has been, as is popularly believed, a grievous miscarriage of justice, but whether the case does not justify the exact contrary of the belief he has more than once expressed, that there is no racial feeling in India. . . . The most important question that arises out of this class of cases, the one practical question from the point of view of the Indian public, remains behind. . . . What we have a right to ask, however,—and Lord Reading is bound to give this to us if he wishes to do equal justice to us—is that not a day should be lost in placing the Indian on exactly the same footing as the European in this matter And this means in plain English that the right of trial by jury should be extended to the Indian community to just as full an extent as it exists in the case of Europeans, and if Europeans charged with offences against Indians continue to claim that they should be tried by European jurors Indians charged with offences against Europeans must have the same right of being tried by Indian jurors."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 30th June remarks that the facts of the case are clear enough to show the extent to which Mr. Reed has been guilty and the case affords Lord Reading an excellent opportunity to administer even-handed justice.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The arrests at Dera Ismail Khan.

25. The *Kesari* of the 22nd June learns from a Dera Ismail Khan correspondent that on the 16th June three respectable Hindus passed through the Polo Ground on their way back from the river. They were arrested by a constable and brought before the Cantonment Magistrate who sentenced them each to 15 days' imprisonment. The order has created a sensation. If respectable Indians are to be humiliated for trifling matters, who can prevent the growth of unrest in the country ?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Bannu affairs.

26. Writing to the *Siyasat* of the 30th June M. Muhammad Nawaz Khan, B. A., L.L.B., reports that Khilafat workers in Bannu are being threatened and tortured. Unrest and anxiety prevail. People are terror stricken. The lambardars who tendered resignations have either been put into jail or been compelled to fly to independent territory. Indian officials are striking terror into the hearts of the people by describing the fighting against Samash Khel and Daud Shah and giving out that troops and guns

under Major Garstin will in a day or two raid the territory the lambardars of which do not withdraw their resignations. It is regrettable that Major Garstin is proud of Samash Khel and Daud Shah incidents. If it is true, then the Major is suffering from a serious moral weakness. His deeds will bear testimony to English civilisation in the history of the frontier. The Major is ridiculing Lord Reading's speech at Simla. If, inspite of the military strength of the British Government, the Amritsar massacre has not succeeded in crushing the national movement in the Punjab and Amritsar, the idea entertained by the Major and his colleagues that the religious movement has been killed is simply absurd. If the Major has filled jails with Khilafat workers, God will set others to do the work. In Bannu Government has by a display of strength filled the minds of people with fear. But it has at the same time shaken the very foundations of its stability and created feelings of grief and sorrow in the hearts of the people. The writer considers it the beginning of a new life in the Frontier Province. The national movement in Bengal, he says, would not have grown if Lord Curzon had not practised repression in that province. If Dyer and O'Dwyer had not by their black deeds kicked the Punjab, the present political activity in that province would not have come into existence. The oppression now practised in the Frontier Province will, God willing, create a new spiritual life and a large number of persons will get ready to offer sacrifices. "We are ready to sacrifice our lives and property over the Khilafat. Let traitors to the community cut our throats with sharp knives. God himself will deal with them."

The Chief Khalsa Diwan.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, editor.

27. The *Sansar* of the 28th June understands that the Chief Khalsa Diwan had organised a deputation to wait upon the Government to request it to grant more concessions to the Sikhs in the civil department. The paper is surprised that this 'aged body' thought of approaching Government at a time when a movement is going on among the Sikhs and the bureaucracy is throwing them into jails and trying to bring them into disrepute. The fact is that the Chief Khalsa Diwan wants to divert the attention of the Sikhs and to put an end to the present movement. It is also said that as a result of the protest of the Sikhs it has given up the idea and now it intends to bring a deputation to wait on the Government asking for the release of Sikh political prisoners.

The Lahore Empire Cinema: a complaint.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

28. The *Liberal* of the 29th June writes:—"The rowdyism that is reported to have been displayed at the Empire Cinema during the last week cannot escape public notice. It is contended that not only were the public cheated of their money by false and pretentious representation, but what is worse they were roughly handled by some mad and irresponsible men. We are not aware if the identity of these military men is known to anybody, but if it is they should be taught a lesson and hauled up before a court of law for breaking the public peace and causing hurts and injuries to respectable Indians without any just cause. We hope the District authorities will make it a point to enquire into the matter and see that such rowdyism is not displayed by these brutes in military dress in future."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Gandhi and Hindu religions.

BHARAT (Amritsar); Ralia Ram, editor.

29. The *Bharat* of the 25th June conplains of Mr. Gandhi's insults to the Hindu religion. He first attacked the Vedas, then characterised the promoters of the *chhut* system as satans and openly insulted the Hindu sages. He should come to his senses.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Native States.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

30. The *Bande Mataram* of the 25th June observes that considering the present condition of affairs in the Native States, it appears that with their rulers the object of life appears to be not to promote the welfare of their subjects but to satisfy their personal passions. They consider themselves as the paramount masters of their people and reserve to themselves the right of practising every kind of tyranny. Indeed, with the support of the British Government, the States are daily growing more tyrannical. The British Government approves of this repression on the part of the Native States because it feels that, on the one hand, this enables people to realize the benefit of British rule by contrast and, on the other, it creates in them a feeling of resentment against Indian rule.

SANSAR
(Amritsar);
Santokh Singh
Vidyarthi,
editor.

A Dholpur State incident.

31. (*a*) Referring to the news that in Dholpur State four thousand State soldiers surrounded two hundred young Rajputs of Jheri and fired on them from the 10th to the 13th June, the *Sansar* of the 23rd June 1921 says that the Government of India have not yet taken any action in the matter. Are the informers of Government sleeping, though they can count while sitting at home even the morsels of food taken by the Sikhs? Can Government mean only to prevent peace-loving Sikhs from effecting reforms in their Gurdwaras? It keeps silent over such an incident.

BANDE MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st June publishes a special telegram from the President of the Rajisthan Sewak Sabha, Ajmere, saying that it has been ascertained from a reliable source that great unrest prevailed among the jagirdars of Jheri in the Dholpur State owing to the curtailment of their rights. This unrest eventually led to bloodshed. Nearly six years ago the armies of the Dholpur and the Bharatpur States attacked a handful of Rajputs of Jheri. The brave Rajputs defeated the united armies of both States. The British Government interfered and allayed the excitement of both the parties without removing the real cause of estrangement. On the 10th June four thousand troops of the Dholpur State who had more than a dozen guns with them surrounded 200 Rajputs at Jheri. The latter had only one gun and have not yet surrendered. The British Government is silent. The news has spread like wild fire in the States and Rajput young men are running from all directions to help their fellow Rajputs at Jheri.

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal,
Kapur,
editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 25th June refers to the report that four thousand troops of the Dholpur State fired for several days at the property of a small jagirdar, on which the Rajputs of the adjoining territory were greatly excited and hastened to the jagirdar's help. Such bloodshed under British rule is deeply deplorable, but it is still more surprising that Government has published no press *communiqué* on the subject.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Habib Shah,
editor.

The Ali Brothers' apology.

32. The *Siyasat* of the 18th June observers that if Lord Reading launches a prosecution against the Ali Brothers, they would most cheerfully offer themselves to be thrown into jail. Nor is this all. Thousands of Hindus and Muhammadans will follow them to jail, thereby giving a direct lie to what the Viceroy said the other day regarding the brothers. The paper advises Lord Reading to hold in respect the leaders of the country who have won the hearts of the people by selfless labour.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor

Zafar Ali Khan.

33. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd June says there is a persistent rumour in Lahore that as the result of Akhtar Ali Khan's recent visit to Simla Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan has agreed to tender an apology to Government and people are therefore expecting his early release. The *Zamindar* is not likely to throw light on the matter, but time will show if the rumour is correct.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 2nd July 1921.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1921.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. H. Hardy	*Pioneer* and *Civil & Military Gazette*, Limited, Lahore; 3,322.
2	**Tribune**	Do.	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 6,290.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
3	**Sikh**	Lahore	Sohan Singh	Caxton Printing Works, Lahore; 758.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh, B A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 804.
5	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	*Liberal* Press, Lahore; 756.
6	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Press, Simla; 800.
7	Punjab Times and Frontier News.	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
8	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	MONTHLY.			
9	Cantonment Advocate	Ambala	Dwarka Parshad	Model Press, Ambala Cantonment.
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. R. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,270.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 570.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 514.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 300.
14	**Vedic Magazine**	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 702.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Bande Mataram**	Lahore	Lajpat Rai	*Bande Mataram* Press, Lahore; 5,818.
17	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,157.
18	**Kesari**	Do.	Sham Lal, Kapur	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
19	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,300.
20	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,687.
21	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
22	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishen Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 1,421.
23	**Siyasat**	Lahore	Habib Shah	*Siyasat* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,355.
24	**Swaraj**	Do.	Shifat Ullah	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore.
25	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 2,009.
26	**Zamindar**	Lahore	Akhtar Ali Khan	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore; 6,145.
	TRI-WEEKLY.			
27	Bharat	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar;
	BI-WEEKLY.			
28	**Akhbar-i-Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
29	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 1,359.
30	Paigham-i-Sulah	Lahore	Murtza Khan	Muslim Ahmadia Printing Press, Lahore; 347.
31	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 2,020.
	WEEKLY.			
32	Ahl-i-Hadis	Amritsar	Sana Ulla	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 1,265.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing ; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONTINUED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
33	**Akhbar-i-'Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,523.
34	Al-Hakam	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	S. Yakub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian ; 350.
35	Al-Is'am	Lahore	Muhammad Alam	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore ;
36	**Al-Munir**	Jhang	Ghulam Hussain	*Al-Munir* Press, Jhang ; 1,582.
37	**Ar-Rai**	Lahore	Fateh Muhammad	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 810.
38	Arorbans Sudharak	Do.	Salig Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 832.
39	**Arya Gazette**	Do.	Khushal Chand	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,350.
40	Brahman Samachar	Do.	Vidya Rattan	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,020.
41	Desh Upkarak	Do.	Thakar Dat Sharma	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,200.
42	Dharm*	Do.	Raj Narain, Arman	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 510.
43	Faruq	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Qasim Ali	*Faruq* Press, Qadian ; 450.
44	**Gulzar-i-Hind**	Lahore	Ahmad Ali, Chishti	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 600.
45	Hamdard	Do.	Hakim Azhar, Dehlvi	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ;
46	**Himala**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 7,250.
47	Intikhab-i-Lajawab	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500.
48	Islah	Ludhiana	Sayad Yaseen	*Islah* Press, Ludhiana.
49	Ittihad	Amritsar	Maula Bakhsh, Kushta	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar ; 300.
50	**Jat Gazette**	Rohtak	Molar Singh	Hariana Press, Rohtak ; 548.
51	Jiwan Tat	Lahore	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore ; 325.
52	Kapurthala Akhbar	Kapurthala	Zahid Hussain	Jagatjit Press, Kapurthala ; 300.
53	**Kashmiri**	Lahore	Muhammad Din, Fauq	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 833.
54	**Khalsa Akhbar†**	Do.	Sardar Singh	Mubarak Press, Lahore ; 1,300.
55	**Loyal Gazette**	Do.	Amar Singh	*Parkash* Press, Lahore ; 3,000.
56	**Municipal Gazette**	Do.	Din Muhammad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 700.
57	Nur Afshan	Do.	Professor Muhammad Ismail	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 472.
58	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 3,100.
59	Parkash	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,[illegible]00.
60	Phul	Do.	Mumtaz Ali	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
61	Rajput Gazette	Do.	Sukhram Das	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,470.
62	Sadiq-ul-Akhbar	Bahawalpur	Muhammad Bashir	Sadiq-ul-Anwar Steam Press, Bahawalpur ; 440.
63	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar ; 1,000.
64	Sanatan Dharm Patrika	Lahore	Diwan Chand	Arorbans Steam Press, Lahore ; 600.
65	Sharif Bibi†	Do.	Fatima	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
66	**Swarajya†**	Sialkot	...	George Printing Works, Sialkot.
67	Tahzib-i-Niswan	Lahore	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,400.
68	Union Gazette	Do.	Shamas-ud-Din	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
69	Victoria Paper	Sialkot	Brij Lal	*Victoria* Press, Sialkot ; 1 675.
70	**Virat**	Gujranwala	Banke Dial	*Virat* Press, Gujranwala ; 1,000.
71	**Watan**	Lahore	Akbar Shah Khan	Rafa-i-'Am Press, Lahore ; 771.
72	Zulfiqar	Do.	Ahmad Shah Shamshi	Shamshi Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
73	**Zamindar**	Do.	Akhtar Ali Khan	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
74	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Muhammad Abdul Haq	Sanatan Dharm Press, Amritsar ; 624.

*Ceased.
†Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing ; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	TRI-MONTHLY—*concluded.*			
75	Mukhbir ...	Amritsar ...	Lakhmi Das ...	Silcock Press, Amritsar ; 245.
76	Punjab ...	Lahore	Raza Ali Shah Naji ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
77	Al-Faqih ...	Amritsar ...	Hakim Miraj Din ...	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar ; 300.
78	Al-Quraish ...	Do. ...	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar ; 350.
79	Mister Gazette ...	Lahore ...	Ali Bakhsh ...	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore ; 160.
80	Nur ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 490.
81	Paigham-i-Sarin* ...	Lahore ...	Dogar Mal ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 760.
82	Rajput Hitkari ...	Do. ...	Dasaundhi Ram ...	Lal Steam Press, Lahore ; 604.
	MONTHLY.			
83	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra ...	Amritsar ...	Moti Ram ...	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar ; 200.
84	Al Aziz ...	Batala ...	Ghulam Mohy-ud-din ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar ; 500.
85	Al Burhan ...	Lahore ...	Muhammad Sibtain ...	Rafa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore ; 325.
86	Al Hasan	Batala ...	Abdur Rahman, B.A., (Alig)	Sahibzada Printing Press, Batala.
87	Anwar-us-Sufia ...	Lahore ...	Hafiz Zafar Ali ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 800.
88	Bhatia Sewak† ...	Do. ...	Mukand Lal ...	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 550.
89	Brahman Rai Patrika ...	Do. ...	Girdhar Rai, Bishwasi ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
90	Isha'at-i-Islam ...	Do. ...	Kh. Kamal Din ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500.
91	Masihi ...	Do. ...	Mrs. B. L. Rallia Ram ...	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore ; 390.
92	Mehra Sudhar ...	Do. ...	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A. ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 300.
93	Makhzan ...	Do. ...	Ahsan Ullah, Tajwar ...	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore ; 486
94	Martand ...	Do. ...	Ram Lal ...	*Martand* Printing Press, Lahore ; 914.
95	Mastana Jogi ...	Do. ...	Rai Sahib Sufi Lachhman Parshad.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500.
96	Oruj† ...	Do. ...	Gian Singh ...	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore.
97	Prem Bilas ...	Gujranwala ...	Mittar Sen ...	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala ; 500.
98	Qasid ...	Lahore ...	Najam Din ...	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore ; 350.
99	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Do. ...	Pir Bakhsh ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 478.
100	Sanatan Dharm Parkash ...	Ferozepore city ...	Manohar Lal ...	Muir Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore Cantonment ; 300.
101	Sat Sang ...	Amritsar ...	Gobind Ram ...	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar ; 300.
102	Shiv Shambhu ...	Lahore ...	Gauri Shankar Lal ...	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,131.
103	Sufi ...	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan ...	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore ; 8,000.
104	Tarjuman ...	Lahore ...	Tirath Ram ...	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 226.
105	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Muhammad Zahur Din ...	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian ; 850.
	GURMUKHI.			
	DAILY.			
106	Akali*	Lahore	Partab Singh, B.A., B.T. ...	Mubarak Press, Lahore ; 2,450.
107	Punjab Darpan† ...	Amritsar ...	Sucha Singh ...	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar.
108	Sansar ...	Do. ...	Santokh Singh ...	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar.

* Ceased.
† Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH JUNE 1921—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY.			
109	Bir†	Amritsar	Mehtab Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 450.
110	Khalsa Samachar	Do.	Vir Singh	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,215.
111	Nayak	Do.	Sowaran Singh	City Press, Amritsar; 750.
112	Panch†	Lahore	Ram Singh	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 2,150.
113	Panth Sewak	Amritsar	Chanda Singh	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,040.
114	Punjab Darpan	Do.	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,356.
115	Sant Sewak*	Lahore	Sant Beant Das	Partap Hari Press, Lahore.
116	Satjug	Do.	Nidhan Singh	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 776.
117	Sri Guru Nanak Darshan.	Amritsar	Sant Sumer Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 500.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
118	Nirguniara	Amritsar	Khalsa Tract Society	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 1,250.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
119	Jat Sepoy	Rohtak	Kesara Devi, B.A. (Hindi)	Star Press, Delhi; 194.
120	Jyoti	Lahore	Vidyavati Seth, B.A.	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore; 408.
121	Sewak	Do.	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 250.

† Temporarily ceased.
* Ceased.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Churchill's speech ; the future of Palestine.

SIYASAT (Lahore) ; Habib Shah, editor.

1. The *Siyasat* of the 28th June publishes a leading article headed "A new move on the part of the chess players of Britain against the Muslim world." It refers to Mr. Churchill's recent tour in Egypt and the Middle East, the object of which was to decide the future of the Muhammadan countries that have recently fallen into the wide mouth of England. Mr. Churchill did not undertake this tour to conciliate the Islamic world. He did so, because there had arisen a considerable and evergrowing public opinion in England which was opposed to the British occupation of Mesopotamia, &c. The reason for this opposition was economic, as the pecuniary burden of the administration of the newly-acquired countries in the Near East was becoming unbearable. The people of this part of Asia, moreover, did not like British rule and created disturbances, and the object of Mr. Churchill's tour was to find out some means by which England could swallow Mesopotamia, Canaan, Egypt, &c., and at the same time be relieved to some extent of her expenses, so as to conciliate the Englishmen who are opposed to the British occupation. About Egypt, Mr. Churchill has not expressed his opinion fully. But it is quite clear that although the English are prepared to discuss about the future of Egypt with the Egytian Government, still as far as it lies in their power, they will not grant liberty to Egypt. At the present moment a dissension has arisen between the Liberals and the Moderates in Egypt over the constitution of the Egyptian deputation and some disturbances have taken place. Under this pretext the English are giving out that they will not recall the army from Egypt, although there is no country where such disturbances have not arisen. The English have swallowed up Canaan with the help of the Jews. They held out hopes to the Jews that God had again made over the promised land to the Israelities through the instrumentality of the English. These foolish people were misled by such hopes. The Jews thanked the

English and in order to help the latter opened the purse-string of their ill-gotten gains. These wise fools thought that when their population would become greater than that of the Arabs in Palestine the English would make over the rule of Canaan to them on the ground of their predominant population. On coming together in Canaan the first thing that the Jews did was to begin practising oppression on the Arabs. They were, in the first place, extremely bigoted and actuated by religious frenzy. Secondly, they were sure to receive the support of the rulers for the time being. They, therefore, thought that by removing to Canaan they would increase the number of their people and by forcing the Arabs to leave Palestine by means of repression and tyranny they would reduce the number of the Arabs and thus speedily take prossession of Palestine. But their idea was wrong and the sword of the Arabs soon made them realise their mistake. Owing to the mischief of the Jews several disturbances took place in Palestine, but the Arabs taught them lessons which they can never forget. As usual dissensions between the Jews and the Arabs were regarded as a blessing by the rulers who rebuked the Jews. The move of the English in Palestine is now this. The Arabs demand Arabian rule in Palestine on the ground of the promise which the English held out to the Arabs during the war that the Arabs would get independent rule in Arab territories. When the Arabs make this demand, the English put forward the claims of the Jews and lay stress on their absurd demands. If the Jews demand Jewish rule in Palestine by reminding the English of their solemn pledges, the English put forward the claim of the Arabs and say that they will be obliged to fight the Arabs. British rule over Palestine is thus represented as being indispensible. But the English do nothing in haste, so that after accusing the Jews of highhandedness, Mr. Churchill did not utter a single word about the future of Palestine. They will wait for a suitable opportunity and then the mania, which the British promises have engendered in the brains of the Jews, will be easily expelled from their brains.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The Greek atrocities.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 3rd July remarks that it is difficult to find in history a parallel to the Greek atrocities, to the way in which savage Greeks and Armenians have put the Turkish population, men, women and children, to the sword, have rendered them homeless and subjected Muslim ladies to barbarous and inhuman treatment. But the Allies, the advocates of liberty and equality, have remained as indifferent as ever. Even our just British Government has not informed us of this state of things. On the other hand, we have been told that the Turks have perpetrated atrocities on the Greeks and the Armenians.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The attitude of the Allies in the Turko-Greek war.

3. If the Allies are still observing neutrality in the Turko-Greek war, the *Siyasat* of the 3rd July asks why they have allowed the Greek fleet to pass through the Dardanelles, which is now under their control.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The condition of the Muslim world.

4. The *Siyasat* of the 1st July sees hopeful signs of the future welfare of the Muhammadans. The Muslim Powers have shaken off their lethargy. The breach of promises on the part of Christians has opened the eyes of the Arabs who are now feeling sorry for their past conduct. The Turkish nationalists are fighting not only to uplift their own nation, but to liberate the whole Muslim world, obtaining a victory over a well-equipped and infinitely superior army. All these things indicate that if Muhammadans put in the necessary effort they can regain their departed glory. The most encouraging feature of the awakening in the Muslim world is the alliance that is being formed between the Muslim States of Asia.

II-LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

India and the Imperial Conference.

5. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd July, remarks that at previous sittings of the Imperial Council India was highly praised, but India never derived any benefit. On the present occasion also poems have been sung in praise of India's bravery and generosity. Our experience is that whenever this happens India suffers. We are afraid that the present conference too will cause injury rather than good to India. The paper deplores the weakness of Mr. Shastri who is a member of the conference. Those whom the Government of India send as the representatives of India cannot hold their own

against Englishmen and their participation in such conferences can be of no advantage to India. So long as India does not get *Swaraj* and Indian representatives are nominated by the Government, it is detrimental to Indian interests for this country to take part in British conferences.

Dominions and India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. Referring to Mr. Shastri's suggestion that one or two dominion statesmen should visit India, the *Tribune* of the 8th July says:—"For our part we are strongly opposed to any invitation being extended to dominion statesmen on behalf of India, whether formal or informal. Such invitation is impossible so long as the Dominions do not treat Indians resident in them as equal subjects. It is equally impossible because it would be indirectly inviting the dominions to intervene in our affairs, which India has repeatedly and indignantly refused to allow."

Indian freedom.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. The following is extracted from a leader in the *Tribune* of the 8th July noticing Maharao of Cutch's speech in England:—"The present position is that freedom is India's birthright just as much as it is Englands, that it is wrong and unjust to withhold it, and that what is called the stage of transition from the present state to complete responsible Government must be nothing more than a period of adjustment and must not be longer than what barely suffices for the completion of the process, the first substantial step is, which must be taken immediately, of transferring all departments of the administration, whether civil or military from the bureaucracy to the people."

The forthcoming Royal visit.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Shafatulla Khan, editor.

8. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 29th June says that if the Prince of Wales is coming to India as the guest of the bureaucracy, it is necessary to make beforehand an announcement that will remove the troubles and sorrows of the Indian people. If His Royal Highness wishes to know the real condition of the people by becoming their guest, he may gladly come. But he should not expect happiness from his sorrowing hosts. His sympathy will no doubt create a feeling of love in the minds of the people and he may help in removing some of the great troubles which have caused much suffering. If he comes as the guest of the bureaucracy and does not bring the balm of a Royal Proclamation, Indians will not be prepared to welcome him.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*, The *Siyasat* of the 1st July says that Lord Reading has committed a great mistake in advising His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to visit India.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 29th June remarks that the Prince's position demands that the public should rejoice over his visit to this country. But in existing circumstances we can never expect that the inhabitants of India will ever be able to feel any joy over the Royal visit. On the other hand, they may boycott the Prince's tour in the same way as they boycotted the Duke of Connaught's visit.

PARTAP (Lahore) Krishna, editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 2nd July cannot help saying that Lord Reading has taken a huge responsibility on his shoulders by inviting the Prince of Wales to India. India is not prepared to welcome the Prince. It realises that the new era has effected no change in its position.

The Viceroy's reply to the Ahmedies.

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapoor, editor.

9. The *Kesari* of the 2nd July contends that Great Britain and the Allies are largely responsible for the existing troubles and difficulties of the Turks. Lord Reading says that Great Britain does not desire to destroy the Muslim rule of the Turks. But is not the present condition of Turkey tantamount to her destruction? The Turkish Government has been despoiled of Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Thrace, &c. The Sultan is allowed to keep only a limited number of soldiers. The Turks cannot build warships and aeroplanes. The straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus have been taken away from their possession. Will not a king be ruined who has been deprived of so many rights and possessions? If it is not ruin, it is difficult to say what else it is. However clever Lord Reading may be in law, his attitude towards India has shown that he cannot claim to be a great statesman. We have not the least hesitation in saying that Lord Reading has blasted the hopes of the Indian people.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Dyarchy in the Central Government.

10. The *Tribune* of the 7th June writes :—" If His Excellency [the Viceroy] really wishes to conciliate public opinion in India he must go much further than merely introduce dyarchy in the Central Government. It is not, indeed, the introduction of dyarchy in the Central Government but a complete overhauling of the present policy, with the introduction of an adequate measure of responsibility in the Central Government as a necessary ingredient in it, that is needed if the political situation in India is to be substantially improved. The very first thing necessary is to transfer the subjects of the Law and Justice, of the Police and the maintenance of order to the Legislative Councils, so that all matters affecting the freedom of the people may be dealt with by the people's own representatives."

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

Non-coöperation.

11. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 28th June openly declares that the bureaucracy has no right to rule us because we cannot express the true feelings of our hearts. The bureaucracy is given to converting our truth into sedition and putting our peace-loving patriots in jails. Our sighs for freedom and Swaraj exasperate it. We are oppressed and banned as criminals. It is, therefore, the Government and not the public which is responsible for the disturbance of peace. It is contended by certain persons that the Government is ready to administer justice provided people co-operate with it. But the justice we want is that we should get home-rule and no other nation should rule over us. This the bureaucracy is not ready to accept, and we too are not ready to co operate with it. We should not expect the Government to grant us Swaraj. We have to secure it ourselves by adopting non-violent non-coöperation. We cannot co-operate with the Government because co-operation is possible between peoples having the same goal and not between those whose interests conflict with each other. If the Government does not like non-coöperation it should grant us Swaraj. It should regard us as the owners of India and not its slaves.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) After stating that the alliance between Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey will help India a great deal in her fight for liberty, the *Siyasat* of the 3rd July characterises the method of non violent non-coöperation adopted for the attainment of Swaraj as the first of its kind in the world. If it succeeds, as it is expected to succeed, then Mr. Gandhi will prove that he is a redeemer not only of India but of the whole of Asia.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

Civil disobedience.

12. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 29th June thinks that the Congress Committee should not pass the resolution of civil disobedience. People should be asked to remain peaceful. But the advocates of non-coöperation intend to adopt offensive instead of defensive measures, a step that will prove dangerous to the country.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

Indian poverty and its remedy.

13. In the course of a leading article the *Sansar* of the 3rd July writes that the majority of the population of our country do not get full two meals daily. We know definitely that our country was very prosperous some time ago and our pecuniary resources were not inferior to those of any other nation in the world. Now the question arises, what the cause of the poverty prevalent in India in these days is. Foreign rule is the only answer to this question. The poverty prevalent in India is due to open plunder carried on by foreign rule. Our poverty compells us to attain Swaraj, so that we may be able to earn our livelihood peacefully. The poor stand in need of Swaraj and they have to attain it by fostering unity among themselves. The rich do not want Swaraj and we should not care it they do not make common cause with us.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The Tilak Swaraj Fund.

14. (*a*) Referring to the success gained in collecting a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, the *Kesari* of the 6th July writes that Indians have proved that they are prepared to fight the battle of *Swaraj* with non-violent non-coöperation. After congratulating the Congress leaders the paper asks Great Britain whether or not she is prepared even now to grant home-rule to Indians, and if not how she can raise her head in the civilised world. The Indians have proved their fitness and the time has come for the Government to rectify all past mistakes and grant *Swaraj* to Indians.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(b) The *Zamindar* of the 3rd July states that now that a crore of rupees have been collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, it is the duty of the leaders to embark upon a constructive programme. It suggests that they should establish their own courts to decide cases.

Loyalty propaganda.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Shafatulla Khan, editor.

15. The *Swaraj* of the 29th June remarks that if the British officers of India are placing their trust on born loyalists and think they can use them as effective instruments for the attainment of their ends they are mistaken. They should learn a lesson from the Punjab where war loans and recruits were obtained forcibly with the result that disturbances broke out eventually. Born loyalists are deceiving the Government and the authorities. They have so far brought the Government into disrepute. We fail to see what good the establishment of peace associations can do. If Lord Reading wishes to reduce unrest in India he should wake up even now. Unnecessary interference by officials is bringing the Government into contempt. If rigour is continued, especially in the United Provinces, a day will come when unrest might assume a serious aspect.

The reformed Councils.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak). Chhotu Ram, editor.

16. The *Jat Gazette* of the 29th June says that the election of a Hindu barber and a cart-driver to the Legislative Councils of the Punjab and Bengal respectively shows what kind of men have been returned through the efforts of the non-coöperators. *Chumars* and sweepers have offered themselves as candidates, but they have not succeeded. A *doom* has now offered himself as a candidate for the Bengal Legislative Council. He has published a notice to the effect that if he succeeds, he will help the *Chumar* who has already been elected. The public can judge from this notice what kind of men the non-coöperators are returning to the Councils. The secret idea which underlies their activities is to make the Councils a failure.

M. Abdul Bari's manifesto.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

17. A telegram from Lucknow, dated the 27th June, appears in the *Desh* of the 30th June, stating that Maulana Abdul Bari has issued a manifesto in consultation with his friends in which he urges non-violent non-coöperation and assures Muhammadans that if England goes to war with Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the Hindus will join hands with Muhammadans and will try to dissuade the Indian forces from fighting with Mustafa Kamal Pasha. At the same time, it is necessary for the Muhammadans to make themselves strong for the performance of their religious duties; otherwise it will be worse than useless for them to act up to the present programme. Religious leaders like *Mashaikh, Sajjadanashins and Pirs* should take a vow from their followers that they will obey the orders of *shariat* which they will be required to carry out in the near future.

England and India.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

18. The *Siyasat* of the 26th June publishes an Urdu poem, which purports to be a dialogue between Mother India and Great Britain. India, addressing Britain, asks why British officials do not leave India bag and baggage. They have long remained here and it is foolish on their part to live in India any longer. Of course, if they want to live here, they should live like a subject race and then they will receive many concessions. Every child of this country is now anxious to obtain independence. Britain will repent if it still cherishes the desire to govern India. Britain replies that it is difficult to leave India at once, having secured its possession after a struggle of hundreds of years. Moreover, if the English leave, Japan and Afghanistan will occupy India. To this Mother India finally replies :—"What is decreed by fate will happen; you must go away. Why are you so anxious about me? I shall no longer wear the shackles of slavery. All know that I intensely long for freedom. The days are over when I obeyed the orders of all. You should not regard me as the same old Queen of India as I once was. Every friend is welcome, whether he be a Russain or a Persian."

III.—General Administration.

Sikh grievances.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

19. (a) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st July says :—"The present unrest among the Sikhs can be traced to the following main causes among others :—

(1) Want of proper appreciation by the Government of the unparallelled services of the Sikhs to the British Empire.

(2) The unwarranted interference by the Government and its machinery in the management and control of their Gurdwaras and shrines standing in the way of reform party in their effort to reform the same.

(3) The indiscriminate and unscrupulous campaign of arrest and prosecution launched against the Sikhs wearing long *kirpans*.

(4) Government's sullen indifference to the presistent demand of the Sikh to release all political prisoners and particularly those arrested in connection with the Gurdwara Reform movement.

Our first demand is that as an earnest of the good will of the Government of which we have repeatedly been assured, all Sikh prisoners arrested in connection with the Gurdwara Reform and *kirpan*, should be forthwith released.

Our second demand is that our *kirpan* should enjoy the unrestricted freedom as provided in the law of the land.

Our third demand is that a legislation should be provided securing an efficient and effective control of the Sikh Gurdwaras and shrines to the Panth.

Our fourth demand is that the Sikhs should be granted full one-third share of the seats on the Council as also in the various services of Government so far as at least the Punjab proper is concerned."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 3rd July asserts that when Government has once exempted the *kirpan* from the operations of the Arms Act, it has no right to arrest the Sikhs who wear the *kirpan*. The Sikhs will not stop wearing the *kirpan* even though they are arrested.

PANTH SEWAK (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

(*c*) In the course of a leading article the *Panth Sevak* of the 29th June remarks that whatever deception Government may practise, it will have to admit after all that its present policy is very obnoxious. News reaches us from different quarters that Sikhs are being arrested and put to trouble for wearing the *kirpan*. This shows the double-faced policy of the Government: to exempt the *kirpan* from the operation of the Arms Act on the one hand, and to impose restrictions on the other! If Government does not repose confidence in the Sikhs, the latter too can have no confidence in the former.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

(*d*) The *Sansar* of the 30th June asserts that efforts are being made by the Government to crush the Gurdwara movement by unfair means. The Sikhs are being deprived of *safajangs* while the informers of the Government are joining the Akali Dal in the guise of Akalis. They are being terrorised by the flying of aeroplanes over meetings. But the Akalis care not for the unnecessary show of powers made by the Government. In conclusion the paper asks the responsible officers not to adopt such wretched measures which create unpleasantness between the rulers and the ruled, and it appeals to those Sikhs who are ready to face the impending danger to send their names and addresses to its office.

BHARAT (Amritsar); Ralia Ram, editor.

The Hindus want the *kirpan*.

20. A correspondent of the *Bharat* of the 30th June affirms that if the Sikhs want to keep the *kirpan* as a religious symbol, a short-sized instrument can serve their purpose. But if they feel the need of using the *kirpan* on occasions of emergency in the same way as they felt the need of its use at Peshawar and Nankana, a short *kirpan* can be of no use May the Government allow all Hindus to keep the *kirpan*, so that they may not be afraid of the Sikhs.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Sardul Singh's case.

21. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 3rd July says :—" While Sir Edward Carson was only guilty of contingent disloyalty, which was no legal offence, and was soon after thought fit to be appointed to one of the highest judicial offices in the gift of the Crown Sardar Sardul Singh must be adjudged guilty of actual disloyalty, and sentenced to transportation for five years! The contrast is one to which we have no hesitation in inviting the pointed attention of Lord Reading, who will now see while all talks of equal justice, however sincere or well-meant, fall flat upon a large section of the people of India. . . . There has been a grievous miscarriage of justice in this case, and as there will be no appeal to the High Court, the accused being a non-coöperator, it is some one's duty to set things right. We appeal to Lord Reading to look into the case for himself and to deal with it

as he would have dealt with a similar case in England in his proud capacity as England's Lord Chief Justice. . . . Even a casual reader of this laboured production [judgment] can see that the Magistrate's tone and style are not judicial [and] that he seems to identify himself far too much with the prosecution."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 2nd July writes:—"What we never expected is the enormity of the sentence. The difficulty is that being a non-coöperater he may not agree to prefer an appeal against such on abnormal judgment, for he has contented himself with remaining undefended throughout the trial. But is it, under these circumstances, too much to hope that His Excellency the Governor will maintain his good name by a prompt interference and by setting aside the sentence based on proceedings which can in no wise be considered successful? Failing that will not the illustrious Englishman who has already held out to us, in terms clear and definite, an assurance of justice, take notice of the case."

(*c*) The *Sikh* of the 7th July writes:—"Though every new morn witnesses newer (repressive) actions in these days, a severer sentence in such a mild case as Sardar Sardul Singh's has never been so far heard of. Even if all the findings of the Magistrate be received at their face value, the punishment awarded by him passes even the most pessimistic estimates and apprehensions. Some of us opined that though the case was very weak and the prosecution had failed to substantiate the charge till the accused himself came forward frankly to confess to it, the Court would not content itself with a lighter sentence than a couple of years. Others would not agree to that even and hoped that 6 months or a year at the most would be considered as sufficient to maintain the *prestige* about which the bureaucracy appears to be so particular. But needless to say, it took away our breath when we heard that the sentence was *five years' transportation*. . . . If criticism of the conduct of the Government officials (who like ourselves are the subjects of His Majesty) is to be taken to mean criticism of or attack upon Government, then the fate of the Indian press is sealed to-day, while the ante-Indian official should have a merry time of it, for any reference to their misdeeds (if any) can be interpreted as seditious—holding up Government to execration and what not."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st July argues that Sardar Sardul Singh's statement is the statement of a desperate man. He is angry not so much with the bureaucracy as with his own co-religionists. Neither the Sardar nor any one else can expect justice or mercy at the hands of the bureaucracy. But when wounded by his own people, one has to say, in the words of Shakespeare, that this was the unkindest cut of all. Why and how this case was instituted, and why Mr. Bowring, Major Ferrar and other officers were displeased with the Sardar are questions which he has made clear in his statement. We can unhesitatingly assert that his statement has not been contradicated. The court has held the Sardar to be rebel but he is innocent in the eyes of the whole country. By inflicting this barbarous punishment, Government officers have finally proved that in their eyes a policy of despotism can be more helpful for the stability of the Empire than justice. But history proves that though oppression may cause trouble to men, still it renders the foundations of Government hollow.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th July thinks the magistrate appears to have ignored all canons of law and justice to fulfil the object of the bureaucracy. It was absolutely impossible for the Additional District Magistrate to have justified the unjust policy of the Government. He accepted all that was said by the public prosecutor and passed over as irrelevant every point in which the Sardar had exposed the doings of the Government and its advisers. We believe the Sardar has been sentenced to this extremely heavy punishment for his fearless exposure of secrets, otherwise the charges, even if proved, did not warrant such a heavy punishment, especially when a warning was considered sufficient in the case of the printer and publisher of the *Akali* which published the articles in question. Besides so far no action has been taken against the publication of the articles in book form or against the printer or the publisher. This clearly shows that the Government used these articles as a pretext to punish the Sardar.

(*f* The *Loyal Gazette* of the 3rd July condemns the sentence as over-severe. The translation of the article filed by the prosecution contained several bad mistakes.

SATJUG,
(Lahore);
Nidhan Singh,
editor.

(g) The *Satjug* of the 29th June writes :—Praise be to the bureaucracy and its court which has not felt a bit ashamed in sentencing Sardar Surdul Singh to five years' transportation, even though it could not prove that he was guilty.

KHALSA
ADVOCATE
(Amritsar);
Gian Singh,
editor.

(h) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st July says :—" Mr. Sardul Singh Caviessier filed a written statement in his defence. Apart from the defence proper Mr. Sardul Singh Caviessier has gone out of his way in presenting to the world a grossly fabricated, utterly malicious and shamelessly mischievous conundrum of lies against the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia, Sardar Harbans Singh of Attari and the *Khalsa Advocate*."

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishna,
editor.

(i) The *Partap* of the 2nd July has great respect as well sympathy for Sardul Singh for the courage and fearlessness with which he gave his statement. The whole of the Punjab can boast of it.

(j) The sentence reminds the *Partap*, of the 3rd July, of barbarous times. Such sentences do not add to the estimation in which Government is held by the people.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Akhtar Ali Khan,
editor.

(k) The *Zamindar* of the 2nd July thinks that the bureaucracy has offered another glaring proof of its folly. The speeches of Agha Muhammad Safdar and Sardar Sardul Singh are always sober and free from useless frenzy. But their arguments are always irresistible. This is the reason why Government bears them a special grudge. The epoch-making statement of the Sardar is worthy of being carefully studied by Indian patriots. May God grant him steadiness and perseverance and enable all of us to raise the voice of truth like him.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(l) The *Vakil* of the 2nd July thinks it is Lord Reading's duty to send for the records of the case and see if the punishment inflicted on the Sardar is justifiable.

PANJAB
DARPAN
(Amritsar);
Sucha Singh
editor.

The Sialkot case.

22. (a) The *Panjab Darpan* of the 29th June says that, on the one hand, thousands of innocent persons are killed, many Panjabee women and girls unveiled and thousands of young persons openly flogged for insulting an English woman Miss Sherwood ; but, on the other, a white soldier, hot with the wine of power and rule, is fined Rs. 50 only for violating the chastity of a Panjabee widow. The readers can judge in what estimation Indians are held by English officers.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of the 3rd July says :—" Not content with showing his bias against the complainant, the Magistrate makes certain remarks about inhabitants of villages just outside cantonments for which, as far as we are aware, there is not the smallest justification. ' Now, prostitution is not allowed in cantonments,' says he, ' and therefore it flourishes in the villages just outside cantonment limits. These villages are mainly populated by prostitutes, thieves, discharged servants' of bad character, pimps, etc., etc.' If this is not a gratuitous libel upon the unoffending people who have the misfortune to inhabit villages bordering on cantonments we do not know what it is. But the high water-mark of absurdity is reached in a passage wherein the Magistrate seeks actually to condone the conduct of the accused. . . . We have read and re-read the judgment and have been irresistibly driven to the conclusion that a more indefensible judgment was never written even in cases of this particular kind in which justice has so often been cheated of its dues. Major Thorne may yet live to make a tolerably-good romance or fiction writer but we feel sure that in accepting his present office, he has sadly mistaken his profession. The facts of the case and the judgment have been widely published in the Indian press and have evoked feelings of strong and energetic disapproval among the people. Lord Reading cannot be unaware of all this but if the affair has escaped his notice, we make a present of it to His Excellency in the hope, that his lordship will see his way, to vindicate the claims of outraged justice' and 'racial equality' as between an Indian and a Britisher."

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal
Kapur,
editor.

The case against Badri Nath Kapur.

23. The *Kesari* of the 7th July says that the District and Sessions Judge of Lahore has made remarks in his forwarding note to the High Court which prove that he is showing undue partiality to Major Ferrar. He has also tried to contradict on personal experience Badri Nath's allegation that Europeans wish that Indians seated in motor-cars should make way for Europeans. The paper wonders why the District and Sessions Judge has taken upon himself

the responsibility of advocating the cause of the Europeans. Such conduct creates mistrust in the minds of Indians.

Swami Bhaskar Tirath's arrest.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

24. The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th June observes that the arrest of Swami Bhaskar Tirath at Lakhimpur signifies the declaration of a war against religion by the British Government. The insult offered to the Swami is an insult to the Sanyasi faith, indeed, an attack on India's liberty. The Swami has shown that the British Government, which calls itself a Christian Government, is in practice far removed from Christianity. Life in a jail is not to be condemnable if one goes there to serve one's religion. Krishna purified the jail and Prophet Mohammad always bore troubles at the hands of worldly men. Jesus Christ was called a rebel and crucified. Guru Gobind Singh raised the standard of rebellion against the ruler of the day and sacrified his aged father, children and every thing belonging to him at the altar of religion and freedom. The tyrants wished to suppress him by means of tyranny, but to-day his name is resplendent in the world like the sun and the moon. Government will find out that the patriots whom it wishes to reduce to ashes by burning them in the fire of oppression will emerge purified and those who want to burn them will themselves be humbled.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

An aeroplane's objectionable flight.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

25. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 1st July writes:—"We take strong objection to the aviation of aeroplanes in close quarters to the top of the houses in cities like Amritsar. Two such aeroplanes were actually seen flying over the Golden Temple on the morning of 28th June when the ladies were taking bath in the uncovered enclosure. This produced much heart-burning among the citizens who thought it a violation of the privacy of the women folk."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) In commenting on a communication from the Secretary, Sharomani Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee, that an aeroplane was seen hovering over the Golden Temple on the 29th June, the *Sikh* of the 2nd July says:—"Those who know what position 'our holiest of the Holy' the Golden Temple, Amritsar, holds among the sacred places of Sikh religion, need nothing to convince themselves of what a great and intolerable sacrilege, the aeroplane fliers have committed by hovering over and flying so visibly near the roof of the Harimandir. It is well known to Government authorities that the British officers or visitors have to take off boots and leave outside their cigarettes and cigarette boxes before entering the sacred precincts. But the men in the aeroplanes must have been therein with boots on and smoking cigarettes as is their wont. Moreover, the immorality of the conduct consisting in flying in the broad day light over the enclosed but coverless or roofless bathing ghâts where respectable ladies take their sacred plunge, can better be imagined than described. It is but natural therefore that the sacrilege has caused great consternation in the Sikh community."

A Sheikh-ul-Islam for India.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

26. The *Vakil* of the 1st July, after describing the religious degradation of the Muhammadans of India, pleads for the creation of the office of *Amir-ul-Shariat* for India, with the same status as the Sheikh-ul-Islam in Egypt and Turkey.

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Sialkot Municipality.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

27. The *Kesari* of the 2nd July remarks that although the election of the members of the Sialkot committee had taken place two months ago still their names have not been *gazetted* in time. According to Agha Muhammad Safdar, this was so, because the authorities desired that the existing toady members of the committee should elect the Deputy Commissioner as the president of the Municipality. The old toady members have done so thereby throwing obstacles in the way of the nationalist municipal commissioners. Such tactics are reprehensible and it is our duty to strongly protest against them.

The Municipal Committee of Lahore.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

28. The *Sikh* of the 7th July writes:—"Is it not a most regrettable feature that in such a large town as Lahore—the largest one and in the very capital of the Province—the Sikh representation on the Municipal Committee is ***limited only to one elected member***, whose position must always amount to nullify unless he is

supported by non-Sikhs in his proposals. Nor is this alone, for we hear that the ten nominated memberships too have been or are going to be given to five Hindus and five Muhammadans while at least two could easily and quite justifiably in the interests of justice and equity be set apart for the Sikhs. If the new constitution of the Lahore Municipal Committee is to be adequately representative of all communities, then of course one may certainly hope that the Hon'ble the Minister for Education will take into consideration the position and claims of the Sikh community and fill up the deficiency caused by the number of elected Sikh members, being limited to one, by nominating an adequate number of Sikh gentlemen as members."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Water supply to the Railway Department.

29. The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st July is sorry to learn that the Lahore Municipal Committee has renewed the agreement to supply water to the Railway Department. The Committee charges eight annas per thousand gallons of water from the public, but it supplies water to the Railway Department at the rate of six annas per thousand gallons. Moreover, it supplies water to the Railway Department for full 24 hours. The Railway Department imports goods worth crores of rupees but pays no octroi to the Committee. If the Railway Department wishes to take advantage of the water works of the Lahore Municipal Committee it should pay octroi on every article imported by it.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Kapurthala State.

30. A correspondent of the *Bande Mataram* of the 28th June states that those who were engaged in the peaceful and lawful task of inducing the people to give up the use of wine have been arrested in the Kapurthala State, as they were alleged to have interfered with the freedom of those who drink wine. Why do these godlike authorities confine thieves, dacoits and others in jails and deprive them of their freedom? When a *hartal* occurred in Kapurthala locks were broken open, shopkeepers were shoe-beaten and steps were taken to crush the public spirit in every way. Our Raja is a simpleminded person. He does not care whether the authorities act in a good or in a bad manner. People may live or die, but he must have his tours and enjoyment. When the horizon of Kapurthala was overcast with dark clouds, the sun rose and dazzled the eyes of the authorities. The latter moved their lips and ordered Lajpat Rai to go back by means of a verbal order. 'O foolish heart! How can the citizens of Kapurthala be so fortunate as to witness a god when their Raja is so self-complacent and selfish and when the authorities are so tyrannical and demons?'

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Begar in Simla Hills.

31. Mr. S. E. Stokes contributes an article to the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd July complaining against the forced labour exacted from the people of the Simla Hills. He contends that the practise is illegal and should be stopped. He condemns the unsatisfactory attitude of the Deputy Commissioner and urges the release of Kapoor Singh and his companions, saying that after waiting for a few days he will go to the Keonthal State and start Satyagraha there and fill in the jail of the State.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Laqa Ullah's jagir.

32. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 2nd July condemns the action of Government in confiscating the *maufi* granted to Laqa Ullah and says that it betrays a spirit of vindictiveness. The paper advises the Government to adopt a policy of conciliation, otherwise things will go from bad to worse.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub 'Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd July says that Government has not acted wisely and it is the dependents of the Maulvi who are already in great trouble owing to his imprisonment, who will suffer. If Government withdraws the orders of confiscation it will make a very good impression.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 2nd July asks if it was a condition of the *Muafi* that the beneficiaries should remain faithful to the Government in the way in which they are expected to remain. If so, then the *Muafi* is a costly one.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th July learns that the jagirs of Laqa Ullah and Iqbal Ahmad confiscated by the Government date from the time of the Mughal Emperors. The British Government did not grant this *muafi* to Laqa Ullah. On the other hand his ancestors got the grant and it should have gone down to his heirs and successors. It is unjust to punish his relations and heirs by confiscating the *muafi* grant for his fault, if any.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 9th July 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Bolsheviks.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Shafaatullah Khan, editor.

1. The *Swaraj* of the 8th July remarks that Great Britain was not very long ago, noted throughout the world for her civilisation and morality. But the thing which is to-day attracting the attention of the world is her desire to trample upon human liberty. The Soviet Republic is Great Britain's opponent. Great Britain's henchman may recite a thousand tales of Soviet Government's oppressions, still facts cannot be ignored. Is it not a fact that Soviet is a republican form of administration and no abominable personal rule? On the other hand, it is a civilised form of Government under which a few capitalists do not enjoy superiority over the public. Human equality has been maintained under it in the true sense of the term—and perhaps this is the thing which has made Lenin the greatest man in the world. The Soviet Republic has not been overtaken by a desire for territorial aggrandisement like other European Powers. On the other hand, it respects humanity and advocates freedom and liberty for all the nations in the world. It did enslave neither Persia, nor Afghanistan nor Bukhara. On the other hand, it established a democracy at Bukhara. If Great Britain wishes to remain successful as before and loves India, she should learn a lesson from the attitude of Russia.

The Hedjaz.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 5th July writes that according to the agreement between England and Shah Hussain, the British Government takes the responsibility of helping him in the suppression of internal revolutions and rebellions. It is only natural that doubts should arise in the minds of Muhammadans about the intentions of Great Britain in respect of the Hedjaz.

Probably influenced by these considerations the Ahmedi deputation in their address to the Viceroy referred to the liberty and independence of the Hedjaz. The demand made by the Ahmedis in their address is reasonable. There can be no denying the fact that if the third clause of the secret agreement and Mr. Churchill's scheme are, which God forbid, given practical effect to, it will plainly mean that the Hedjaz has been made over to England. This is wholly unjust and improper. The interference of a non-Muslim power in the affairs of the Hedjaz, however small and disinterested, cannot but be resented by Muhammadans, whose national and religious feelings are sure to be wounded. This will give rise to the Muhammadan belief that Britain desires to bring the holiest of their places under subjection. If it is necessary to bring the Hedjaz under the control and suzerainty of another power, then this power should be a Muslim and not a non-Muslim one. Even now the Turkish nation is one of the best of the Muslim nations, being by far more powerful than the Arabs. The Muslim world is unanimously of opinion that those countries including the Hedjaz which have been taken away from Turkey should be placed under her suzerainty.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

England and the Arabs.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 8th July publishes a leading article headed 'The solemn pledges of the English: Another disgraceful instance of the breach of promise.' It says that a weekly Muslim organ of London has recenty unearthed a secret treaty between the English and the Arabs which made Sharif Hussain and his son Amir Feisul (who after having been disappointed of the kingdom of Syria is now anxious to become king of Mesopotamia) rebel against the Turks and thus made the Prophet's tomb, the holy Medina and Jerusalem the target of bombs and bullets Just as the British Government failed to fulfil its promises with the Muslims, similarly the agreement with the Sharif was considered to be a scrap of waste paper. This brought the mischievous fellow to realize that those who desert their religion, their Prophet and their God and make an alliance with the foreigners, gain nothing on either side. The Arabs would never have rebelled against the Turks but for this treaty. The English assured the Arabs in clear terms that Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria will have self-government and that the Arabs will have an independent kingdom. If the Arabs had known that while on the one hand the English were entering into an agreement with them, on the other they were entering into a secret agreement with France which would stand in the way of the fulfillment of their agreement and again if it were known to them that Palestine would be usurped by the Christians, they would never have helped the Christians against Turkey. The English have no doubt rightly punished their friend—an enemy of Islam and the Turks—by not fulfilling the terms of agreement.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

England and Turkey.

4. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 4th and 6th July publishes leading articles headed "Let British politicians beware! Their new policy with regard to Turkey is dangerous." The paper writes that the strength of the Turkish nationalists has convinced the English and their Allies that the Turkish treaty needs some modification. It is, however, a pity that their arrogance and fanaticism do not let them agree to a complete modification of the same. The Allies in general and the English in particular are secretly helping Greece; but it would be well for them to honestly give up rendering such help. The terms that the Allies have offered to the Turks are very unjust. They say that if after taking back Smyrna, the Turks do not agree to these terms, Greece will be assisted. This declaration on the part of the Allies has confirmed Muhammad Ali's view that the English and the Allies are looking out for a pretext to declare war against the Turkish nationalists; otherwise they would not have offered such unacceptable terms to the Turks. The threat that the Allies would side with Greece can have no effect on the Turkish nationalists, who are espousing the cause of justice and righteousness. From the very day they took the sword in hand to safeguard their legitimate rights, to protect the prestige of Islam and to make the Caliphate free, they knew that the Allies would become their enemies. Indeed, if they girt up their loins for *jehad,* it was not merely to get Smyrna evacuated. Smyrna is only a small territory which Greece usurped with the help of the Allies. Its restoration is no doubt necessary, but this will not remove all objections to the peace treaty. For instance, Thrace is wholly Turkish territory and Turkish nationalists can never tolerate its remaining with Greece. The Allies have imposed such

restrictions on the land and naval forces of Turkey, on her telegraphic system and her postal and railway departments as are fatal to her independence. The Allies have established an unjust and unlawful possession over Constantinople itself. The *Khalifat-al-Muslamin* is almost an internee. Every department of government is under the control of the Allies. The Turks who loved their country and community have long been interned or exiled. Turkish princesses and respectable ladies are suffering misfortunes. France and Britain are unjustly occupying Syria and Mesopotamia respectively. The Arabian Peninsula is in the possession of a rebel and the holy places of Islam are under the direct or indirect influence of non-Muslims, which is clearly opposed to the injunctions of the Koran. The Turkish nationalists, it is obvious, will not sign the treaty unless their demands, which are based on religious grounds and which do not admit of any addition or omission, are fulfilled. To hold out to them the threat of war is only an attempt to seek a pretext for fighting. It goes without saying that the Allies have spared no means to defeat the Turks. But if the Allies wage a war against the Turks, the latter will surely offer resistance. British statesmen should carefully and repeatedly think over the consequences that would follow by the Allies in general and Britain in particular arranging their forces in the battle-field of Symrna against the Turkish nationalists. The Muhammadan subjects of Britain, whether African or Egyptian, Mesopotamian or Indian, are already disgusted with her owing to her participation in the destruction of the Caliphate. The declaration of a regular war against the Turkish nationalists will serve the purpose of that last straw which breaks the camel's back and it is apprehended that in all the Islamic countries under Britain such disturbance will take place as would prove extremely harmful, if not fatal, to her. In India particularly it will produce such dangerous consequences that the very idea of its horrible results is sufficient to make one shiver. In short, war on the part of Britain will be like the last drop in the cup of patience and forbearance of the Muhammadans, which is already full to the brim, and it is feared lest the Muhammadans should give up the peaceful movement of non coöperation for some other worse movement. As a journalist, it is our duty to apprise Government of this danger. We have, therefore, done our duty and it is the business of Government to see to it. But we think it our duty also to point out that the Bolsheviks are on the look-out for such an opportunity. According to their treaty, they are bound to help the Turks on such an occasion. If the Allies declare war on the Turks, they will have to fight against the united forces of the Bolsheviks and the Turks, in addition to their dealing with the Muhammadan subjects of the countries under them. This means that war will break out all along the northern and eastern coasts of Russia, in the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf, Arabia, Egypt, Canaan, Syria, Abyssinia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Persia, Afghanistan and Smyrna, and the world, which is already tired of the European war, will become involved in the horrors of a war greater than the European conflagration.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 9th July publishes the following :—

> A manifesto by Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha : We do not want to negotiate with the English. Egypt and India will also become independent.

Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha has recently issued a manifesto saying that we do not like to negotiate with the English. Our war services will yield such splendid results as the whole Muslim world will follow suit and Egypt and India will gain complete independence.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore) ; Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) After expressing the opinion that the Turkish policy of Britain must undergo some change, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th July says that what is really unfortunate is that Mr. Lloyd George is a staunch follower of the late Mr. Gladstone in the matter of Turkey. Nay he has even stolen a march upon the latter in doing harm to the Turks.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore) ; Akhtar Ali Khan, editor

(*d*) After stating that the sympathies of both Italy and France are drawn towards Turkey, the *Zamindar* of the 10th July writes that it is only England whose attitude towards Turkey is objectionable. It is her characteristic to make a fuss about neutrality and secretly help Greece. She has not yet made her position clear. The entire Muslim world is being upset at her attitude. Mr. Lloyd George and his satellites should know that the Turks can never be destroyed and Islam can never be obliterated. The Turks would have been destroyed at the very moment when England drew up the shameful treaty of Sevres and had it signed by a few blackguards. Islam would have been obliterated at the time when British troops entered the Arabian Peninsula and when the British Government established its indirect influence over the holy places of Islam by holding out to the Sharif an inducement. Now England is confronted with a critical juncture. If she enlists the coöperation of the Islamic world by establishing peace with the Turks she will be safe; otherwise the Turko-Bolshevik unity and the alliance between the powers of Central Asia will give rise to a tempestuous storm in Asia and Europe. At that moment repentance will do no good to Mr. Lloyd George who should now act wisely to save England.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(e) It is the right of the liberal Turks, thinks the *Kesari* of the 10th July, to occupy Constantinople. Although the Sultan of Turkey or the *Khilafat-ul-Muslamin* is the ruler still the administration is really carried on by the Allies. Now the Allies have fixed the limits of neutral area at a distance of ten miles from Ismid and have blocked the ways of the Turks. Nor is this all. The British warships are going to Constantinople. We hope that the Allies will commit no such act as is likely to endanger the rights of the Turks and to cause perplexity to the Muhammadans of the world.

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Non-coöperation.

5. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 7th July says that Mr. Gandhi has characterised the delay in the boycott of foreign piece-goods as criminal. In our opinion it is the only movement which can solve the bread-problem in India and deprive the bureaucracy of its power. So long as the Manchester millowners do not suffer any loss, the bureaucracy here cannot be called to account. It is to be hoped that from the 1st of August the whole of India will wear *khaddar*.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(b) The *Zamindar* of the 9th July urges the All-India Congress Committee to consider at its next session the advisability of refusing to comply with orders issued under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. It is the duty of the leaders of the country to have the resolution on civil disobedience passed by the Congress. At the same time, the servants of the country should, at all moments, be ready to go to jail.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Shafaatullah Khan, editor.

(c) In a leading article, the *Swaraj* of the 15th July expatiates on the evils of litigation in civil courts and earnestly beseeches the country at large to boycott them altogether. Internecine feuds should be referred to national *panchayats* as it is the only way in which we can effect our emancipation.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Shafaatullah Khan, editor.

Pan-Islamism and Hindus.

6. The *Swaraj* of the 9th July remarks that centuries ago Christendom trembled before the imaginary bogey of Islamic unity. Nay, it will be more correct to say that it incited the Christians against the Musalmans under these pretexts. It is probably the result of this that the Europeans who are the lovers of freedom and liberty have been carrying on machinations in the Islamic countries from a long time. They have tried to ruin them by every means in their power. The world has not forgotten all that happened in Egypt, Turkey, Persia and Morocco. In other words, the Christian danger has arisen before the appearance of the imaginary Islamic danger and it has brought about the ruin which is now confronting the Islamic countries. Can it be denied that whatever happened in Turkey, Arabia and Mesopotamia was not hostile to Musalmans and Islam? The cry raised by Europe against the imaginary Islamic danger should be considered as a part of the policy formulated to bring about the ruin of the sons of Islam. But it is strange that some of our countrymen also have begun to witness the bugbear of Pan-Islamism even within India and it is upsetting non-muslim Indians. The Muhammadans are not hatching a conspiracy against any nation or country. They desire construction and not destruction. They will, however, sacrifice their lives in order to bring back their departed glory. The movement for the unity of Islamites, if it really exists, is not hostile to any country or nation. It is also not hostile to India or Hindus. Why should then Hindus be afraid of this imaginary ghost?

The Viceroy's speech.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 10th July writes :—"We cannot help thinking that the Viceroy's speech in reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association will be a great disappointment to those who have been looking forward to an immediate and radical change in the policy of the Government of India. As regards the Punjab question, there was no appreciation of the fact that questions which disturb the peace of nations are not and cannot be closed until the requirements of justice are fully met and that in this case the requirements of justice can only be met if, in addition to the release of the remaining martial law prisoners, justice is meted out to those offending officials who have yet to be dealt with properly. . . . . As regards the Khilafat, His Excellency felt confident that the representations of his Government would succeed, [but] he was not able to add anything to what he had already said. Yet this was the vital issue. . . . . Even more disappointing was the part of His Excellency's speech in which he referred to the question of constitutional reforms and its natural offspring, the question of Indian defence. On neither point did the Viceroy have anything either definite or satisfactory to say . . . . In any case the principle should be definitely recognised that, by the time when India becomes self-governing in civil affairs, she must be equally self-governing in military affairs, her army, navy and air forces being absolutely amenable to her own control and principally manned by her own children in all ranks and grade. We do not find any trace of this recognition in the Viceroy's speech."

(*b*) In commenting upon the Viceroy's remarks about the sincerity of the officials, the *Tribune* of the 12th July writes :—'Only a moment's serious consideration will show to so acute a mind as His Excellency's that this is not only far too extravagant but an entirely unsustainable claim, when put forward on behalf of the whole set of men in high and responsible offices. . . If individual Englishmen at home can be swayed by wrong and improper motives, as they admittedly are at times, and if even premiers and members of the Cabinet can be, as they sometimes are, accused by their own countrymen of being so swayed, surely it is too much to ask us to believe that no member of any Government in India can ever be actuated by any motives except what are pure and honest, or that they can never be guilty of anything more than an error of judgment."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishau, editor.

(*c*) In commenting upon the Viceroy's reply to the United Provinces Liberal Association address, the *Partap* of the 11th July reminds His Excellency that there can be no real coöperation between Indians and Englishmen so long as the present policy of the Government remains unchanged.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh editor.

(*d*) The following is extracted from a communication published in the *Sikh* of the 14th July :—"The reply to the address of the U. P. Liberal Association was *mutatis mutandis* the repetition of the same assertions and denials about the position of Government regarding the Khilafat and the Punjab affairs as formed the main theme of his previous few speeches—the same impressive sermon on 'Forgive and Forget' and the same emphatic assurance of doing justice in future. . . . But what about the poor Sikhs pray? Lord Reading is always as silent about this afflicted people as Mr. Lloyd George is about India."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th July says that the Viceroy displayed great statesmanship in replying to the United Provinces Liberal address. His Excellency may release all the martial law prisoners. But will it heal the wounds? All that the Viceroy said about the Caliphate was far from satisfactory. Greece is perpetrating atrocities as vigorously as ever. Is it not in the power of the British Government to evacuate those of the Turkish provinces which it occupied during the course of the war? Can it not restore to Turkey the holy places of Islam? Can it not withdraw its forces from the battle-field like France and Italy? Can it not withhold Greece from this war? It can do everything if only it chooses to do so.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*f*) The *Vakil* of the 16th July remarks that all that the Viceroy said about the Caliphate in reply to the United Provinces Liberal League address is anything but satisfactory. Next the paper entirely endorses the remarks expressed by the *Bande Mataram* on the subject.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

8. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 8th July says :—" Much enthusiasm has been evoked in the Indian mind and Indian Press by the coming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India. The Press, both moderate and extremist, believes that Prince of Wales' visit to India will bring with it no insignificant concessions to the people of India. And rightly so in our humble opinion. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that Lord Reading would have urged the prosecution of His Royal Highness' visit, had His Excellency not in view some turn of policy that must be reasonably expected to rouse enthusiasm which is noticeably lacking at present in the country. . . . Something very substantial, nearing *Swaraj*, if not the *Swaraj*, is coming without fail . . . . Indians hope that Prince of Wales' visit is frought with radical changes in the Government of India."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the Prince of Wales's proposed visit to India, the *Kesari* of the 10th July asks whether Lord Reading or his Government has as yet tried that the Indians should coöperate with Government in making the Prince's tour a success. So long as Government makes no reparations for the mistakes it has been repeatedly committing in dealing with Indians, no Indians except a few sycophants whose number is very limited can be expected to coöperate with it. Men are being arrested, interned and gagged in large numbers in every part of the country. Does Lord Reading think that the Indians will coöperate with Government in these circumstances to make the Prince's tour a success ?

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Diyal editor.

(*c*) The *Virat* of the 11th July thinks it impossible that India will welcome the Prince of Wales. India is still in a state of discontent and the Government is still pursuing its repressive policy. In view of these circumstances, India is not prepared to welcome the Prince in coöperation with the Government of India. So long as the balm is not applied to our wounds, the visit will fail to do any good. His Royal Highness is coming to India not to strengthen the hands of Indians or to redress their grievances but to sing praises of the Government. No Indian is, therefore, rejoicing over the news of his visit. The Prince will come and go, lakhs of rupees will be spent but Indians will get nothing

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

Wanted a policy of conciliation.

9. The *Watan* of the 8th July says that the very introduction of Reforms in India indicates that the system of government here needs some change. The public at large has something to complain of the policy and the attitude of Government. It is, therefore, the duty of Lord Reading to find out the causes of unrest and try to remove them. If the British statesmen are anxious to maintain friendly relations with India they should take steps to captivate the hearts of her people. So long as traces of bitterness exist between the Government and the people, the Reforms can do no good. It is this bitterness which is the root cause of all unrest and discontent in India. Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading should inaugurate a policy of conciliation in India.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Shafatullah Khan, editor.

Wanted a change in the system of administration.

10. The *Swaraj* of the 10th July remarks that the leader of the Soviet Republic is, in spite of his high position and important work, getting not more than Rs. 100 or Rs. 125 as his salary or allowance. But the Punjab Ministers are getting Rs. 5,000 per mensem. The same is the case in other provinces also. India went on protesting against this but the controllers of the Indian's destiny remained quite unmoved as if they were despotic kings. The Government, which tries to enslave human beings physically or intellectually, puts an end to human equality and is overtaken by a desire of territorial aggrandisement, is undoubtedly a satanic one. India does not demand that foreign people should be totally deprived of her blessings. She demands that the requirement of her sons should be given preference over those of foreigners. Not only Mahatma Gandhi but even every farmer and labourer in India desires that such a haughty and despotic administration should be changed.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Racial inequality.

11. The *Tribune* of the 9th July says :—" In view of declaration repeatedly made by His Excellency the Viceroy that there is no racial inequality under British rule in India it is necessary to point out that even the Statute book is not

free from tangible and incontestable evidences to the contrary. Chapter 33 of the Criminal Procedure Code gives every European person accused in a criminal case the right of demanding to be tried by a European Magistrate or judge, as the case may be, which means that though Indian magistrates are considered good enough and competent enough to try cases against Indians, they are not considered fit to try a European on any charge, however trivial. What makes this provision still more objectionable and repugnant to all principles of justice and racial equality is that Indians are not given the right to insist on their being tried by Indian magistrates. . . . That this solicitude of the criminal law to protect and accommodate the European accused in all conceivable ways and to hold his trial under such unjustly favourable circumstances has led to grave miscarriages of justice, is known to everyone. . . . If His Excellency really wishes to see all traces of racial inequality disappear in India, he should ask the Law Member of his Council to undertake, what we have no doubt will be a congenial task to him, complete overhauling of this chapter of India's Criminal Law, with a view to placing the Indian and the European accused persons on exactly the same footing, both in theory and in practice."

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Government and the Sikhs.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

12. (*a*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 9th July asserts that the attitude of the Government towards the Gurdawara movement is in no way less severe than that adopted by it in the martial law days.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Sundar Singh Lyallpuri contributes an article to the *Bande Mataram* of the 9th July taking exception to the present policy of the Government in regard to the *kirpan* When the Government has not fixed the length of *kirpan* the arrest of Sikhs for wearing long *kirpans* is absurd. In other words the Government is practising non-coöperation with its own law. Continuing the writer says that there are three courses open for the Government. Either it should fix the length of the *kirpan*, or withdraw the exemption allowed in respect thereof or allow the Sikhs to carry *kirpans* as long as they like. In the first two cases, the Sikhs will be able to decide for themselves whether they have to live by carrying a long *kirpan* or to pass the life of degradation in view of the fact that under British rule they cannot enjoy religious liberty. The writer contends that the Government has no right to fix the length of *kirpan* because it would amount to an interference with religious freedom The Government should, therefore, adopt the last alternative. The double faced policy of the Government which is in fact no policy at all, has already created misgivings in the mind of the Sikhs. Besides, the Government is proving its intellectual bankruptcy by pursuing such an absurd and meaningless policy.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) S. Tara Singh, Secretary, Shiromani Gurdwara Committee, Amritsar, writes to the *Tribune*, of the 12th July :—" The press *communiqué*, published in the *Tribune* of the 5th July is grossly misleading. The *communiqué* says, that the Akalis were arrested for wearing swords, and leather belts and for wearing badges indicating a quasi-regimental organisation. No Sikh understands the difference between a *kirpan* and a sword, except that the one is a Sanskrit and Panjabi word and the other an English. When an official wants to arrest a Sikh he calls his *kirpan* a sword ; and if it is a short *kirpan* it is called a short sword. Everybody knows, that there are some Sikhs, who wear two karas, and two *kirpans*—a small one, and a large one. As regards the large battle axes, which are merely *safajangs*, they are not prohibited under the Arms Act."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Sikh* of the 14th July says :—" The Sikhs should follow the Muhammadans and unless and until their rights and privileges were guaranteed beyond the possibility of a cavil, they should have not cast their lot with the Gandhi cult as to the utility of which for the good of the country, the best brains in India, are irreconcilably divided. . . . [They should] divest the Gurdawara Reform movement of its political association and its proceedings of such nomenclature. . . . The Sikhs take strong exception to the Government prosecuting Sikhs who wear what the Panth calls *kirpan* which some of the Government officers name sword. All the Sikh bodies should at once communicate their resolutions to Government that in such religious matters the finding of the

Panth must be final and none but Guru Gobind Singh could lay down the size by a decree. The reply on the subject given by the Government through the Hon'ble Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia in the Council was a pure blunder and we are sure the Government would realise their mistake and restore at once the *status quo* obtaining before the recent prosecutions."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Increase of salaries.

13. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 9th July strongly protests against the proposed increase in the salaries of high-class Government officials in India. The country is already groaning under the burden of unpleasant taxes and high prices have reached their climax for want of rains It would be most unjust on the part of Government to saddle the country with further expenditure.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Lajpat Rai writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 12th July urges on behalf of the tax-payers that no increment is needed in the salary of officers, be they Europeans or Indians, who are now drawing more than Rs. 500 *per mensem*.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

British Medical Council and the Indian Medical graduates.

14. (*a*) The following is extracted from a communication which appeared in the *Tribune* of the 9th July:—"The British Medical Council has been prevailed upon to be pleased to debar all graduates of Indian Universities from registration in the United Kingdom unless the Indian Universities bring the maternity training of their Medical Colleges up to the same standard as in England. The very first thing would be that the Indian graduates would not be able to compete for the I. M. S. examination without obtaining any British Medical degree. Similarly hard would be the case for Indian graduates wishing to attend post-graduate courses or undertaking further studies in Medicine, Surgery or Hygiene, *e.g.*, D. P. H., D T M., etc., in England. Such courses even now being out of reach of our average Indian graduates, shall still become difficult to get."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 10th July writes:—"The grievance, to which our correspondent refers is obviously genuine, and we are not surprised to learn that it is deeply agitating the Indian Medical profession. Is it too much to hope that the Government of India will move in the matter."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Frontier Enquiry Commission.

15. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 13th July says:—"We are surprised at the action of the N.-W. F. Province in excluding the Frontier Enquiry Commission from its jurisdiction. But we are sorry, very sorry. The exclusion of such a body will naturally be interpreted by the public as an attempt to exclude light and publicity, and there is nothing which in the long run is more prejudicial to a Government than even the suspicion of such an attempt."

(*b*) Dr. Muhammad Alam, President of the Commission, writes to the *Tribune* of the 14th July:—"The orders of exclusion served upon the members of the Frontier Enquiry Commission, was not the only experience the Commissioners had of 'Justice' and 'Racial Equality' at the Mari Indus railway station. By shutting the doors of the Frontier Province to an open commission of enquiry into the most serious allegations of cruelties, after the Commission had publicly declared its policy of allowing even the cross-examination of witnesses by 'any authorised person, body or the Government,' the officials concerned gave a clue to their mentality. . . . They had also a practical lesson illustrating the so much eulogised 'racial equality' that exists in India. A few minutes before our train was to leave, a dozen of ordinary European soldiers were seen roaming about on the platform ostensibly on some duty. When the train was about to leave, a number of local people raised a shout of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai.' The cries of 'jai' at once drew the youngmen to the windows of our compartment A couple of rude and insulting questions as to who gave us room in a compartment suitable only for people of birth and rank higher than ourselves, our destination, etc., etc., were then addressed to us. . . . One of them began showering a torrent of abuse and oaths at us. Never before had I heard such dirty oaths coming out of the lips of a living being. Every half sentence or a composition of three or four words would both begin and end by the well-known two words which are expletives of a certain class of people—I mean the one beginning with a big 'B' and the other with an 'F' ending in as big a 'G' but generally given the sound of 'N' by these honourable gentlemen.

These young messengers of the message of freedom, liberty, equality and civilisation to the world were not content with mere oaths smelling of the billingsgate, but some of them openly challenged my companions to take up arms and fight against them like men. One of them was most fluent and rich with a sure of choice oaths. He tried his best not to leave untouched a single point for causing excitement and provocation. . . . May I ask His Excellency Lord Reading if this is the racial equality of which he speaks ?"

(c) The *Tribune* of the 15th July writes :—" The proper authorities should make an immediate sifting enquiry into the correctness or otherwise of the allegations, and if they are found to be substantially correct, to mete out exemplary justice to the men concerned, whose identity, as the President points out, cannot be difficult to obtain."

(d) In commenting upon the maltreatment which some soldiers, meted out to the members of the Frontier Enquiry Commission, the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th July remarks that numerous other incidents of the sort are still needed to open the eyes of the country at large and especially the Moderates who repose confidence in British sense of justice and coöperation.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(e) We already apprehended, writes the *Zamindar* of the 13th July, that the members of the Frontier Enquiry Committee would be sent back from the non-regulated Province. Their visit was a bugbear for the Frontier Government. Although the Committee had published a detailed statement of the scope of their work and thus put an end to all objections, still the doubt of the Frontier Government was not removed.

Zamindar (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(f) The *Vakil* of the 14th July protests against the order of externment served on the Frontier Enquiry Commission, and says that the aims and objects of the Commission were too clear and unambiguous to afford Government an opportunity for entertaining any fear. This action of the Frontier Government indicates that it is opposed to the internal affairs of the Province being brought to light.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(g) The *Kesari* of the 13th July deplores the action of the Frontier authorities in prohibiting the entry of the Commission into the Frontier Province.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(h) The *Kesari* of the 14th July remarks that by excluding the Frontier Enquiry Commission from its jurisdiction the Frontier Government has behaved in so shameful a manner that the Indians can no longer keep patience. It is the duty of political leaders to take some steps in the matter without fail and relieve the people of the Frontier Province of their present unbearable troubles.

(i) The *Partap* of the 14th July remarks that on the one hand the Government says that the allegations of oppression on the Khilafat workers in the Frontier are wrong and on the other it forbids the entry of an independent commission of enquiry. It is a matter for regret that the Frontier Government is committing one mistake after the other. While the political movement in the Frontier Province is not likely to come to an end, it is feared lest it should adopt an undesirable course.

Partap (Lahore) Krishan, editor.

(j) The *Swaraj* of the 16th July says that the Frontier Government did what no civilised Government was ever expected to do. We, however, assure the Chief Commissioner that although he did not allow the deputation to enter his province, still true facts will surely come to light soon. The whole world will thus come to know that even those who profess to be civilised and enlightened can accord such a treatment to their subjects.

Swaraj (Lahore); Shafaatullah Khan, editor.

Sardul Singh's Case.

16. (a) Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 8th July, remarks that the treatment which the Government and the Magistrate accorded to Sardul Singh has once again proved that the present Government's boast that it is a civilised Government is wholly unfounded. The writer has only one word in his vocabulary to use in respect of the sentence and that is 'savage.' It is the residuum of that treatment which the monarchs of old used to accord to their political opponents. The writer has not the least hesitation in saying that while the defence statement is a model of extraordinary truthfulness, boldness, patriotism and self-sacrifice, the Magistrate's judgment is unique in partiality, highhandedness, absurdity and ignorance of law. The legal

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

advisers of the Punjab Government are throwing aside all their legal acumen and knowledge and are according the most cowardly treatment to persons accused in political cases. In the case against Mangal Singh, the legal advisers of the Government produced irrelevant evidence and tried to cast a stain on his character. In the present case, Mr. Bowring's evidence had nothing to do with the case itself. It was produced merely to humiliate Sardar Sardul Singh in the estimation of the public and a weak Magistrate who appeared to have already formed his opinion, admitted it in evidence. It is to be deplored that the conduct of the Public Prosecutor in this case was extremely reprehensible and detestable. In this case, the Public Prosecutor gave proof of extreme vindictiveness. He repeatedly got those witnesses summoned about whom he should have known that they would not give evidence against the accused. His object was to degrade these witnesses and compel the friends of the accused to give evidence against him. He knew that these witnesses would not give evidence and he, therefore, intentionally got them summoned and forced them to go to jail. This was meanness on his part. As for Mr. Bowring's evidence, the responsibility lies on the highly placed legal advisers of the Punjab Government. The writer considers the production of such evidence as extremely improper and objectionable. As for the conditional pardon granted by the Government to Sardul Singh, that evidence also was irrelevant. Moreover, the Punjab Government has not produced the entire correspondence. This conduct was extremely objectionable. This attitude on the part of the Government against non-coöperators shows how Government is determined to make use of base weapons. In sedition cases it has been laid down that the entire article should be read together and that charges should not be framed on the basis of isolated passages. But the cry of law and justice is entirely absurd in this province. The magistracy thinks it as its duty to punish the accused in political cases. Indeed, the whole conduct of the Sardar in the course of the case and in his written statement is so bold, noble and manly that we consider it as a matter of pride for the Punjab and the Sikh community.

Akhbar-i-Am
(Lahore);
Gopi Nath,
editor.

(b) Commenting upon the judgment in Sardul Singh's case, the *Akhbar-i 'Am* of the 9th July remarks that the Punjab Press has unanimously declared the sentence to be very severe. We are of opinion that such cases can be of no advantage to the Government. There can be no doubt that under certain circumstances, Government has to take legal action, nevertheless it cannot be justified to inflict heavy punishments in such cases. The need of the hour is that the relation between the ruler and the ruled should be made more cordial. In view of the existing circumstances, it will be more beneficial for the Government to exercise leniency instead of rigour. We hope the Punjab Government will fully keep this point in view in future.

Satjug,
(Lahore);
Nidhan Singh,
editor.

(c) The *Satjug* of the 6th July says that Sardul Singh is quite innocent in the eyes of Indians, no matter he has been convicted by court. It appreciates his courage and congratulates him and his family members. It also sympathises with him.

Sansar
(Amritsar);
Santokh Singh,
Vidyarthi,
editor.

The case of B. N. Kapur against Major Ferrar.

17. The *Sansar* of the 12th July thinks that the remarks made by the Sessions Judge of Lahore, in *re* B. N. Kapur, Barrister-at-law of Lahore *versus* Major Ferrar are indicative of a pretext under which partiality can be shown to an Englishman. We are asked not to boycott courts. But partiality shown by courts has lead us to the conclusion that an Indian should not take his case to a court. Moreover these courts simply distinguish between white and black colour and administer no justice. In conclusion, the paper asks if sanction of the Government of India has ever been obtained in the cases launched against Indian officers?

Liberal
(Lahore);
Jai Gopal,
editor.

The Khoreal shooting case.

18. (a) The *Liberal* of the 6th July writes: "Great indignation prevails in the country over the decision in the Khoreal shooting case where justice has been refused to a poor Indian. . . . Such cases tend to accentuate the differences that already exist between the two communities, and we wish it were realised how detrimental this state of affairs is to the peaceful growth of the country. The highest insult that any body can offer to an Indian, however humble in station he may be, is to insult his daughter, and such exactly was the charge brought against Mr. Reed, a charge of which he has been acquitted by the European Court of Justice."

JIWAN TAT (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing about the Khoreal shooting case, the *Jivan Tat* of the 12th July says that no justice has been done to the complainant in the case. This is attributable to national love which generally incites a people to display improper partiality to their nation or its individuals and makes them prepared to deal unjustly with, and practise oppression on, another nation or its individuals.

The plight of Assam coolies.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna editor.

19. The *Partap* of the 9th July publishes a translation of a communication which recently appeared from the pen of an Englishman in the *Servant of India* and in which the writer describes how coolies in Assam supply even their wives, sisters and other female relatives to European tea-planters and asks whether there is any Indian endowed with sense of shame who will not shed tears of blood on reading the above remarks. Is it not the sacred duty of every Indian to see that Indian coolies no longer remain under European tea-planters in Assam ? Under the existing circumstances is it not the duty of Government to help the helpless Indian coolies ? May we ask Government why it has not yet taken the matter in hand. But we ask the Indians also whether they too have any sense of shame left in them and whether they can rest till a single coolie is left in Assam in the service of European tea-planters.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

A complaint.

BHARAT (Lahore); Ralia Ram, editor.

20. The *Bharat* of the 7th July invites the attention of the Brigadier-General, Ambala, the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India to the order issued by the Cantonment Magistrate, Kasauli, about the imposition of a tax on temples and the sale of beef in Kasauli. The Hindus should carry on constitutional agitation ; and members of Hindu Sabha should send a deputation to the Brigadier-General, Ambala, and subsequently to the Commander-in-Chief

Pictures of Gandhi, etc.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

21 The *Kesari* of the 9th July says that certain pictures of Mahatma Gandhi and other national servants are being published in these days as have caused pain to staunch Hindus. Men who are opposed to Mahatma Gandhi and his movement are trying to create feelings of hatred in the minds of both Hindus and Muhammadans under the cover of these pictures. It is just possible that the public may be deceived. The sale of these pictures should, therefore, be stopped.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Rights of a municipal commissioner.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

22. The *Partap* of the 7th July is sorry to learn that the Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, issued a notice to Malik Mathra Das, Municipal Commissioner, to show cause why a report should not be made against him to the Punjab Government under Section 16 of the Municipal Act and why he should not be removed from the Committee on the ground of his having taken part in the meeting of the Rate-payer's Association. The paper thinks all the municipal committees in the Punjab should protest against this unreasonable notice.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Panic-mongers in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

23. The *Tribune* of the 14th July suggests that the Government of India should deport the Calcutta correspondent of the *Morning Post* for sending alarmist and misleading reports to England about the situation in India.

Sikh interests in Siestan.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

24. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 8th July says :—"The interests of Sikh traders and contractors in Siestan alone are involved to the extent of about one crore of rupees. And the interest which the British Consul-General had evinced up till only recently in the Sikh and Hindu interests in that province had filled the hearts of the British subjects with feelings of fulsome gratitude towards him. But we are sorry we are not in a position now to say that the Sikhs and Hindu interests receive the same kind attention as they did before. . . . . It is a fact that the increase in the volume of work necessitated the transfer of some of the duties and responsibilities of the Consul-General to his Head Assistant, a Punjabi Mussalman gentleman. Since this division of work complaints have come to rise about favourtism in the Consulate. . . . Somehow or other men of notorious character came to win the good attention of

a responsible assistant in the Consulate who exerted his authority and power to secure him a general contract. Thus the interests of the Sikh and Hindu enterprisers who were there already incharge of these contracts, received a great set-back. A grave suspicion lurks in public mind that the British Consul-General may perhaps be wholly unaware of this fact and therefore unconscious of the wrong involve by the step. . Under new arrangements the interests of the Sikh and Hindu enterprising spirits are suffering badly and we most earnestly and respectively beg to invite the kind and immediate attention of His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General and his head assistant to the undesirable state of affairs under their very nose and request them to see to the removal of injustice involved by the anamolous arrangement, as it goes at present."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The District Magistrate of Bijapur.

25. The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th July remarks that the District Magistrate of Bijapur is labouring under a mania that any one who wears a Gandhi cap does so merely to insult him. We wonder whether court or lunatic asylum is the most suitable place for such a person. We think that men like the District Magistrate of Bijapur are the greatest enemies of the British Government. The more quickly this officer is sent to a solitary place the more it will be better for the British Government and its honour and the dignity.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 16th July 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) After summarizing the situation in the Near East, the *Zamindar* of the 16th July remarks that both Italy and France have now come to their senses and are insisting on justice being done to the Turks. But it is only England that is left behind and it remains to be seen when her anti-Muslim policy comes to an end. Even the *Morning Post* advises the British Government to restore Smyrna and Thrace to the Turks. This is exactly what we have been urging for months. We wish Mr. Lloyd George could change his views even now.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue of the 17th July, the *Zamindar* says that France and Italy are not inclined to take part in any offensive action against the Angora Government. But England alone is inimically disposed towards the Turks. Heaven knows what special solicitude Mr. Lloyd George and his satellites have for Greece that for her sake they are declaring war against the whole world and trampling upon the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadans of the world.

Afghanistan.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 14th July says that some of the subsidy which the British Government owed to Afghanistan still remains unpaid and in consequence the Afghans have lost all confidence in the English. Moreover, the Frontier tribes considering the extension of the Kheyber Railway as suicidal to their liberty have taken up a hostile attitude. The English view with suspicion the relations which Afghanistan is establishing with the Turks and they are trying to extend the Kheyber Railway to the Afghanistan frontier. The Afghans can hardly tolerate this. In these circumstances, if hostilities break out between the English and Afghanistan, the responsibility for murder and bloodshed will rest on the former. Besides the British Government will be confronted with great difficulties.

Paisa Akhbar
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

A repetition of the Jallianwala Bagh incident in Africa.

3. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 17th July refers to an incident which took place at a place near Queenstown in Africa in which the troops of the Union Government are reported to have opened fire on a body of Israelites consisting of 500 men, women and children, killing about 171 and wounding about 126 persons, and remarks that if the facts are true it will have to be said that the cruel and painful tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh has been re-enacted in Africa. As from its very nature, the incident is a very serious one, it is incumbent upon the British Government to hold an independent enquiry into the matter and publish true facts.

Zamindar
(Lahore);
Akhtar Ali Khan,
editor.

Indians in East Africa.

4. A Bombay correspondent of the *Statesman* writes that reports received from Nairobi show that feelings of racial hatred are increasing between the Europeans and Indians of the Kenya Colony. In all the districts of the Colony, resolutions are being passed against the Indians and sent to the Central European Association. In the district of Karechor, the European population has passed a resolution asking the Government of India to stop the immigration of the Indians to the Colony, otherwise they would resort to physical violence. Commenting, the *Zamindar* of the 19th July remarks that if such a resolution were passed in India the mover and the audience would have rendered themselves liable to a sentence of transportation. But as it has been passed by the white-coloured people, no action will be taken against them. If these fiery-tempered Europeans are not properly dealt with it is possible that they would make the friendless Indians the target of their bullets. Nothing but *Swaraj* can remove all these ailments.

II-LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Sansar
(Amritsar);
Santokh Singh,
Vidyarthi,
editor.

The Prince of Wales.

5. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 14th July thinks that as the Prince of Wales is coming to India for supporting the bureaucracy, and sprinkling salt on our wounds it is not proper to invite the supporter of tyrants to our house.

Bande Mataram
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(*b*) In commenting upon Lord Derby's advice that the Prince of Wales should postpone his visit to India, the *Bande Mataram* of the 15th July remarks that what Lord Derby fears is not the physical health of the Prince but the mental uneasiness natural in a guest whose host is not prepared to accord him a welcome.

Kesari,
(Lahore);
Sham Lal
Kapur,
editor.

Boycott of foreign goods.

6. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 14th July dwells on the question of the boycott of foreign goods and remarks that Englishmen govern over Indians with the money which they take out of our pockets. If Indians boycott English cloth to-day, they can obtain *Swaraj* without fail. It is, therefore, most essential for them to boycott English cloth and deprive the English of their annual income of sixty crores of rupees. The British nation will then surely come to its senses.

Desh
(Lahore);
Dina Nath,
editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 20th July remarks that extraordinary excitement prevails in the country over the complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 1st August. At certain places proposals are made to burn foreign clothes. This is going to the extreme. It will be more proper if all these clothes are distributed among the poor and indigent people. Instead of boycott, steps should be taken to increase the produce of the country. Before destroying foreign-made goods by fire, it should be seen whether the country can supply its requirements.

Tribune
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

An Indian republic.

7. The *Tribune* of the 17th June writes :—"We have no hesitation in saying that for the Congress to make a declaration of [an Indian republic] at its next Session would be not only premature but an extremely unfortunate step. That it would lead to endless complications in our foreign affairs, in our relations with the Indian States, in our relations with the British Government itself, which is a physical, if not also a moral, entity and has to be reckoned with, and last but not least among ourselves—any one can see. The Declaration of Independence would have no meaning and no reality unless we could establish by the side of the existing Government at least a provisional government; and clearly no

Government, whether provisional or other, can continue for a day under present conditions without force of some kind behind it. Let not either the American or the Irish analogy delude us. Those cases have nothing in common with ours on this particular point. There is and can be such a thing as compelling the Government by means of moral and intellectual pressure to surrender its own power into your hands; there is not and there cannot be such a thing as the establishment of a rival Government, whether provisional or actual. The Ali Brothers language is the language of an ultimatum, and without making ourselves more explicit we will say that no one who realises the true nature of the present situation can fail to see that an ultimatum is not at all likely in the present conditions to conduce to a peaceful settlement of India's national problem."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K.N. Roy, editor.

Army reform.

8. The *Tribune* of the 16th July says:—"The military, which is, just as important as the civil administration, is entirely unaffected by the Government of India Act. . . . The fact cannot be disguised that the history of the last fifty years' British rule in India shows conclusively that the military policy has been inspired mostly by distrust and suspicion. . . . . The great war was fought and India gave a substantial and visible proof of her loyalty to the British connection. . . . . But when one turns from mere verbal expressions of gratitude to practical measures, one is painfully impressed by the notorious fact that not much has been done in the way of giving concrete effect to the legitimate aspirations of Indians so far as reform in the military administration is concerned. . . . . The military expenditure has reached an abnormal figure as a result of which education, sanitation and medical relief—departments which ought to be the prime charge on the revenues of a country—are being starved. The limit beyond which it is neither wise nor fair to the tax-payer to allow military expenditure to mount up has long ago been reached. As regards the exclusion of Indians from the Commissioned ranks, the Viceroy made an announcement the other day that a military college would be established at Dehra Dun. But the training imparted at the institution would only be preparatory to the admission of these Indians to Sandhurst. Why is it considered at all necessary, we ask, to send cadets to England for the completion of their military training? Is it not possible to make satisfactory arrangements in India for such training? Or is this scheme a part and parcel of that wider scheme according to which it is sought to perpetuate the position of England as the main recruiting field for the Imperial Services? Again what is to be the proportion of Indians to British Commissioned Officers? With regard to the Territorial force scheme, His Excellency is obviously ignorant of the grounds which have constantly been urged by Indian publicists against the scheme. Referring to the demand for the Indianisation of the rank and file of the army, Lord Reading said in his reply to the United Provinces Liberal deputation that 'the response that is made to the appeal for recruits for the Territorial force will be the measure of the genuineness of the demand.' Agreed. But are the terms of service in the Territorial force identical with those for Europeans in the Auxiliary Force? So long as the terms of the two services are not identical, no good will result from laying down such a one-sided tests as the Viceroy did."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Viceroy's reply to the Marwari deputation

9. In commenting upon the Lord Reading's observation made in the course of his reply to the Marwari deputation that in India the people depended greatly on the rains, which as they would admit were beyond the control of His Excellency the Viceroy or Governor-General in Council, the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th July is prepared to concede that a Viceroy has no control over the rainfall. But cannot he issue an order that at least one year's produce should be kept in stock in India? Cannot he even stop the export of grain at the time of dearness? Cannot he help in the preparation of gardens and forests the want of which is proving to be one of the causes of the dearth of rains? Cannot he increase the number of bullocks by stopping kine-killing? Cannot he afford other agricultural facilities to the zamindars? The fact is that the Viceroy is the controller of the destinies of thirty crores of Indians and he can do whatever he likes.

SANSAR, (Amritsar) Santokh Singh Vidyarthi, editor.

The Viceroy's tribute to officials.

10. In commenting upon the Viceroy's remarks about the sincerity of the officials, the *Sansar* of the 15th July cannot understand what His

Excellency meant by these remarks. Is there no difference between honest motives and oppression ? Honest motives have some limit. Did Dyer open fire with honest motives ? If Dyer can be regarded as having acted in good faith, no murderer in the world can be held guilty. But this kind of good faith is reserved for the white colour only. Can an Indian who commits a murder be ever released on the same ground ? An Indian is awarded exemplary punishment for a trivial offence. On the one hand, we are skinned and on the other it is said that whatever is done is being done in good faith. This is nice fun indeed !

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Press Laws.

11. The *Tribune* of the 22nd July says :—"We are constrained to take serious exception to some of the recommendations made by [the Press Laws Committee] in their report. These recommendations are made mostly with a view to the retention of some of the provisions of the Press Act by incorporation in other laws, and it is safe to assert that unless they are seriously modified, some of the principal objections to the existence of the Press Act will remain and will continue to cause that public dissatisfaction which, we gather, is one of the chief reasons why the Committee have recommended the repeal of the Act... [As regards] the safeguard of a real appeal to the ordinary courts as distinguished from the illusory appeal under the Press Act a little reflection will show that the recommendation is based on an imperfect appreciation of the fundamental principle of liberty of the Press, on which we have always taken our stand in our fight against the Press Act and that the safeguard itself is far from adequate.... "The confiscation of openly seditious documents," the Committee write, "in no way, we believe, constitutes an interference with the reasonable liberty of the Press." This is a view from which we entirely dissent.... The Committee seem to imagine that they have rendered the arbitrary power vested in Government innocuous when they have qualified the word "seditious" by the adverb "openly" and have further provided for an appeal to the High Court. Both safeguards, however, are to our mind inadequate. As regards the first, it is entirely a matter of opinion what is or is not "openly seditious." ... As regards the second safeguard, the very costliness of an appeal to the High [Court] is bound to make the remedy ineffective in many cases, even if the aggrieved party could feel certain as to its obtaining redress. ... But if it is objectionable in theory and unjust in practice to confer this general power of confiscation on the executive Government it is obviously even more objectionable in theory and more unjust in practice to confer the same power or an attenuated form of it upon customs and postal officers... Surely the Committee will deserve no gratitude on this particular score, if the net effect of its recommendation will be that the Government will now be able to do under the cover of ordinary and permanent law what it has hitherto done under the cover of an emergency law which was always understood to be temporary.... In our opinion the only power which the Committee might justifiably have given the Government and its officers is the power to confiscate openly seditious publications of two specific descriptions and only two, those of foreign origin, the authors or publishers of which are outside the reach of our courts of law ; and those publications in India itself which are anonymous and do not contain the names of the printer and publisher."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Registration of editors.

12. The *Tribune* of the 17th July suggests that instead of making it obligatory upon a newspaper to publish the name of its editor in every single issue, it should be provided that a paper must at the time of both the appointment of a new editor and the conclusion of his term of office make a definite statement to that effect, failure to make such a statement being an offence punishable with a fine, and it being further provided that until an editor has definitely announced the cessation of his connection with the paper he has been serving, the presumption will be that he is still its editor. This is surely better than making it obligatory upon the editor to appear before a Magistrate for registration which, in the present state of the relations between the Press and the Magistracy, is bound to be extremely unplatable to a large number of newspaper men.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A suggestion for the Income-tax Committee.

13. The *Tribune* of the 16th July says :—"The anomalies and vagaries of the Income-tax Act, both in its incidence and the manner of its administration, are many and obvious. We refer only to one or tw

matters, which operate harshly upon the poorer section of the people, including a number of widows and orphans It is well-known that both before and particularly after the banking crisis of 1913, a number of persons invested their little in Government Promissory Notes, then carrying only 3½ per cent. interest per annum. The value of those securities has tremendously gone down of late years and stands at present at about Rs. 58 or thereabouts. But this is not the worst part of the transaction. Under section 18 (3) of the Income-tax Act, income-tax at the maximum rate, *viz.*, at 16 pies in the rupee is deducted, whenever interest on the securities is paid. If any of the old G. P. Notes have been converted into War Loans under the concession allowed in 1917, even then there is no escape from the payment of the interest at the maximum rate. It has always seemed to many people an anomaly that while the short term War Bonds and a later War Loan should be free of income-tax, the old Government Promissory Notes and the original War Loan, which are not only long-time loans but also carry a much lower rate of interest should be charged with income-tax at the maximum rate. . . The only remedy appears to be a notification by the Governor-General in Council under section 44 of the Act exempting G P. Notes of the value of Rs. 10,000 and under from the operation of the Act at least in the case of widows and orphans, and reducing the rate of interest chargeable on G. P. Notes. Another suggestion we would make is that the power of reference to the High Court under section 51 of the Act should not be left, as it now is, to the sweet will of the Chief Revenue authority. Some sort of revisionary jurisdiction should be conferred on High Courts in cases involving questions of law and jurisdiction."

The Panchayat Bill.

14. The *Tribune* of the 22nd July writes: "We may state at once that we are irreconciliably opposed to the very fundamental principle of the Bill, that which provides that the panches are to "be appointed, in such manner as may be prescribed," instead of providing that they are to be elected by the villagers, and empowers "the Deputy Commissioner, subject to an appeal to the Commissioner, to suspend or remove any panch."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Government and the Sikhs.

15. (*a*) Referring to a *communiqué* recently issued by the Government in connection with the prosecution of a number of Sikhs for wearing long kirpans, the *Punjab Darpan* of the 13th July says that the Government is interfering with a purely religious matter of the Sikhs by prosecuting them for wearing long kirpans. The Sikhs cannot bear this. Any size of the kirpan fixed by the Government cannot be preferred to that fixed by Guru Govind Singh, and the Sikhs cannot give up their principle.

(*b*) Referring to the Viceroy's remarks that he was not blind to what was going on in India, the *Punjab Darpan* of the 16th July asks whether it is not a great mistake on the part of the Viceroy not to put a check to the oppression to which the Sikh community is being subjected by the Punjab Government.

Punjab Darpan (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The present unrest and repression.

16. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 14th July says that the object of educated and elightened Indians in cheerfully going to jails is to apprise the Government of its drawbacks and mistakes which are the real causes of unrest. Frequent arrests, prosecutions and riots lead to the only conclusion that Indians and the Government are at loggerheads with one another. It cannot be asserted that in the riots and disturbances that have so far taken place there was no fault on the part of the Indians, yet in existing circumstances greater responsibility lies with the party which is the more powerful of the two. Does it stand to reason that armless Indians should, without any reason or provocation, be determined to oppose the Government which has the police and the military at its command to punish them? And are the Indians so foolish as to intentionally risk their lives? If Lord Reading wants to uproot unrest, he should calmly think over the causes which are at the bottom of all this trouble. It is unfortunate both for Britain and India that His Excellency has not yet been able to gauge the feelings of Indians who, in the light of their past experience, assert that they have lost all confidence in Government officials whose heart is, with rare exceptions, full of feelings of

Zamindar, (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

revenge. But His Excellency openly supports the British officers and declares that there is absolutely no trace of racial hatred and enmity in their nature. The situation clearly shows that the present law and administration of the Governments are extremely defective and the only remedy against all these defects is *Swaraj*.

SIYASAT, Lahore; Habib Shah, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the too frequent arrests and trials of national workers in India and to the opening of fire on the mob by the police at Dharwar and Aligarh the *Siyasat* of the 20th July asks where Lord Reading is. If the Viceroy is not asleep, there is no reason why he should not redeem his promises which should be considered to be his arrogant boasts. His silence is interpreted by his subordinates as permission to pursue a policy of repression. His Lordship should put an end to the present state of affairs and if he cannot do this, he should include his name in the long list of the Viceroys who have been failures.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Imperial Services.

17. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 19th July writes:—"We think it would be a scandal of the gravest magnitude in the present conditions to grant further increments to the already highly paid Imperial Services. Mr. Montagu has already done much by his actions in this particular matter to neutralise the value of his Reforms such as it is. Let him take care that he does not destroy its value altogether."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th July is strongly opposed to any increase in the pay of the Indian Civil Service men. It is, however, necessary to raise the salaries of subordinate Government servants.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

Proportionate pension.

18. The *Tribune* of the 23rd July writes:—"It is believed that the Secretary of State and the Government of India are considering the question of granting special concessions to such of the civilians as wish to retire from service on account of the recent constitutional changes in India. It is also stated that proportionate pensions and additional compensations for loss of prospects may be sanctioned. We only hope that no decision will be arrived at without giving the Legislative Assembly an opportunity of considering the additional financial burden that may be thrown on the people by the proposals. And if proportional pension is agreed upon in one case, there is no reason why it should not be given to all others in service retiring before their time."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

One rupee nickel coin.

19. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 21st July learns from a reliable source that the Government contemplates to introduce a one rupee nickel coin in the country and that in their confidential reports the *Tahsildars* have stated that such a coin would be viewed with approval. The *Siyasat* advises the Government to refrain from taking such a step. The introduction of a one rupee currency note and other nickel coins has already lowered the prestige of Government. Besides, there is the fear of counterfeit coins being introduced in large numbers.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) Writing on the same subject the *Desh* of the 22nd July says that Government should place no reliance on the reports of *Tahsildars* and should give up the idea of introducing a one rupee nickel coin seeing that the proposal will not commend itself to the public.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Frontier Inquiry Commission

20. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th July writes that the best thing for the Frontier Government was to allow the Frontier Enquiry Commission to make an enquiry into the alleged atrocities. Its order of externment, however, is sure to give rise to misgivings in the minds of the people who would naturally believe that the allegations made against some of its officers are correct.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th July says that as apprehended the deputation was not allowed to enter the Frontier Province and it had to come back. It will now be generally understood that Government has assuredly practised repression. The people will necessarily come to entertain the idea that in the British *Raj* the oppressed Indians have not even the right to represent their views to the world. If British rule became popular in its earliest days in India, it was simply because people expected even-handed justice in all matters.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

(c) The *Sansar* of the 11th July says that the bureaucracy is so afraid of truth that its servants always try to put a veil on it. We thought that Government officials would help the commission in finding out the truth, but in its stead the tyrannical officers of the Frontier Province excluded the commission in order to throw a veil on their own doings. This has made people suspicious about them The officers practise double oppression : on the one hand they exercise repression on the oppressed people and on the other they do not allow them to weep. We regard this action as a mean one and request our Frontier brethren to have courage and patience.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(d) The *Kesari* of the 16th July says that the authorities of the North-West Frontier Province have not displayed wisdom by excluding the Frontier Enquiry Commission from their jurisdiction. The inhabitants of the Province are experiencing great trouble on account of the repression practised on them. The leaders should give immediate attention to the matter, otherwise the day is not distant when it will become impossible for every person, who takes part in the political movement, to enter the Province.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(e) The *Zamindar* of the 14th July takes Government to task for taking proceedings under the Defence of India Act which was only a war measure. A strange feature of the unconstitutional manner in which things are going on in the Frontier Province is that the Chief Commissioner has invested his underlings with unlimited powers. Blank forms signed by him are given to magistrates and police officers who can fill in the names of any body they like The paper strongly protests against the repressive action of the Frontier Government and apprehends that this autocratic order will cause great excitement in the whole of India in general and in the Frontier Province in particular. If, God forbid, any untoward incident happens, the entire responsibility will rest with the Government.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy editor.

(f) The *Tribune* of the 21st July says :—"The externment from the N. W. F. Province of the members of the Inquiry Commission is not only unjustifiable but inexpedient..... The Commission did not, indeed, leave room for any doubt as to their object or method of inquiry..... The Frontier Government had no reasonable ground to take exception to the Commission's visit to the Province concerned..... Even if the Frontier Government did not accept this assurance as genuine, they might have waited and seen what the Commissioners actually did after commencing their work. They had no reason to anticipate what the Commission was or was not going to do before the Commissioners even entered the Frontier Province. Under these circumstances, it is natural for the suspicion to arise in the public mind that the Frontier authorities are averse to the holding of a public and impartial inquiry into their doings. The only way to remove this impression is either to cancel the order of externment passed against the members of the Khilafat Enquiry Commission, or else to appoint a mixed Committee of inquiry which should include an equal number of nominees of the Government and representatives of the Khalifat Inquiry Committee, with a neutral and independent chairman..... There is another fact about these orders which cannot be left unnoticed, *viz*, the delegation of power by the local Government of the Province to the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu..... We learn from a letter that 24 blank signed copies of orders under the Defence of India Rules were supplied to him for such use as he might like to make of them to stop the entry of "undesirable persons" in the Bannu District...... If the turning back of the Commissioners from the very doors of the Frontier Province was in the highest degree unjustifiable, the treatment meted out to them by certain soldiers at the Mari-Indus Railway station was simply adding insult to injury. We do hope the Government will make a sifting inquiry into the incident and suitably punish those of the soldiers who may be proved guilty of having abused and insulted respectable Indian without the slightest provocation or excuse."

The Besant case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

21. The *Tribune* of the 20th July says :—"The only comment that we can make upon the result of the Besant case is that it will complete the process of disillusionment that began four or five years ago and has been gathering force and volume ever since. That no London jury would convict

an English journalist or public man of any offence against an Irish Home Ruler has long been regarded as axiomatic, just as axiomatic as that no Dublin jury would ever convict an Irishman of a similar offence against an English opponent of Irish Home Rule. The Home Rule agitation in India and all that has followed in its train, coupled probably with other considerations to which no reference need be made, has evidently made exactly the same change in the angle of vision of British juries and of not a few even among the British judges in regard to India. Mrs. Besant's own earlier actions as well as the more famous Tilak case had demonstrated the truth of this observation. The martial law appeals went a long way towards confirming the impression. The present case makes the assurance doubly sure. Henceforth there will be no excuse for any aggrieved person in India to incur the cost or undergo the trouble of seeking redress in a court in England in cases of this nature; and any injustice that arises in consequence of this omission must be regarded as a part of the game, just as it has long been regarded a part of the game in regard to Ireland. . . . The jury's verdict was that the defendants were *justified* in calling the articles seditious because, in view of the period and the circumstances when they appeared, they *tended to promote unrest*. This is what is called adding insult to injury."

VEDIC MAGAZINE (Lahore); Ram Deva, editor.

The Sialkot Cantonment case.

22. (*a*) The July number of the *Vedic Magazine* has the following:—"A grave travesty of judgment, the lineal descendant of many that have preceded it in British India, has been reported from Sialkot. It is the old old tragic story. An Indian woman was approached for immoral purposes by a British soldier. . . . She was rescued from the clutches of the lustful gallant soldier who is paid from Indian revenues for protecting the honour of India—and the honour of India comprises the honour of Indian womanhood. . . . We are, further, told by this guardian of British Justice that the conduct of the accused was most reprehensible but at the same time, most natural. Perhaps he is right from his standpoint. Standards of sexual and other morality are different in different countries and among different races. What, then, is most natural for a British soldier and a British woman of the lower classes is most monstrous for an Indian gentleman and an Indian woman no matter to what class of society she belongs In the West the honour of a husband whose wife has been seduced can be assessed in terms of pounds, shillings and pence; in India female chastity is an invaluable treasure which once lost can never be regained. . . . Another evil perhaps inseparable from foreign rule is that equal justice between persons belonging to the races of the rulers and the ruled becomes most difficult if not impossible. . . . Perhaps it is not in normally perverse human nature to deal justly with a subject race and to proceed severely against one's kith and kin when the latter offend against people in a state of political subordination. Lord Reading professes to be shocked at these manifestations of racial hauteur and we make no doubt of it that His Excellency's solicitude is genuine. But he cannot alter established laws of psychology. If a race desires to escape the taint of racial uppishness, is must desist from establishing or continuing domination over other races."

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 21st July says that the judgment of the magistrate constitutes a palpable miscarriage of justice. The magistrate has put forward strange arguments to conceal the spirit of partiality which is visible in the judgment from the beginning to end. This is a case in which a magistrate has murdered justice and which deserves the special attention of Lord Reading.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Sialkot Railway case.

23. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 20th July writes:—"In the case Crown *versus* Major S. M. Young, in which the accused was prosecuted under section 120 of the Indian Railways Act, Mr. H. Fyson the District Magistrate of Sialkot, has pronounced orders, convicting the accused and sentencing him to pay a fine of Rs. 30 only. There were no extenuating circumstances whatever to justify the magistrate taking a lenient view of the case. On the other hand, the accused who is alleged to have forcibly ejected respectable Indian passengers was himself travelling without a ticket. We wonder what would have been the sentence had the position of the parties been reversed. It was pre-eminently a case of Indians having been humiliated because they were Indians. Let Lord Reading ponder over the facts brought out in this case before allowing himself to be convinced that feelings of racial superiority have ceased to operate in India."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(b) The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th July says that the punishment meted out to Major Young is very inadequate. Could this punishment of fine be considered sufficient had the accused been an Indian? This is British justice and the equality of which bureaucratic Government is proud. Lord Reading should calmly consider all these facts and then say whether the British Government can remain stable in India on the strength of such justice and equality.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

(c) The *Sansar* of the 21st July also writes in a similar strain.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

(d) The *Shanti* of the 22nd July writes that a few days ago a Major turned out some respectable Indians from a second class compartment at the Sialkot Railway Station. The police arrested the Major. The District Magistrate, Sialkot, tried the case and fined him Rs. 30. This is another instance of partial justice. It is another murder of justice by the Sialkot courts and the sentence does not meet the ends of justice.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

A suggestion.

KHALSA SAMACHAR, (Amritsar); Vir Singh, editor.

24. The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 14th July suggests that the period for the receipt of the applications for relief from the relations of those killed at the Jallianwala Bagh which expires on the 20th July should be extended by about 3 months. It transpires that many surviving relations of the victims of the tragedy do not give their names, as they are afraid of the police and fear arrest. It is, therefore, essential that this fear should be removed from the minds of the people and they should be told that enquiries are being made for the purpose of distributing relief. Besides, the committee should have one or two Sikh members on it.

The Dholpur-Jheri affair.

RAJPUT GAZETTE (Lahore); Sukhram Das, editor.

25. Referring to the dispute between the Dholpur State and the Jheri Rajputs, the *Rajput Gazette* of the 16th July makes a passionate appeal to Lord Reading to intervene in the matter and order an impartial enquiry to find out the causes of the friction.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 23rd July 1921.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

Allied attitude in the Turco-Greek war.

1. The *Swaraj* of the 24th July thanks God that the Turkish army is gaining splendid victories over the Greeks, but the Allies will now try to make every effort to wipe off Turkey by secret conspiracies. Many difficulties have been created in the way of the Turks by the declaration of the territory through which the Turks were advancing to be neutral. The Allies have been, from the very beginning, acting on the principle of not allowing the Turks to take advantage of their conquests. They remain unmoved when the Greeks carry on a general massacre of the Turks or practise shameful and savage oppression, and they are still boldly asserting that they are neutral.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh editor.

Canadian emigration.

2. Sardar Bishan Singh, Secretary, Khalsa Diwan, Hong Kong, writes to the *Sikh* of the 24th July:—"Facts may not be known in India or in the Punjab as to what hardships the Punjab Indians have to undergo at Hong Kong when they arrive here from India in order to go to Canada. Some of them either cannot secure passage at all, while others have to wait for months and months before they have got a definite reply about their proceedings. The condition of affairs being intolerable a deputation of the Sikh Temple Committee on the 15th June 1921 arranged an interview [with] the Manager of the Canadian Steamship Co. He showed us the emigration law forbidding every labourer, whether skilled or unskilled, to enter the Dominion of Canada. Then he frankly pointed out that it is not the law only that prohibits the Hindus but its interpretation. Under that law people domiciled in Canada,

i.e. those who have lived there for some time and are provided with such certificates, are allowed to return to Canada without any hindrance. But recently a new law has been passed, a copy of which he very kindly produced to us, which puts a limit of three years to such absence. That is persons, returning after such expiration of three years of their certificate, will be liable to lose their rights of domicile and will be treated as new comers. Although Mr. P. D. Sutherland, the General Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway, has given us every hope that he would do his best to represent these men's claims to the Canadian Government, still justly speaking it is not the duty of Mr. Sutherland to help them, nor can he do so in any pressing manner, but it is the Indian leaders who should take this case in hand to settle it through the Indian Government."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

Indians in the British Colonies.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 25th July contends that the shameful treatment accorded to Indians in parts of the British Empire is exposing the falsehood of the British professions of equality of colour and nationality. Nowhere are Indians considered so degraded and regarded with such contempt as in the colonies and possessions of the British Empire. All this is due to the haughtiness and arrogance of the English themselves. The white men of South Africa consider Indian traders, labourers and shopkeepers as an eye-sore to them and are resorting to the basest artifices to secure their expulsion. It is the habit of the English to hold everything which is injurious to themselves as injurious to the world and to find a pretext for destroying it by usurping to themselves the post of the Magistrate of God. For instance, the people of Mesopotamia like Turkish rule. But Englishmen, the Magistrates of God, hold Turkish rule to be an obstacle to the progress of Mesopotamia and consider it necessary that Mesopotamia should be separated from Turkey and placed under themselves. They say that they are bearing this burden for the sake of the people of Mesopotamia. The latter say that they do not need English help, but these Magistrates of God pay no heed to them. Similarly Englishmen find that it is advantageous for them if Indians are expelled from Africa, but they say that the presence of Indians is detrimental to the progress of the African people. An estimate of their falsehood and wrong statements can be formed by the fact that the negroes of Kanea recently passed a resolution to the effect that the presence of Indians is useful, and not injurious, for them. British colonists should now be ashamed of their falsehood. But modesty is a virtue that does not show its head in the presence of an Englishman.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

RAMGARHIA GAZETTE, (Simla).

The Prince of Wales.

4. (*a*) The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 14th July says that India does not want anything in recognition of her war services. She wants only independence. At first India turned her longing eyes towards the Duke of Connaught, but the bureaucracy tried its best to prevent her from showing her distressed countenance to the Duke. The ulcer cannot be concealed and the Duke learnt that India was suffering under the unbearable oppressions of the bureaucracy. His Royal Highness, however, merely asked India to forget the past! Then came the announcements of Lord Reading. But India has so far gained nothing from His Excellency. It is, however, believed that the burden has now been thrown on the Prince of Wales. Let us see what the Prince is going to do for India, whose eyes are now turned towards the Prince. If he feels for the sufferings of India and releases political prisoners and proclaims *Swaraj*, India will offer the most heartfelt welcome and hospitality to him. If he too will ask the Indians "to forget" the past and will sing the songs of the bureaucracy, he will perhaps receive a welcome similar to the one offered to the Duke of Connaught.

SATJUG, (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Satjug* of the 21st July remarks that if it is not the object of the Royal tours to throw unnecessary burdens on India and to involve the country into poverty, it is difficult to say what it is. Even blind persons can see that, thanks to the blessings of British rule, the financial condition of India has made such progress that several crore Indians, men and women, cannot get sufficient food to fill their stomachs and are dying of starvation. Crores of people cannot even cover their bodies and the bodies of their children with clothes. The incidents of the Jallianwala Bagh, the oppressions of martial law and the Caliphate, the general massacre of the Nankana Sahib and the transportation and imprisonment of brave Indian patriots have wounded the people. Even Lord Reading, who is apt to boast of European civilisation and who professes to be just, has failed to apply the balm to these wounds. What can the tour of the Royal Prince mean when the condition of India is so bad, unless it is intended that the financial condition of India be wholly ruined by spending, through various official channels, lakhs of rupees from the public treasury in offering a welcome to the Prince. Indians will be forced to resort to *hartal* instead of offering a welcome to the Prince, and keep the cities locked up. Such tours should be undertaken when there is peace in the country and when people are happy. People are already dying of starvation and are in a state of distress. It is to be hoped that our remarks will be considered by the King's son and he will cancel the tour.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Pandit Gopi Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 20th July remarks that if India desires its betterment and prosperity and also *Swaraj* and equal rights within the Empire, it should adopt a compromising attitude and offer an enthusiastic welcome to the Prince of Wales, thereby proving that Indians are still as loyal and devoted to the British Government as before. If Indians do this, all their complaints will be removed and India will find a place in the heart of the Prince of Wales, so that it is posible that in the exercise of his royal authority, His Royal Highness might succeed in removing all the grievances of the Indians and fulfiling all their legitimate demands. Notwithstanding a boycott, the Prince will make a tour of India and go away. It now remains to be seen what the public opinion of India will be in respect of this question. We heartily desire that Indians should offer an enthusiastic reception to the Prince of Wales.

Non-coöperation.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd July publishes an article, over the signature of Lala Lajpat Rai, urging its readers to work strenuously during the immediate future. The methods which present-day civilisation has invented to fleece others are so fine and scientific that the plunder which took place in this country in the past dwindles into insignificance as compared with it. We cannot say that the principle of equality was followed in the country before the advent of British rule. But we would certainly say that British rule has increased the poverty of India. Every day of our slavery is bringing about our moral and spiritual degradation. This loss cannot be compensated for by the posts and titles which are granted by the British Government to a few of our brethren. Our goal is freedom, even though it be accompanied by poverty. We would like to be savages but free. Indians should not feel proud if they have collected one crore of rupees in three months. Such amounts have been collected several times in an hour in England. The writer asks the Punjab people whether they will lag behind in the present war of love, especially when in the wars of the British Government they always remained in the front in offering their lives and money. What did the Khalsas who were killed on the top of the Saragarhi hills carry with them ? They, however, made a name for loyalty and bravery. There will be many Saragarhis in the present war of national liberty; but, of course, they will be different in nature. Sardul Singh has made one Saragarhi and others should follow suit. In subscriptions, sacrifices, devotion and the number of prisoners, Bombay, Bengal, Gujrat and Andhra are all ahead of the Panjabees. The "devoted soldiers" of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces have converted their chests into shields. They are like the pioneers clearing the way for the Panjabees, who should now come under the standard of non-coöperation. For a few months Panjabee youths should shut their books, give up their ordinary pursuits, wear *khaddar* and enlist in the ranks of the army of non-coöperators. This fight should assume before the advent of the Prince of Wales a shape that would induce the Prince either to give up his tour or bring with him a charter for our liberties.

(*b*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd July, Lala Lajpat Rai says that in those places where the sale of spirituous liquors has been stopped and the people of the localities have passed resolutions for closing liquor shops it is our moral duty to help the contractors in securing a refund of their contract money. As regards boycotting the courts the work is extremely difficult but success can be obtained if the work is carried on in a resolute and persevering manner. The Provincial Congress Committee is trying to formulate a Panchayats scheme. But so long as this scheme is not completed the greatest care is required to carry on the work.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santok Singh Vidyarthi, editor.

Social connection with the non-coöperators.

6 (*a*) In commenting upon the recent circular issued by the Punjab Government that Government servants should break off connection with thier relations and acquaintances against whom prosecutions may be launched by the Government, the *Sansar* of the 23rd July opines that the instructions are extremely injurious to the non-coöperators. Should a Government servant whose brother is a non-coöperator break off his connection with the latter? If Government regards the non-coöperators as undesirables, it should award them any punishment it may please, but surely it is unfair to direct their relatives to sever connection with them.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 23rd July refers to the circular letter and observes that the insistence of Government on breaking off friendly relations with the promoters of non-coöperation is objectionable in so far as it is likely to create feelings of hatred and bitterness.

SAWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

Repression and the duty of Indians.

7. The *Swaraj* of the 29th July refers to the too frequent arrests, trials and convictions of public workers in India and says that the question before us is one of life and death. We have opened hostilities against a mighty power like the British, though it is a silent war in which no machine guns or æroplanes are to be used. At the same time, it requires men. If Indians want *Swaraj*, it is their duty to fill the void created by the imprisonment of every leader.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

What will satisfy India?

8. In a signed article published in the *Bande Mataram* of the 21st July, Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the Viceroy's reply to the Manwari deputation and says that the Viceroy does not explain why the Secretary of State raised a sterling loan at an interest of 7 per cent. without the sanction of the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Besides no satisfactory reply has been given as to why the railway policy is so ruinous for the commerce and industry of India and the usual misleading reply has been given about foreign trade. There are among European Government servants many who pour forth on us a torrent of filthy language in return for the salaries they receive from us. We are not opposed to the principle of employing foreign experts, provided their salaries are fixed by a Government appointed by the people themselves. But where such experts are thrust on us and our Government is not responsible to the people, it is only a lame excuse to say that we get their services in return for our money. We expect nothing from the proposed fiscal committee. We cannot be satisfied unless we are allowed by law to levy duty on imports. So long as India is not granted *Swaraj* and is not ruled by the British Parliament and the British Cabinet all lip-sympathy is of no avail.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Repressive Laws Committee.

9. (*a*) The ***Tribune*** of the 24th July says :—"The Punjab is represented by Chaudhri Shabab-ud-Din who may know a good deal about municipal and other affairs, but whose knowledge of the working of repressive laws in his Province cannot possibly be claimed to be either as full or as intimate as that of a good many others one could easily name. . . . . From the names of the witnesses published in the press so far, we have no reason to think that the nationalist shade of opinion will be at all properly or adequately represented before the Committee. . . . But whether we have or have not any right to complain either of the unrepresentative character of the Committee or of the witnesses invited to appear before it being at best inadequately representative of the nationalist school of thought, we can surely regret both. . . . . The question which we venture to ask is, are these Acts and Resolutions going to be repealed or are they going still to be adhered to, on the spurious ground of State necessity. . . . Our question is addressed solely to the Government of India and the local Governments. . . . . We have a right to expect that every local Government will suggest, if it has not done so already, either the total repeal of all these measures or at any rate a radical modification of such of them as cannot be immediately repealed. As regards the Committee itself, we have two suggestions to make. We find that it has examined Sir John Maynard. Why can it not similarly invite all the prominent moderate leaders who are either ministers or members of the Executive Council in the Provinces to give it

the benefit of their oral evidence? Secondly we do suggest that some witnesses should be examined before the Committee who can speak from knowledge and with authority of the popular version of things in the North-West Frontier Province, which in this matter of repression is at present not second to any other Province in India."

(b) The *Tribune* of the 28th July says:—"The list of repressive laws referred to the Committee is obviously incomplete so far as the North-Western Frontier Province in particular is concerned. The one measure which in that Province has been more in operation than any other, and has been more largely responsible for the volume of discontent and dissatisfaction that does exist in it, is the Frontier Crimes Regulations, and that is exactly the measure which is not included within the scope of reference to the Committee. The omission is a bad one in any case, and would be inexcusable if witnesses from the Frontier Province were to be examined, as suggested by us, before the Committee..... Is it too much to hope that the Committee will even yet both supply the omission and invite some responsible and independent non-official Indians to give evidence before it?"

The Defence of India Act.

10. The *Siyasat* of the 27th July invites the special attention of Lord Reading to the fact that in prohibiting the entry of the Frontier Enquiry Commission into their province, the North-Western Frontier Province authorities resorted to the Defence of India Act, which was only a war measure designed against the enemies of the King-Emperor. The war is over but the Act is still being used. It is a matter of shame for the British Government that a law meant for the King's enemies is being used against a peaceful commission appointed by loyal people. It does not befit the late Lord Chief Justice of England to ignore the improper use of this Act by taking shelter behind the Repressive Laws Committee. We hope the Viceroy will at least arrange that in future the Defence of India Act should not be used without the previous sanction of the Government of India.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

The Press Act.

11. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd July remarks that the fact that excepting the Bombay Government no Local Government has recommended that the Press Act should be repealed shows that the Local Governments are determined to carry on a policy of repression and that no change has taken place in their angle of vision. In view of this, it is certainly praiseworthy that the Committee should have recommended the repeal of the Act, though it will not be proper to force the editors to publish their names whenever an editor is changed, the declaration filed by the new editor being considered sufficient. The retention of sections 13 and 14 of the Press Act is also opposed to true liberty. If any person publishes seditious matter he can be regularly prosecuted. To declare a whole literature seditious on one's sweet will and not to allow a person to defend himself before the confiscation constitute an undue hardship.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(b) The *Kesari* of the 23rd July remarks that the Press Act hung over the heads of Indians like a naked sword and they could utter no word of complaint. The Act sucked the blood of the Indian journalists during the last 11 or 12 years and poor Indians bore its rigours quietly. The paper is glad that the Act is going to be repealed after so many years.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(c) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 22nd and 23rd July takes exception to the recommendation of the Press Laws Committee that some sections of the Press Act should be incorporated in the ordinary law of the country and says that this will further restrict the freedom of the press. It is necessary to incorporate these sections in ordinary law after making reasonable modifications.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(d) In its issue of the 24th July, the paper observes that the powers proposed to be bestowed on the Local Governments and Customs Officers are too extensive and there is a fear of their being abused. Newspapers and pamphlets should be confiscated after they are proved to be seditious in a regular court of law.

(e) The *Siyasat* of the 23rd July remarks that the Press Act will soon be materially changed, if not repealed. In these circumstances, will it not be right for the Government of India to instruct magistrates through the Local Governments not to demand security from new presses?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Habib Shah, editor.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*f*) The *Partap* of the 23rd July congratulates the Press Act Committee on its recommendations. The members of the Committee are of opinion that it was through the enforcement of the Press Act that the spirit of anarchism died out in India. The country at large is not prepared to accept this view. It has died out because the country was naturally opposed to it.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*g*) The *Vakil* of the 25th July objects to the recommendation of the Press Act Committee suggesting the retention of the power of the Local Governments and postal and customs authorities to forfeit openly seditious literature.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*h*) The *Zamindar* of the 27th July affirms that notwithstanding the repeal of the Press Act the person would be a fool who would thereby infer that Government was going to allow Indians the same liberty of writing as is enjoyed by Anglo-Indian and English papers. The Government is going to repeal the Act because it has failed in its object of uprooting the germs of sedition. Government now wants to use section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. In future editors should be prepared to go to jail.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

(*i*) The *Liberal* of the 27th July says :—"We hope the Government will give its sanction to the recommendations embodied in the [Press Laws] Committee's report and announce the repeal of these obnoxious measures at an early date. That will be the first liberal act of Lord Reading's Government. The second, we hope, will follow as soon as the Repressive Laws Committee has submitted its conclusions."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Removal of racial distinctions.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 24th July refers to the Bill which R. B. Bakhshi Sohan Lal is going to introduce in the Legislative Assembly with a view to remove all racial distinctions in criminal cases, but does not think it likely that as a matter of fact all racial distinctions will be removed by the passage of the Bill. The fact of one nation governing another is a positive proof of the racial distinction. No foreign nation, which can justify its rule with the strength of its arms, can place the members of the ruling nation on a footing of equality with the ruled. The facts that the British Government maintains a large white army in India, on which considerable sums of money are spent notwithstanding financial difficulties, that the high officers of every department are Englishmen and that partiality is shown towards Europeans in all matters, bear witness to the truth of our observations. We do not say that the Bakhshi has not done well in introducing his Bill. What we wish to affirm is that such efforts can prove successful only if God instils into the minds of Englishmen a feeling of His fear or if India obtains *Swaraj*.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Punjab Panchayat Bill.

13. (*a*) Writing to the *Tribune* of the 24th July, Professor Gulshan Rai takes exception to the preamble of the Bill and asks if at this late hour of the day, we still require a fostering and developing process for local self-government. Is Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain giving us complete self-government in all villages? Our Minister hands over even the village communities to the tender mercies of officialdom. Continuing the writer takes exception to section 4 of the Bill and suggests a draft of his own. He further criticises the Bill on the ground that it does not propose the immediate establishment of Panchayats in all villages in the Punjab. The method proposed by the Minister invests the bureaucracy with immense powers and it would yield very meagre results so far as the speed of local self-government is concerned. The writer would not leave it for the Local Government to establish or not at their sweet will Panchayats in the villages. He urges the immediate establishment of a Panchayat in every good sized village. No separate notification is required in each case. The writer then suggests his own draft of section 5.

TRIBUNE (Lahore) K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 30th July says:—"Even a child can see that the net effect of these proposals is, to make the panchayat a part not of the machinery of self-government properly so-called, but of the official machinery that exists in the country to-day, in other words, to further tighten the bureaucracy's hold on the villages in which, after all, the nation lives. What is the Minister's explanation of this series of extraordinary proposals? As a matter of fact, it is not merely the principle of village self government, but the principle of self-government itself against which the Bill offends."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Cantonment reforms.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

14. Referring to the Commander-in-Chief's reply to the deputation of the All-India Cantonment Association, the *Tribune* of the 27th July writes:—"This is the sort of assurance that is always given to the public in respect of arbitrary powers, but when they are actually used, they, not unoften, injure innocent persons. The safeguards provided are inadequate because there is no provision made for hearing the other side of the case and the higher authorities, more or less, rely on the one-sided reports of local officials, who may either be prejudiced against individuals or themselves be misguided as to their offence. In any case, the retention of arbitrary powers in executive officials to be used against civil inhabitants is contrary to the spirit of the age, whether in the civil or military department, and due provision must be made for a trial, either open or otherwise. It is much to be regretted that His Excellency rejected the suggestion that a committee of officials and non-officials should be appointed to examine the cases of expulsion from Cantonments. This would have given an opportunity to the Government to test the validity of the expulsion orders and to find out in how many cases the powers for arbitrary action have been used or abused. The contention of the people being that they have been very often abused, their demand for the appointment of an Enquiry Committee amounted to a challenge to the Government to prove the official theory or to disprove the popular contention .... We still think that the appointment of a Committee as suggested is very necessary, not only to undo a wrong done to innocent sufferers but also to enable the Government to come to a right understanding of the practical effects of an arbitrary provision and the futility of the so-called safeguards. At a time when the Government is considering the advisability of removing repressive enactments in civil jurisdiction and a Committee is sitting in Simla to go into the whole question, it would be very appropriate for the military authorities to introduce a like spirit of justice and impartiality into their laws and repeal the arbitrary provisions complained of."

Withdrawals of the Seditious Meetings Act.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

15. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 24th July argues that if it is sedition to criticise the misdeeds of the authorities, Government will soon realise that it has made a mistake in withdrawing the Act. But if Government desires that people should not do anything calculated to inflame their minds or create an apprehension about the disturbances, then we are perfectly sure that Government will not feel disappointed. But will the Government take care to keep under control the police who are often instrumental in provoking the public?

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 27th July is glad at the removal of the Seditious Meetings Act from Lahore and Amritsar.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 24th July approves of the announcement which will help in allaying the present unrest among the people. The people of the Punjab should not create circumstances which might make it necessary for Government to re-enforce this or any other repressive Act.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 24th July says that Sir Edward Maclagan deserves every praise for having withdrawn the application of the Seditious Meetings Act from the Punjab. His Excellency has warned the people against doing anything that might necessitate the re-inforcement of the Act. If Government respects public sentiments and is prompt enough to accede to the legitimate demands of the people, they are not mad that they will agitate for nothing. If at times they make use of violent words it is the duty of the Government to calmly think over the causes of their resentment. It is men and not angels who work the machinery of Government and they might commit mistakes. But the difficulty is that the members of Government look upon themselves as being superior to the common people. So long as this distinction is not removed, the present differences between the Government and the public can never come to an end.

High prices.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

16. The *Swaraj* of the 22nd July says that high prices account for the unrest and discontent prevailing in the country. Government is mistaken if it thinks that it is not one of its duties to put an end to this terrible dearness. While

during the martial law days the Punjab Government could temporarily regulate the prices of foodstuffs, the Central Government is unable to fix prices. In some quarters it is believed that Government itself is responsible for famine, because it wishes that Indians should remain entangled in the grip of famine and thus forget their demand for *Swaraj*. This makes the position of Government still more delicate and the Viceroy should take steps to remove the famine.

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The excise policy of Government.

17. The *Kesari* of the 25th July feels constrained to observe with deep regret that the Government of India have adopted a policy in connection with the liquor trade which is not becoming of a civilised government. It is the duty of every government to save its subjects from habits that are likely to vitiate their morals and ruin their health. It is also the duty of every government, which proudly calls itself a civilised one, to make every effort to keep its subjects back from using articles which are likely to bring about their death. The Government of India have, however, adopted so deplorable a policy regarding wine that the result is that men who used to touch it secretly are now using it openly.

PARTAP (Lahore) Krishan, editor.

Anti-liquor campaign.

18. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 25th July thinks that the Senior Superintendent of Police, Lahore, has made a serious mistake in authorising the police to arrest the volunteers who are working as picquets at liquor shops in Lahore. The attitude of the police is objectionable and provocative but the public is deserving of congratulation for maintaining peace in spite of provocation.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 27th July is sorry to see that while Government will not of itself stop the sale of liquors, it arrests those who are conducting the anti-liquor campaign. Several such arrests have been made in Lahore. The public used no physical force, and yet the police was called. Sometimes the presence of the police provokes the public.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

Publicity work in the Punjab.

19 (*a*) The *Shanti* of the 23rd July does not understand the necessity of re-starting publicity work in the Punjab. Are not Government notices published in other newspapers? Are not its views expressed through the moderate press in the Punjab? There is a strong opinion in the Province against the proposal which will involve heavy expenditure.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(*b*) The *Swaraj* of the 24th July protests against the wastage of public funds involved in restarting publicity work in the Punjab and asks the advocates of coöperation whether it is right to coöperate with a Government that so ruthlessly tramples upon the people's susceptibilities.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The kirpan

20. The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th July reports that the four Sikhs who were convicted for being in possession of long *kirpans* have been released by the Punjab High Court. The decision should be a decisive one so far as the *kirpan* is concerned and in future no subordinate officer should venture to arrest any Sikh for wearing a long *kirpan*.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham La. Kapur, editor.

The conviction of S. Kartar Singh, Jhabbar.

21. The *Kesari* of the 28th July writes that the sentence of 2 years' imprisonment passed against Kartar Singh in Bal Lila Gurdwara case is very severe, and every Indian will regret it. At present half a dozen Sikh nationalist leaders are in jail and we affirm that the Government has made a mistake in separating them from the Sikh community, as they were the very men who could keep the Sikhs back from violence.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor,

The case against the editor of the *Siyasat*.

22. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 27th July protests against the action of the District Magistrate of Lahore in excluding press reporters from the court room during the hearing of the case against Syed Habib on the 26th July. Even his brother was not allowed admission.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 28th July says it is strange that, on the one hand, Government is extending a friendly hand towards the Indians and asking them to stop all agitation, while, on the other, arrests are still being made. Government is at liberty to do whatever it likes, but we must say that this is not the way to restore peace in the country.

Mr. Ranga Iyer's case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

23. The *Tribune* of the 29th July says:—"It is extremely doubtful if in law this [statement] amounts to a plea of "guilty," for the system of government is not the Government itself, nor is want of affection for this system disaffection to the Government as by law established, in the absence of positive hatred or ill-will. As regards the declaration of the accused that he wants "the present system to be removed root and branch and made responsible to the people of India," it is only a paraphrase of the announcement of August, 1917, of the preamble to the Government of India Act and of more than one eloquent passage in the latest Royal Proclamation itself and the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors and the Governor-General... It is a pity that the case cannot be taken up before a higher tribunal... But the most important question which this case and other cases like it raise is, with what consistency or propriety can the Government of India permit the Local Governments concerned to sanction these prosecutions after having taken up the position in the case of the Ali Brothers, that only incitement to violence was to form the basis of a prosecution against them. The question which we are bound to ask is whether the articles did or did not contain an incitement to violence. If they did, why was not that fact stated in the letter? If they did not, why was an apology wanted from the accused for having incited to violence? Again in the latter case, why, on the analogy of the Ali Brothers' case, did not the Government ignore the other alleged offence? It does owe something to consistency like all of us, indeed even more than mere individuals do, and in every case in which it departs from the policy it followed in the case of the Ali Brothers, it is bound, in its own interest, to explain the reasons for the differentiation. It is now known that it was not on the strength of either a warrant or a summons that Mr. Iyer was taken from his house. He went to the Magistrate's bungalow in response to a polite invitation. Mr. Iyer was not, indeed, arrested at the Magistrate's bungalow, but he was asked to go straight from there to court, there to stand his trial. The hurry was indecent, to say the least of it. We do not see why the summons could not have been served upon him in the usual way and the trial held in the due course of law, instead of the whole thing being finished in less than an hour."

One rupee nickel coin.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

24. The *Vakil* of the 24th July is of the opinion that Government should not commit the mistake of introducing a nickel rupee and hopes that Government will contradict the report as it did on a former occasion.

Railway fares.

SIYASAT (Lahore), Habib Shah, editor.

25. The *Siyasat* of the 27th July urges a reduction in railway fares, seeing that the railway authorities in England are lowering the railway fare along with the fall in the prices of other articles.

Dyerism still alive.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

26. The *Swaraj* of the 24th July says that the Duke of Connaught and the Viceroy may sing songs of equality, but the fact remains that Dyreism has not yet disappeared from India. As soon as the Duke of Connaught left this country, the bureaucracy set to practising even greater oppression than ever. If the officers who had formerly practised oppression had been punished, could their brother officers at Aligarh and Dharwar have ventured to fire on innocent and unarmed men?

V.—EDUCATION.

The Agra Medical School.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

27. The *Sansar* of the 22nd July protests against the humiliating treatment meted out to the students of the military class in the Agra Medical School and requests its Panjabee brethren not to join institutions that contain military classes.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Major Young.

KESARI (Lahore) Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

28. The *Kesari* of the 23rd July asks whether it is not preposterous that Major Young, who disgraced some respectable Indians, should not yet have paid the railway fare. He says in his statement that he should not pay the fare because the compartment in which he was travelling had no fan. This means that third and inter.-class passengers should travel in trains *gratis*.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

A poem.

29. The *Sansar* of the 23rd July publishes a Panjabee poem headed "Expectation for Guru Kalgidhar (10th Guru)." Some of the verses run as follows:—

"Oppression and sin have spread in the world; when will you (10th Guru) hoist the standard of religion?

"The ship of India is tossing on the ocean; when will you take it ashore?

"The birds have been imprisoned by the fowlers; when will you liberate India?

"Pilgrimage to the Gurdwaras has been stopped; when will you eradicate this oppression?

"The bombs of wrath are falling on heads; when will you send cold rain?

"All are dying on account of famine; when will you open your kitchens?

"The saints are grinding mills in jails; when will you extend a helping hand to the beloved ones?

"The brave are reciting prayers in jails; when will you restore the ruined garden to its former position?"

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 30th July 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The British attitude in the Turco-Greek war.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 29th July states that those who have been carefully reading news from the front during the recent European war have had bitter experience of false and contradictory news. There is no doubt that the entire responsibility for supplying reports which even the devil would perhaps hesitate to publish devolves on Reuter. The stupid and foolish Tino, who is dreaming of the capture of Constantinople, wishes to prove to Britain that he would be able to overpower the Turks without its help. But events will soon disclose the secert of the mailed fist of Kamal Pasha and humble the pride of Tino, whose jumping and skipping is bound up with the British stake. If Britain turns its face from Greece or remains neutral like France and Italy, Ghazi Mustafa Kamal can bring him to his knees within a few hours. But it is to be regretted that in spite of a declaration of neutrality Britain is secretly in full sympathy with Tino. Britain sends out an English General with staff to Smyrna to watch the military activities of the Greeks. Has the British ministry sent any British General to Angora also to watch the military activities of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha? If not, will it be wrong to say that by its declaration of neutrality Britain is trying to throw dust into the eyes of the Mussalmans? Moreover, even the dullest man will come to the conclusion that the English General was sent to Smyrna to teach Tino such military tactics against Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha as may lead to the latter's defeat. We fear that by the so-called neutrality of Mr. Lloyd George this bloody drama in the Near East will be prolonged and the responsibility for this prolongation rests on Britain. The present attitude of Mr. Lloyd George is extremely painful for the Mussalmans.

CENTRAL REGISTRY
6 SEP 1921
INDIA OFFICE

SIYASAT, (Lahore); Inayat Ullah Shah, editor.

(*l*) The *Siyasat* of the 30th July asserts that the European Powers are giving every kind of open and secret help to Greece in the war with Turkey. In fact, the Allies are prolonging the war and are responsible for the bloodshed that has long been going on in Asia Minor. Would Mr. Lloyd George give up patting the Greeks so that fighting in Asia Minor might come to an end ?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

Turks rendered blind.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 30th July publishes the translation of a note from the *Morning Post* of the 24th June 1921, which alleges that of the Turk prisoners interned in Malta, 15,000 were deprived of their eye-sight. The released prisoners have submitted a representation to the Angora Government demanding that all the British Commanders and doctors who forced them into poisonous baths and thus deprived them of their eyesight should be surrendered for punishment.

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

3. The *Liberal* of the 3rd August writes :—"The Indian people possess a reputation for hospitality for their guests and love and veneration for their King..... It behoves the Indian people in a double measure to offer to his Royal Highness their warm and affectionate welcome on his approaching visit..... The tour that His Highness is undertaking will surely afford to him the opportunity of gaining a closer insight into the needs and aspirations of the people and of understanding their difficulties better..... We have no doubt that the visit of His Highness at a period when the country is just entering on a new era of reforms would prove a blessing to the country. It is up to us therefore to make the visit a success and to show to His Highness how closely bound Indians are to their Sovereign by ties of love, veneration and gratitude. It is hoped that all sections and classes of people would join together in according a hearty welcome to the Royal guest."

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The ethical code of the Western nations.

4. The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th July publishes an article from Lala Lajpat Rai, who says that although the law framed by European nations makes no distinction between the rich and the poor, still a rich man only can get justice from their courts. Europeans wish to establish universal democracy in the world by means of the sword. But in their democracy conquered nations have no rights. They call the nationalists of different countries dacoits, enemies of their nation, savages, &c. Those who sell their nation and country to the Europeans for a mess of potage and assist them in making the bondage of their nation and country lasting, are highly praised and granted titles and other rewards. The moral code of Europe is intended for Asiatics alone but applies even to all those nations and human beings who are in any way opposed to its spirit of imperialism. Great Britain called the Irish nationalists dacoits, murderers, etc., for years together. Now the aspect of British justice has changed and Mr. De Valera has been honoured in London. We are witnessing this type of morality even in India. The greatest nationalist rebel of the Punjab is a Minister to the Punjab Government and a member of the Prince of Wales' Reception Committee. Indians who were yesterday opposed to the bureaucracy are to-day its colleagues and advisers. This is all due to the charms of Western civilization.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

The Tilak day.

5. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 31st July urges Indians to follow in the footsteps of the late Mr. Tilak and make all sorts of sacrifices for the attaintment of freedom. It is wrong to think that foreigners will willingly grant us freedom. The cases of Ireland and Egypt are before us. It is our duty to complete the work started by Tilak, which remained incomplete on account of his untimely death. We should suffer and follow the principle of non-violence.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* (Tilak number) of the 1st August publishes a communicated article saying that the late Mr. Tilak was the originator of the war for freedom. A regular struggle for freedom commenced against the detestable demon of slavery. To-day we are seeing freedom near at hand. Since this war began, Indians are carrying away citadel after citadel. They have now reached near the entrance to the palace of freedom. Now there will be stubborn fighting. No firearm will be used and the whole world will be surprised to see how a nation of slaves secures freedom without shedding a drop of blood.

We believe that the spirit of Tilak is working among us and is leading us in this peaceful war

Boycott of foreign goods.

ZAMINDAR, (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 30th July applauds the total boycott of British goods by the Turks and urges Indians to do the same. Merchants should stop selling and customers buying British goods. This done, no power on earth can stand in the way of India's freedom.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 1st August is opposed to foreign clothes being sent to Symrna. Symrna never helped India and has no right to get our clothes. It would be well if all such clothes are distributed to the poor in India.

Why Muhammadans should outstrip Hindus in the struggle for liberty?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

7. The *Zamindar* of the 3rd August remarks that the Musalmans should ardently try to go ahead of their Hindu brethren in maintaining the liberty of the country and the honour and respect of the nation. There are some excellent reasons which make the duty of using *khaddar* and India-made clothes more imperative for the Muhammadans than for the Hindus. The greatest reason is that the Hindus have not suffered the misfortunes which have fallen to the lot of the Muhammadans at the hands of the British Government and other prestige-loving Powers of Europe. Our Hindu brethren are concerned with the covetous and wily policy of the West merely in India. Muhammadans have, however, suffered troubles from the Western usurpers in every span of God's earth from China to Morocco. They have also suffered misfortunes equally with the Hindus in India. The sacred Islamic Caliphate, the holiest thing for Muhammadans, is in a bad condition because of these Western Powers, who have ruined the traditions of the greatness and magnificence of the Musalmans extending over a period of 1,300 years. In this plunder and devastation the British Government appears to be the most rapacious. In short, the Western merchant nations have tried to cause trouble to the Musalmans in all places, whether at home or abroad. It is these Western Powers which are responsible for the sighs and lamentations of the whole Islamic world. If, in spite of all this, the Musalmans should be so shameless and apathetic as to go on filling the pockets of their enemies and the enemies of their religion and if they still prove traitors to their country, nation and religion by displaying culpable negligence in the matter of the products of their country, then there is only remedy for them and that is that the lightning of the wrath of God should fall on them and consume to ashes the bodies of such shameless persons. Neither can peace be established in the world nor can India obtain liberty so long as the most powerful Government in the world does not espouse the cause of liberty and democracy. Nor can the security of the Islamic Caliphate be assured and the honour of the sacred places of Islam maintained. An end can be put to the Imperialistic policy of England and the British administration can be swayed by the love of liberty and democracy only if the present ministry, which Mr. Lloyd George considers to be his paternal property, is broken up; and it will be broken up when India proves to every child in England that Indians dislike the present system of administration in England and when Indians will leave no stone unturned to put an end to this administration. Hence, O' Muhammadans! Do not make yourselves the fuel of hell by giving monetary help to the enemies of the sacred Islamic Caliphate and by purchasing the articles manufactured by them. Wear *khaddar*, for it was dearly loved by your Master, the Prophet, on whom be peace. If you cannot wear *khaddar*, you should at least wear clothes manufactured in India. Do not tolerate to wear even a thread made in foreign countries. The secret of your liberty and the liberty of India, the Islamic world and the Caliphate lies in your wearing *khaddar*.

The Khilafat movement.

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Syed Ahmad Shah, editor.

8. The *Zulfiqar* of the 1st August remarks that it appears from an account of the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi and the speeches of the Ali Brothers that these people are determined to create a breach of the public peace. The day is not distant when they will get the peace-loving people and the loyalists criminally attacked by the hooligans and a foolish and ignorant party and when inexperienced boys, who are joining as volunteers in connection with the Swarajya fund, will attack the lives and property of respectable people.

These are not peaceful movements, seeing that they are leading to riots. Those who took part in the Khilafat Conference and took leave of their senses have come back and are poisoning the minds of other ignorant people.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

The exploitation of India by aliens.

9. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 26th July publishes the first instalment of an article headed: "The condition of India" from Sardar Sardul Singh, Caveissieur II. The writer says that India resembles a kind of mausoleum which is visited by men who go away after enjoying to their hearts content all sorts of luxuries, amusements, sensual pleasures, musical entertainments and revelry. Why need we go far? Look at the foreigners in this country. They come to our country and obtain a salary of Rs. 200 here, although in their own country they might be getting only Rs. 10. Immediately on arriving in India they are given servants and provided with bungalows, surrounded by gardens and all other requisites of ease and comfort. If, however, our Indian brethren go to foreign countries for earning their livelihood by labour, they are maltreated. No restriction is imposed on foreigners when they leave their country for India. They come to this country and enjoy themselves without restraint. Nay, they even frown at our people and obtain from us and eat the grain which we grow with the sweat of our brow. Indians are not destined to keep in their possession the produce of their country. Is this attributable to the ways of Providence? Why are the inhabitants of this country poor, although it produces so much corn and cotton? Our brethren pack the cotton produced in this country into bundles, send it on to the harbour of Bombay where it is carried by ships bound for England. Cotton which was sold at the rate 5 or 6 seers per rupee in India is sold when brought back from England at the rate of one chatak per rupee. The money which the foreigners thus gain by selling cloth is utilised by them in purchasing corn for their own countries. Poor Indians stare at this spectacle in utter helplessness.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Santokh Singh, Vidyarthi, editor.

(*b*) The *Sansar*, of the 2nd August 1921, publishes the second instalment of the above article. There was a time, says the writer, when our rulers used to go about naked. When they improved a little, they covered their bodies with the leaves of trees. They took pride in wearing the muslin of India. We can surely say that when Indian clothes were exported to England and English money came to India, the British Government passed a law that anybody wearing Indian clothes would be punished by law. This is the sort of justice which the British Government observed in their own country. Now when the myrmidons of the bureaucracy profess that Government is good hearted, there is no reason for the Government not to introduce into India that law which it had introduced in its own country. But the bureaucracy does not want that India should become *Swadeshi*. We should now compare the bureaucracy with the old rulers of India. On the statement of a washerman Raja Ram Chander discarded his wife, notwithstanding the fact that he knew that Sita was singularly chaste; but now that the public have raised the cry that Indians were unjustly shot at and that the person who thus fired at them should be hanged, Government is considering the proposal of granting him a big pension.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

The Press Act.

10. The *Zamindar* of the 29th and 30th July does not see much good in the proposed repeal of the Press Act. It argues that Sections 124-A, 153-A and 500 of the Indian Penal Code are quite sufficient to throttle and punish journalists. Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code can be also brought into operation against them.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act.

11. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 27th July remarks that the freedom conferred by the withdrawal of the Seditious Meetings Act is conditional. But neither in the past did the people do anything justifying the restriction, nor in the future are they going to behave improperly.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 27th July, Lala Lajpat Rai congratulates the Punjab Government on the withdrawal of the Seditious Meetings Act. The enforcement of the Act was quite uncalled for and created unpleasantness in Lahore and Amritsar. It is also necessary to check the repression that is going on in certain districts by District Officers and the police, especially in the Ferozepore district where false cases are being brought against Congress workers.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(c) The *Partap* of the 28th July remarks that Government has acted wisely in withdrawing the Seditious Meetings Act. A government which is conducted by imposing restrictions on the people's freedom of speech and writing is no government at all. Political workers should keep in mind the present policy of repression pursued by the Government. It should not be understood that the policy of Government has changed. On the other hand, Government will try to crush any movement which it regards as dangerous with the help of the ordinary law of the country.

The Frontier Enquiry Commission.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

12. Writing to the *Zamindar*, of the 2nd August, a correspondent explains that the chief reason which led the North-West Frontier Province Government to extern the Frontier Enquiry Committee was its fear of exposure, especially the secret underlying the frontier raids, its prominent participants and the policy working behind them.

The excise policy of the Government.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore) Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

13. (a) The *Zamindar* of the 26th July says that Government cannot suffer a deficit in its revenues, however unlawful it may be, and it is wreaking its vengeance by arresting the volunteers engaged in the anti-liquor campaign.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(b) The *Shanti* of the 26th July understands that the Punjab Government is considering the question of reducing the fee for the licenses for the sale of liquor in certain exceptional cases. In our opinion Government should take some other steps in the matter. The least facility in the sale of liquor breeds dangerous results. Government should refrain from affording any facilities for its sale.

Drink evil and the duty of the Sikhs.

KHALSA ADVOCATE, (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

14. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 29th July says:—" We think it is the unquestionable right of every freeman to resist, fight and kill the evil. And if it is not so he is a slave. Drink is an evil, pure and simple. Every Indian is free to fight this evil with all the force and means at his command. No system of Government, which is not inhuman and soulless in itself, can force an evil on others to fill its coffers. The manner in which some of the officers of the Government are prosecuting the picquet volunteers lends colour to the belief that Indians are denied the right to defend themselves against social and moral evils even. We think that it is the duty of a good Government to countenance with all possible force, a people who are determined to extirpate, root and branches, an evil, which has sapped the very life blood and vitality of the nation Government has no business to trade upon the deterioration of its subjects and if it cannot persuade itself to forego the luxury of feeding fat its treasury on the life blood of the people we think the Government loses all claim and title to a sympathetic and popular Government."

Prohibition of Sikh processions in Lahore.

PUNJAB DARPAN, (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

15. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 27th July says that when the Sikhs passed in order through the hills of Gallipoli' the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia, shouting *Sat Siri Akal* and reciting hymns, the English officers rejoiced to see them and tossed up their hats in the air to express their joy. But now when Sikh parties go to serve their *Gurdwaras* reciting hymns, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, a responible English officer, takes exception to this.

The kirpan.

KHALSA SAMACHAR (Amritsar); Vir Singh, editor.

16. The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 28th July says that a rumour is afloat in the city that the police has been ordered to abstain from arresting in future any person who wears a long or small *kirpan*. If Government has issued such an order, it has done well. The order will produce a good effect on the Sikhs.

The arrest of Muslim divines.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

17. (a) The *Vakil* of the 29th July endorses the views of the *Hamdam* which says that the policy of Government in arresting Muhammadan *ulema* is extremely imprudent and dangerous. The *Vakil* thinks that it is quite sufficient to administer a warning or impose a few restrictions on them.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhbar Ali Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 3rd August remarks that the arrest of Muhammadan *ulema* is not a new thing. The history of Islam shows that whenever the cup of repression and autocracy was filled to the brim, it was the *ulema* who raised the standard of truthfulness and presented the true teachings of Islam. In spite of lamentations and outcries the crores of Musalmans in India are locked up in sleep. These negligent and apathetic Musalmans can be awakened only if they can hear the clatter of the handcuffs and the irons with which the *ulema* are fettered. When, in order to maintain the greatness of their true faith and the magnificence of the Islamic Caliphate, the *ulema* will consider it a matter of pride for themselves and their community to go to jail, Muhammadans will be able to claim that they possess love for Islam. The honour of Islam is in danger. We can protect it only if we sacrifice our personal honour. If Islam is degraded, we cannot be respectable. Our degradation and honour depend on Islam. It is the duty of every Musalman to lead the life of a *Mujahid* to maintain the honour and respect of Islam, and live and die for Islam.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The conviction of Kartar Singh, Jhabbar.

18. (*a*) Referring to the sentence passed against Kartar Singh Jhabbar in the Bal Lila case the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 29th July observes :—"The severity of the sentence on so maliciously fabricated a charge has staggered humanity."

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sikh* of the 31st July says :—"So, Mr. Keough has sentenced Bhai Kartar Singh of Jhabbar to seven years' rigorous imprisonment, after which he is to remain for three years under the police surveillance, in the Chandarkot dacoity case. But what particularly looks strange to us is that Bhai Kartar Singh is one of those who are strongly opposed to non-coöperation being adopted in matters relating to *Gurdawaras*. That such a well meaning man has received the punishment of a dacoit, will, we are afraid, tend to alienate from the Government the sympathies of those who have never hitherto liked to be associated with non-coöperation. The world knows full well the facts and circumstances relating to this particular case of 'dacoity' and, therefore, with all the court's convicting and awarding him such a monstrous sentence, consider him purely a staunch adherent to the *Gurdwara* Reform movement. But, whatever it may be, it can now be safely claimed that the conviction of Bhai Kartar Singh has vindicated the "Pax Brittanica ?"

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Syed Habib's case.

19. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 28th July says that on the day when orders were pronounced in Sardul Singh's case, Syed Habib declared that he would be the next to go to jail and he would be in jail within a month. He told us that the Government asked him to apologise for certain articles, including one about Major Ferrar, but he declined to do so and said that Major Ferrar should bring a defamation suit against him and that the Government need not interfere. As an Indian we have deep sympathy with him The time is drawing near when every nationalist journalist, who holds his conscience superior to expediency, will be in jail.

SWARAJ, (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(*b*) The *Swaraj* of the 28th July writes that it was decided a month ago that Syed Habib should be arrested and that he knew this. Government, however, demanded an apology, but he boldly declined to make one. We thought that the reply would bring the Government to its senses and it would in future desist from making such demands. But our view turned out to be wrong. The Syed was again asked to make an apology and the same reply was given this time also. It would not be strange if a similar demand is made even now. But we have every hope that he will not be taken up by these tactics and that Government will fail in its object of obtaining apologies from editors.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 29th July remarks that Syed Inayat Shah had an interview with his brother, Syed Habib, in jail. He is confined in the dark cell in which Zafar Ali was confined. He remains confined there for 24 hours and must say his prayers there; as also ease himself. The *Zamindar* regards with the greatest disapproval the conduct of the jail authorities.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Inayat Ullah, editor

(*d*) The *Siyasat* of the 30th July writes that Syed Habib Shah is now-a-days confined in a cell of the Lahore Central Jail which is a most disagreeable and troublesome place from the point of view of sanitation. He is not allowed to come out to say his prayers. Syed Habib is a political offender and the treatment, therefore, which is being accorded to him is wholly improper and unlawful. It cannot assuredly be the intention of the law that during the trial of a case the health of an accused person should be injured by filth kept in the lock-up.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 31st July says:—"We are sincerely sorry to learn that Syed Habib, editor of the *Siyasat*, is being subjected, as an under-trial prisoner, to treatment which ought not to be meted out to any under-trial prisoner, least of all to an under-trial prisoner whose alleged offence is political. We are told that he is kept day and night in a solitary cell in the Lahore Central Jail, which is small and insanitary, that he has both to take his food and to ease himself in that cell, that he is not permitted even to come out of the cell for the purpose of saying his prayer. It is further said that on the last date of hearing he was brought to the court and taken back from it in handcuffs and that during the hearing, such as it was, permission was refused even to his brother to be inside the court. We do not think there is any justification for according this treatment to political under-trial prisoners, and if these statements are correct we have no hesitation in entering our strong and emphatic protest against it..... It is a pity that in almost every case, there is complaint in the beginning and that it is only after the matter has been made the subject of unpleasant public criticism that things improve. Why this should be so entirely passes our comprehension."

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali, editor.

(*f*) The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 30th July thinks that liberty cannot be obtained by the kind of sacrifice involved in Syed Habib's arrest. It is not possible to gain freedom by denouncing the King and his officers. It will be quite proper if Syed Habib's advisers counsel him to tender an apology to the Government and thus regain his freedom.

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Syed Ahmed Shah, editor.

(*g*) The *Zulfiqar* of the 1st August remarks that the accused knew beforehand that he would be arrested and he, therefore, tried hard to secure an escape from prosecution by offering an apology. For this propose he undertook a journey to Simla, but it appears that his apology was not accepted. We are sorry as well as glad over his arrest, sorry because he is a contemporary, glad because he discarded truthfulness and moderation in order to obtain remuneration. He published a series of unfounded and absurd articles against the Nawab of Tonk who is a very kind and good ruler. He characterised the peace and justice-loving Government as tyrannical. He always helped and supported mischievous persons bent upon creating breaches of the peace. He incited and inflamed the minds of the Shias, like the *Zamindar*, by publishing unfounded rumours about the bombardment of Najaf. He left no stone unturned in inflaming and inciting the people against the British Government. It will be highly unjust if such people are not punished.

The Simla election case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

20. Writing in connection with the unseating of Khan Bahadur Mir Muhammad Khan of Simla, the *Tribune* of the 5th August says:—"The unseated member, according to the section [13 of Act XXIX of 1920], is to be disqualified not only from being elected to any office of any local authority, but even holding or exercising any such office, not only from being elected a member of any local authority, but even sitting or voting as such. It is contended, in our opinion with considerable force, that the present case is covered by the section. It is true that the Governor has the power to exempt the person concerned from such disqualification, but the exemption is clearly not intended to be a matter of arbitrary discretion. The Governor must be satisfied that such exemption is in the public interests and where the office is one that brings its occupant into close touch with the people, that it is likely to commend itself to the people concerned. In the present case, judging from all that we have been told, neither of these conditions can be said to be satisfied."

The Agra railway case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

21. Writing in connection with the conviction of Lieutenant House by the District Magistrate of Agra, the *Tribune* of the 4th August says:—"In view of this finding most people will think that a fine of four hundred rupees is far too inadequate a sentence, though the Magistrate himself seemed to regard it as sufficiently heavy. But we are not inclined to make too much of this aspect of the matter, or to ask the perfectly legitimate question whether the Magistrate would have considered the sentence adequate if the position of the parties had been reversed. The question which we do desire to ask is, how are the authorities going to cope with what looks so like the increasing frequency of this class of cases? It was only the other day that another officer, this time in our own Province, was found to have ejected some of his Indian fellow passengers from a compartment in which, as transpired in the course of the trial, he had himself no right to be because he was travelling without a ticket. And now we have this case in which the offence of the accused was clearly aggravated by 'the presence of the revolver.' These cases, coupled with the Khoreal Shooting case and the Sialkot case, in which the ultimate issue was the same, ought to convince His Excellency the Viceroy of the erroneousness of the information on which he based his recent statement about the complete absence of racial feeling in the European community in India."

V.—EDUCATION.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

A few educational questions.

22. The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd August publishes an open letter to the Hon'ble Mian Fazal-i-Hussain, the writer of which asks the following questions:—

(1) Is the Hon'ble Mian Fazal-i-Hussain aware that while all other Colleges in the Punjab have deleted from their admission forms the undertaking which they had been taking from students since 1919 against their participation in political movements, the Government College, Lahore, has not yet done so?

(2) The question of admissions to the Government College had reached the stage of a scandal. The public was under the impression that the Hon'ble Mian Fazal-i-Hussain would remove the scandal. It is, however, a pity that their hopes have not been realised. In fact, it has become still more difficult to join the Government College.

(3) Could he tell why unlike previous years the admissions to the B. T. Class have been made prior to the publication of the B. A. results this year? Is it a fact that the Principal of the Central Training College, Lahore, recommended the students to join the S. A. V. Class before seeking admission to the B. T. Class? Is the Hon'ble Minister for Education in favour of such a course?

(4) Will he please say how the Lahore Government College is managed? Is he aware that the management of the Presidency College of Calcutta is in the hands of a Managing Committee? What does he intend to do for the Lahore College?

(5) What steps does he contemplate to take to make the vernacular the medium of instruction in the Punjab, and when?

(6) Is he aware that while some Punjabi members of the Indian Educational Service (probably all of whom are Professors) are employed in other Provinces, Professor Chatterjee of the Central Training College is the only member of the Indian Educational Service who has been brought here from outside? Is this due to the fact that the European Professors of the Government College do not like to see Indians placed on a footing of equality with them?

(7) Will he please say when the Educational Conference will be held to which he promised to invite non-official educationists?

(8) Is he satisfied with the programme which the bureaucracy has already drawn up for compulsory primary education? If not, what is his programme?

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The Sialkot Municipal Committee.

23. The *Kesari* of the 29th and 30th July publishes a communicated article taking exception to the resolutions of the Sialkot Municipal Committee sanctioning the grant to the Cantonment of a fourth part of the proceeds realised from the terminal tax and allowing an increment of Rs. 100 to the pay of its Secretary before the expiry of the period of his probation. The paper suggests that the posts of Secretary and Engineer should be amalgamated.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Native States.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

24. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 28th July, Lala Lajpat Rai says that it is most painful that even educated, well-informed and sensible rulers of the Indian States are trying to follow in the wake of the British Government. What the British Government cannot do in its own territory, it gets done easily by the Indian States. The circulation of the newspapers published in British territory cannot be stopped in British India, but the Indian Chiefs stop their circulation in their States. If a well-informed ruler like the Maharaja of Gwalior can perpetrate such mistakes, what can we expect from others? The Indian Chiefs have now an opportunity of granting liberty to their subjects and thereby saving their families from the approaching political earthquake. The writer would request every one of them to study the history of Italy and Russia and remember that the British Government cannot protect them for ever from the rage and fury of their subjects. Will Diwan Daya Kishen, the Patiala Minister, who professes to be a highly educated person, explain why the Inspector-General of Police, Patiala, prevented Lala Duni Chand and Lala Murli Dhar from collecting subscriptions in Patiala? The subjects of the Indian States of the Punjab now-a-days are groaning deeply. In their helplessness they are complaining against their Chiefs and the British Government. The writer requests the Indian Chiefs and their officials to put the administration of the States in proper order and avoid doing such absurd acts as give them a bad name and bring a slur on the entire Indian people.

Publication of Government advertisements.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

25. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 21st July asks a series of questions in connection with the non-coöperation movement. One of them is whether nationalist newspapers should publish Government advertisements.

(*b*) A correspondent of the *Partap* of the 29th July refers to the above question and answers it in the negative. The Congress has adopted the creed of non-coöperation for all and those who coöperate with Government or render it any help, whether disinterestedly or through selfish motives, are traitors to the country.

An objectionable essay.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

26. A correspondent, writing to the *Kesari* of the 27th July, says that the Panjabees, who appeared in the competitive examination of the Forest Department, were asked to write an essay against the non-coöperation movement, showing how far this movement was harmful for the country and nation. Government wants that students should not interefere in political matters, but its officers put to them such important political questions.

Begar and Hindus of Nurpur Sethi.

KSHATRI VIR (Lahore); Wazir Chand Bhola, editor.

27. (*a*) In its issue of the 25th July the *Kshatri Vir* publishes the orders of the Commissioner, Rawalpindi, in the case *re* Ram Labhaya, Gurdas Mal and others, of Nurpur Sethi, Tahsil Pind Dadan Khan, Jhelum district, *versus* Lal Khan, Ilaqadar, of Nurpur respondent, declining to interfere with the order of the Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum and rejecting the appellants' petition praying that Lal Khan may be warned against forcing the Khatris of Nurpur to fetch water for and clean the utensils of touring officers. The Punjab Government's press *communiqué* is quite clear on the *begar* question. It is very unreasonable and undesirable to compel any Khatri to fetch water by way of *begar*. To order respectable men to draw water is to interfere unnecessarily with their religious and social freedom. The Khatris of Nurpur Sethi should not consent to do *begar* work.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th July says that the condition of the Hindus of Nurpur Sethi is really deplorable. They should keep in view their sense of self-respect and so unite that none may be able to force them to do *begar* work.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akbar* of the 27th July observes that Government officers have no right to force men to do service against their will and without any remuneration. *Begar* should no longer prevail in the days of British rule which is proud of being civilised and just. It will be advisable to prepare the Government of India to put an end to all sorts of *begar*. Will the leaders of the non-coöperation movement pay no attention to the question?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore), Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

The Islamic News.

28. The *Zamindar* of the 28th July affirms that by prohibiting the entry into India of the *Islamic News* of London, Government has afforded a glaring proof of its weakness, cowardice and unscrupulousness. The *Islamic News* used to criticise British policy in the Near East, expose Greek atrocities in Asia Minor and disprove the alleged British neutrality in the Turco-Greek conflict. The whole Muslim world says that the British are helping the Greeks but British politicians are proclaiming their neutrality in a ridiculous manner. When the entry of the *Islamic News* has been stopped, will the Government of India tell us what action was taken against General Townshend and why the entry of the *Evening Standard, Daily Mail, Morning Post, Pall Mall Gazette, New Statesman, Star* and the *Daily Telegram* was not stopped? Is not this partiality due to the fact that these newspapers belong to whitemen while the *Islamic News* is an organ of the black people?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 6th August 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

British policy in the Near East.

1. The *Zamindar* of the 4th August asks what England gained by spending large sums of money on Russia, Persia and Mesopotamia in spite of general opposition to such expenditure. England has wasted more than 20 crore pounds and in the bargain obtained the curses and rebukes of the world. The whole of Central Asia, the Near East and the Indian Mussalmans are expressing the greatest abhorrence for the British Government. The lofty edifice of popular confidence in Britain has wholly toppled down in Asia and no reparation can be made for the general detestation and loss of confidence which are rendering hollow the foundations of the Empire. We believe that if England desires to maintain its connection with India, it should withdraw its control from all Asiatic countries, from Afghanistan to Constantinople. The military occupation of Persia or Mesopotamia by England is not necessary for the safety of England. India, therefore, can never bear the expenses which the British Government incurred in Persia and Mesopotamia without consulting India. The whole world is lamenting the present policy of England and both friends and foes are displeased with it. If India and Islam are not made free, the result will be that the peace of the world will be endangered and England will derive no benefit from the conquests for which it has cast the net of its usurping policy on the Islamic world and spilt rivers of blood.

SIYASAT, (Lahore);

The peace treaty.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 5th August remarks that the Prime Minister of England has fixed the 15th of September as the date on which the war will be considered as having come to an end. Turkey, however, has been made an exception. In other words war with Germany, Austria and Bulgaria will be officially considered to have ended on the 15th September, but that with Turkey will continue. It is not known what Mr. Lloyd George intends to do with Turkey. Does he intend to work some other mischief by making Turkey an exception?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians in South Africa.

3. Referring to the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, the *Tribune* of the 12th August writes:—"A policy of *laissez faire* is exactly what India wants at present in this matter, and from her point of view a special conference to discuss the matter could do no good and might do a lot of harm. None of us have yet forgotten the insulting suggestion emanating from a well-known source that the development of the Indian constitution should be regarded as the common interest of Great Britain and the self-governing colonies. But what of the last part? In the case of the dominions the affirmation of the right to nominate their own Cabinet ministers to represent them at future conferences would be only a further step towards the assertion of their independent position. In the case of India, on the other hand, it would mean only a further step towards increasing the power, influence and prestige of an irresponsible bureaucracy. . . . General Smuts did a lot of good work during his stay in England. The plea he put forward is that of "exceptional circumstances in the greater part of the Union." We know something of those circumstances. We know that they are constituted chiefly, if not solely, by the racial arrogance and selfishness of the white settlers. . . . In view of the position taken up by General Smuts it is well worth considering whether the whole question should not be re-opened on the basis of Mr. Sastri's declaration that not only as regards Indians actually resident in the Colonies, but also as regards intending Indian immigrants, no policy of *racial* discrimination shall be followed. That declaration, after all, not only sums up the deliberate Indian view, but represents the only true and abiding policy in this matter. All other policies are so many make-shifts and are essentially temporary, because they are based on a denial of that justice and equality on which alone an Empire like a State can be permanently built."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians in East Africa.

4. Referring to the agitation started by the Europeans of Naurobi against the claims of Indians in Kenya, the *Tribune* of the 13th August says:—"India will insist that the Imperial Government shall put down the white settlers' attempts at the creation of bad blood with the same firm hand with which they have so often put down agitations of a much less sinister kind in India."

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur editor.

The non-coöperation movement.

5. The *Kesari* of the 5th August believes that to obtain liberty India will have to act up to the Satyagraha programme and Indians to prove that they are prepared to undergo every kind of sacrifice. It is to the credit of the Congress that it has postponed the Satyagraha movement for the time being as it wishes to know the extent to which it wields influence over the public mind. Moreover, the Congress wants the Government to change its policy before Indians take the irrevocable step and arrive at a proper understanding with the people. Otherwise it should note that the Congress will sanction Satyagraha and thousands of Indians will fill jails to obtain freedom without the use of violence.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor

Boycott of foreign cloth.

6. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 6th August protests against the export of foreign cloth to Smyrna.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, edtor.

(*b*) The *Liberal* of the 10th August writes:—"We are zealous supporters of the *Swadeshi*, we profess we have no sympathy for the idiotic advocacy of burning all foreign cloth and of boycotting all foreign goods. The first would be a heavy strain on the already scanty resources of the people; the latter is simply impracticable. To be frank, is it fair that Indian dealers in foreign cloth, who have been carrying on their business for generations, should be reduced to bankruptcy for the simple reason that it has struck the imagination of a few Indian patriots to declare the boycott of cloth which has so far been most largely used in this country? Such a boycott can be of little use in advancing India towards her political goal, but even if it were the sole remedy for such a desirable purpose, why should dealers in this particular commodity be made to pay so heavily for it? Let the country contribute to the loss to be sustained by these people, if it is desired in her interests that these people should be deprived of their profession and their stock in trade. . . . Let her resort to the use not only of *Swadeshi* cloth, but of other articles of indigenous make as much as is practicable, but for God's sake let her not cut at her own root by depriving her of foreign assistance at the initial stages of her advancement."

SIYASAT (Lahore);

Lord Reading's policy: Need for caution.

7. The *Siyasat* of the 6th August says that it is not long since Lord Reading came to India; but one can see how clever his political moves are. His object seems to be to win over the non-coöperation leaders, so that the movement may die out in India. In granting an interview to Mr. Gandhi he had the same object in view, but in that object he has not completely succeeded. Lord Reading is beginning to secure a hold on nationalist leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. While we have established Congress and Khilafat Committees in the country, Government has organised *Aman Sabhas.* Indians should act with great caution and wisdom. If the leaders of the country chance to interview highly placed officers they should be very cautious and avoid political mistakes.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Dangers before the Sikhs.

8. In an article published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 4th August, Lala Lajpat Rai warns the Sikhs against the two dangers which are confronting them. In the first place, they should be careful about their friends and brethren who always remind them of their physical strength. It is foolish in these days to rely on such strength. In the second place, they should give up making appeals to the Government in the name of their war services, as such an attitude on their part brings about utter demoralization. They can well feel proud of the wars fought by them under Maharaja Ranjit Singh against the Muhammadan rulers of the land, but not of their participation in recent fighting. The writer appeals to the Sikhs to eliminate all elements of violence and force from their claims. They should make common cause with the other Indian communities; otherwise they will lose in the coming national Government of India. Certain shortsighted Sikh leaders want the Sikhs to give up their friendly relations with the Hindus and the Muhammadans and to befriend the Europeans. This, however, is a disservice to their community.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The Rowlatt Act.

9. The *Kesari* of the 10th August remarks that it appears the Rowlatt Act is about to be repealed. But before the Government puts an end to the existence of this repressive law, is it not its moral duty to acknowledge its mistake in passing this law, to express regret and to release all those persons who are rotting in jail simply because they opposed the Act?

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (LAHORE); K. N. Roy, editor.

Officials and the use of Swadeshi cloth.

10. (*a*) A correspondent writes to the *Tribune* of the 7th August:—"I had applied to the Deputy Commissioner for a passport to the United States of America for further education. When I was brought before the Deputy Commissioner he began to look at me. Since I was dressed in Swadeshi cloth (not *khaddar*) he asked 'Are you a member of a Congress Committee?' I replied in the negative. He then said:—'Since you are clothed in Swadeshi, you are a non-coöperator. I cannot, therefore, let you go.' I said 'What has this to do with my going to the United States for education?' He said, 'Non-coöperators cannot go.' I said, 'For the simple reason that I am clothed in Swadeshi cloth you are spoiling my whole further career. I have also served the Government in the North-Western Frontier operations.' He saw the certificates, but did not change his mind."

(*b*) Commenting the *Tribune* says:—"The first question that we desire to ask is, if the Deputy Commissioner in question, assuming that the statements made by our correspondent are correct, acted on his own responsibility or under instructions from the Local Government. If the latter, which we, for one, are extremely reluctant to believe, will the Local Government be pleased to state publicly what these instructions are, and whether they include one to the effect that every person dressed either in Swadeshi cloth generally or in *khaddar* in particular is to be regarded as a non-coöperator and treated as an undesirable person? If the former, will the Local Government publicly state whether they approve of the alleged conduct of the officer in question."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Too frequent arrests.

11. The *Vakil* of the 6th August says that too many political arrests have dispelled from the minds of the people all fear of imprisonment, a state of things that can in no way be useful to Government.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Political prisoners.

12. The *Vakil* of the 6th August pleads for political prisoners in Indian jails being treated differently from ordinary prisoners as is the case in England. It also takes exception to undue importance being attached to the evidence of the police in political trials.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The conviction of Kartar Singh and others.

13 (*a*). The following is extracted from the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 5th August :—" It is difficult to conceal our sense of abhorrence and horror on the barbarity of sentence passed by Mr. Keough, on Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar, in the Chandorkote dacoity case . . . . The people have now come to look upon the trials in British courts of justice as anything but huge and dilatory farces. And judging from the manner in which the cases pending against Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar and others have been tried and disposed off one is forcibly led to the assertion that this general belief has strong legs to stand upon. The *exparte* judgment in criminal cases like the above is thinkable and possible only under the benevolent rule of Pax Britannica. Whatever be the judgment of the convicting Magistrate, those who are acquainted with the true state of things sanguinely believe Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar and his companions as absolutely innocent. Neither in the Chandarkote 'Dacoity' case nor in the Bal Lila Gurdwara case had Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar any direct responsibility. It seems it was for his religious fervour and organising capacity that both Mahant Narain Das and the Government officials were gnawing their teeth in white rage against him. And it seems as if the barbarous sentences passed upon him only present one phase of that wrath. Whatever may be the truth there is no denying the fact that Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar has fallen a martyr to the cause of the Gurdwara Reform and his name will be writ large on the pages of history among all those who had sacrificed for the emancipation of their Gurdwaras and descend down to prosterity as a name to be conjured with. Government perhaps would be thinking that by sending stalwart champions of the Gurdwara Reform movements to jail it has killed or at any rate suppressed for the time-being the movement. If so be the Government's belief, we would at once say that the Government is greatly mistaken. On the contrary we rather believe that the movement instead of dying is taking deep root in the hearts of Sikhs. The power-intoxicated bureaucracy fails to realize the detrimental effects of the wrong policy of repression being so vigorously pushed by them with impunity."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Attar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 7th August remarks that Mr. Keough has sentenced Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. In collusion with the police, the Mahant party charged Bhai Kartar Singh with wresting a box from the wife of a Head Granthi's brother. Among the witnesses for the prosecution there were a couple of persons who did not scruple to give false evidence to save the Mahant, but Bhai Kartar Singh is wholly innocent.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Sikh* of the 11th August writes :—" As laymen, not lawyers, we need not deal with the judgment in detail. We leave it to His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan, whose promise of 'full justice' is still ringing in our ears or to that renowned lawyer and distinguished judge of the day, His Excellency Lord Reading, to see whether there has been in this case a severe miscarriage of justice and whether such monstrously heavy sentences of solitary confinement, seven years' long rigorous imprisonment, three years' police surveillance after that against a mere religious reformer redound to the credit of a Government which claims to be the most civilized one in the world. For our part, at the very moment that the application of the accused for transfer of the case was rejected by the High Court we considered it a foregone conclusion that these men would receive the heaviest sentences that it was in the power of Mr. Keough to award. That he has done so without hesitation, he frankly admits in his judgment."

(*d*) Referring to the conviction of Teja Singh and others in the Jhambar Kalan cases, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 5th August writes :—" We place Bhai Teja Singh of Bhutchar in the same category as Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar and his co-workers. Bhai Teja Singh is one of those stalwart, daring Sikhs to whom goes the credit of first plucking the courage of taking upon themselves the service of Sri Takht Akal and Bhai Joga Singh's Dharmsala at Peshawar. By their sacrifices the community becomes all the stronger and we pray to the Guru to grant them all unwavering faith and calm resignation in the will of the Almighty to brave the rigours of jail life without a murmur. We assure them that the community is not going to sit idly brooding and bemoaning over their lot but would strive its best, by honourable means of course, to secure their acquittal and release. It is as sure as day follows night that the will of the people will prevail to the utter discomfiture of the bureaucracy."

The Manak case.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

14. The *Sikh* of the 11th August writes:—"The Magistrate has failed to find Sardar Lal Singh, Timber Merchant, Ram Singh, editor, *Panch*, and Khazan Singh Gyani, to be the 'real offenders,' and so he has discharged them, while all others must stand the trial further. But may we ask in the name of civilization what compensation are they to receive for their being caught, handcuffed, their houses being searched amidst every possible humiliation, their being kept in jail for so many months in the intensest part of the present summer, &c., &c.? Each of them has irretrievably lost in business too—the loss amounting to thousands of rupees, while as to health they have come back old and emaciated. This is a feature of an administration known to be so fond of 'fair field and no favour.' Now how this bewitching principle of Lord Reading actuates him to do justice to these absolutely innocent Sikhs, we shall certainly watch with interest."

The *kirpan*.

SANSAR (Amritsar); editor.

15. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 5th August remarks that the recent Government *communiqué* about the *kirpan* conveys no sense at all. It does not explain what is meant by a long *kirpan*. But we want to tell Government on behalf of the Sikh community that a hundred Governments and a millions Sundar Singhs cannot fix the length of the *kirpan*, which was not restricted even by Guru Govind Singh.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 3rd August states that it is not known why obstacles are being put in the way of Sikh sepoys wearing *kirpans*. It is reported that two Sikh soldiers of regiment No 3, stationed at the Lahore Cantonment who returned to duty with *kirpans* after the expiry of their leave, were each sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment and also dismissed from the army. The Subedar and the *Granthi* of the regiment gave evidence to the effect that the *kirpan* was not a religious symbol of the Sikhs. We invite the attention of the Commander-in-Chief to this cruelty and point out that if Subedars are committing mistakes because they are illiterate, the Commanding Officers who are literate must have studied the circular issued by His Excellency permitting Sikh soldiers to wear the *kirpan*. Why then such injustice in spite of the circular? The impression created on the Sikh community and Sikh sepoys will be very injurious to the Government.

The Munition Board case.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

16. The following is extracted from an article in the *Tribune* of the 13th August:—Apart from the novelty and the consequent suspiciousness of the extraordinary solicitude for "business concerns of a *Swadeshi* character" professed by Government, was there ever a weaker or more unconvincing reason adduced by a responsible authority in support of a proceeding which nothing but the strongest and most imperative necessity could justify? As a matter of fact, the reason is not only weak and unconvincing but palpably absurd.... From the point of view of the public the action has no merit and no defence. If the case against the accused was true and they were guilty of cheating, then the public has every right to feel aggrieved that no steps have been taken to vindicate justice, to recover the sums from the guilty, if possible, and in any case to inflict condign punishment upon them. If, on the other hand, the case is false, the public has every right to feel aggrieved that the Government has not declared it to be false, but on the other hand has persisted in claiming it to be true, with the result that those who have faith in it will still continue to look with suspicion both upon the accused and the concerns with which they are associated, though such suspicion is, in the circumstances, wholly unjustified.... So far as the Government is concerned, the loss is even greater. Already it is being said that the case was dropped not for the reason stated by the Advocate General, but because it was found that "it would involve responsible officials, important European houses or even the Government of India."

KESARI,
(Lahore);
Sham Lal,
Kapur,
editor,

The Katarpur prisoners.

17. The *Kesari* of the 7th August pleads for the release of the Katarpur prisoners and remarks that it is the duty of every Hindu to agitate for the release of his co-religionists.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Section 15 of the Telegraph Guide.

18. The *Tribune* of the 6th August says :—"We are informed that the Secretary to the Provincial Congress Committee, Lahore, handed in the following message for transmission to Peshawar at the local Telegraph Office on the 30th July : 'All-India Committee decided destruction foreign cloth. Organise collection and destruction, 1st August." The message was, however, returned with the reply that " it cannot be delivered owing to the message being declared objectionable by the N.-W. F. Government." The action was presumably taken under Section 15 of the Indian Telegraph Guide. This is not the first time that we have had occasion to refer to the arbitrary use of this provision in the Telegraph Guide. The message in question is quite inoffensive and cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to fall under the purview of Section 15. Indeed, telegrams containing substantially the same or similar news have been wired during the last few days in every part of the country without any interference from Government or any local official. Section 15 of the Telegraph Guide has been too frequently and indiscriminately used during the last few years, and we suggest to the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Assembly the necessity of moving in the matter either by means of interpellations or, if that method be found ineffective, by giving notice of a resolution for the amendment of that much-abused section."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Akhtar Ali
Khan,
editor.

Christianity and the liberty of nations.

19. Writing about the Tilak *Swarajya* Fund, the *Catholic Herald of India* (Calcutta) observed that if India had embraced Christianity it would have obtained liberty long ago. Commenting the *Zamindar* of the 7th August says that mere political liberty is not the goal of Indians. They also desire to obliterate all signs of control and influence which the materialist Western Powers exercise over their views. It is not possible for Christianity to destroy the poisonous effects of modern civilisation and to revive ancient civilisations. Christianity taught patience and forbearance to the brutal nations of the world. But will the *Roman Catholic Herald* say that the Christian Powers of Europe acted upon the teachings of their great Master during the last five years? And if they had done so, the Eastern nations would not have been so degraded as they are at present. Christianity spread in the world after changing its aspect and it got sway by totally swerving from the path of its acknowledged dogmas. A comparison between the Bible and the Quran shows that while the latter is full of the golden principles of liberty, self-respect, life and government, the former is totally devoid of them.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

Registration of marriages.

20. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 7th August asserts that the rules framed by the District Board of Sialkot for the registration of marriages will create a good many complications, increase litigation and encourage corruption, thereby defeating the very object of registration.

PAISA
AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th August also writes to the same effect.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

The Simla Municipal Committee.

21. The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th August objects to the action of the Simla Municipal Committee in advancing a loan of Rs. 6,500 to Elahi Bakhsh, butcher, and also to its constitution which does not permit the residents to elect their own members and non-official presidents.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal,
Kapur,
editor.

Interest on the Government of India loan.

22. The *Kesari* of the 8th August remarks that it is the duty of every Government to induce its subjects to better their financial condition and to provide all kinds of facilities for them. But we regret to find that the British Government in India takes almost every year crores of rupees from the Indians as loan on very small interest. The new Government of India loan

is no exception to the general practice. The interest allowed is small, as compared with the means of the people and their requirements. In future the whole financial policy of the Governments should be controlled by the representatives of the people.

Maltreatment of Indian railway passengers.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

23. Commenting upon the recommendations of the Railway Police Committee, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 5th August feels sorry that the Committee has done nothing to prevent the maltreatment to which respectable Indians are often subjected by Europeans and Eurasions in railway journeys. Such treatment promotes racial enmity.

The *Akali* newspaper.

AKALI (Lahore); editor.

24. The *Akali* of the 7th August says the bureaucracy may have committed great excesses, but it never before happened that five servants of a new newspaper were thrown in jail within a year, apart from the fines and forfeiture of securities imposed. The bureaucracy, which is bent on crushing the *Akali* and is thus desirous of keeping the Sikh community always in a state of slavery, is not yet satisfied and it can be satisfied only if the *Akali* stops publication and the Sikh community remains a puppet in its hands, unable to devise means to stand on its own legs. The paper refers to the suits instituted against it by Messrs. King and Bowring and remarks that it will face these difficulties manfully with the help of God and the Panth. It is in the power of the bureaucracy to arrest so many servants of a newspaper in a short time and put them in jail, and it is due to the efforts of the *Akali* that it has been resuscitated after so much suffering.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 13th August 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

India and Ireland.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The *Tribune* of the 18th August writes:—"What Ireland is, in our opinion, perfectly justified in demanding is the most explicit guarantees that her freedom shall be properly respected. At any rate, we in India, who have been loudly and insistently demanding the same guarantees for ourselves, cannot but profoundly sympathise with Ireland in this demand."

The Græco-Turkish war.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

2. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 6th August endeavours to discredit the reports sent by Reuter of Greek victories over the Turks.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th August writes in a similar vein, minimising the importance of Greek victories.

Turks and the Bolsheviks.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

3. The *Zamindar* of the 12th August justifies Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha's policy in strengthening friendly relations with the Bolsheviks on the ground of the hostility shown to the Turks by the Allies. The reason why Bolshevik relations with the Turks are growing more and more agreeable is that their aims and objects are almost identical. But as the Bolshevik system of administration clashes with the corporate life of Turkey, Mustafa Kamal Pasha is not in favour of inviting the Bolsheviks to his own country. His sense of self-respect and caution can never tolerate that he should allow the Bolsheviks to enter Turkey without let or hinderance.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Akhtar Ali
Khan,
editor.

Palestine.

4. The *Zamindar* of the 10th August says that there are only 50,000 Jews in Palestine as against five lakh Musalmans, Christians and Arabs, and still Mr. Lloyd George intends to make over this land to the Jews. The Muhammadans demand that according to the will of the residents of Palestine a local independent Government should be established there and all communities represented on the Government. Mr. Lloyd George should see how 50,000 Jews can keep five lakh persons under their subjection. The Arabs, having a sense of shame, will not accept Jewish rule, which will be opposed not only by five lakh Muhammadans but by all the Muslim States of Central Asia.

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal
Kapur,
editor.

The British Mission to Kabul.

5. The *Kesari* of the 13th August asserts that seven months have elapsed since the British Mission went to Kabul, but no treaty seems to have so far been concluded between the Governments of India and Afghanistan. The idea of Anglo-Indian papers that M. Surtiz's return as the Bolshevik representative at Kabul will remove all obstacles in the way of negotiations is absurd on the face of it. His presence or absence will make no difference. The Kabul Darbar is certainly not unaware of the calamities befalling the Islamic world and the responsibility for this is attributed to the British Government for its policy in the Near East.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Inayat Shah,
editor.

Muhajais and the Provisional Government.

6. The *Siyasat* of the 12th August publishes a communication from Ghulam Muhammad Aziz, of India, now residing at Mahtab Bagh, Kabul. The writer says that a few days ago, a statement appeared in the papers that the funds sent from India for the help of the *Muhajars* did not reach them but were utilised by the Provisional Government. This statement is likely to add to the anxiety of the Indians and bring an unholy and false charge of dishonesty against the Afghan Government. No doubt, certain respectable persons established a Provisional Government there, but they did not accept it and protested against it, with the result that the movement was stopped six months ago. The Afghan Government could not afford to sympathise with the Provisional Government and make over to it the *Muhajarin* fund and at the same time open peace negotiations with the Government of India. The writer assures his brethren that the fund in question is quite safe, though he complains that the Afghan Government is not now devoting the same attention to the *Muhajarin* movement that it deserved. The Khilafat Committee should do something for the poor *Muhajars* whose lot is pitiable and Mr. Gandhi should help in the matter.

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

ZAMINDAR,
(Lahore),
Akhtar Ali Khan,
editor.

The Prince of Wales

7. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 9th August remarks that from the Indian point of view the visit of the Duke of Connaught proved a failure. If the Prince of Wales is coming to see the administrative machine and the grandeur of Nawabs, he will be rewarded more than enough for his troubles. But if His Royal Highness desires to see India, the children of which are passing the days of semi-starvation in dark and narrow huts, his desire will never be fulfilled, because the authorities consider it extremely injurious to their interests that the dark side of the picture should be shown to the Prince. The Government is so wary that it has now prepared a programme of tour and it will not be improper to say that the Prince's tour in India has an official status, with which the feelings and aspirations of the public have nothing to do.

JAT GAZETTE
(Rohtak);
Molar Singh,
editor.

(*b*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 10th August thinks that at the present moment when there is considerable unrest and indignation in the country the Prince of Wales should not come empty-handed to India. He should come with such political gifts as will improve the strained relations existing between the Government and the people.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th August says that the decision of the Sialkot Municipal Committee not to welcome the Prince of Wales is very important. It is to be hoped that the Lahore, Amritsar and Jullundur Municipal Committees will consider this question now.

The Press Act.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th August does not see much good in the proposed repeal of the Press Act, there being other laws to curtail the freedom of the press. Sections 124 A, 153 A and 500 of the Indian Penal Code and section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code give extensive powers to the magistracy. It is necessary that these sections should be amended and Indian newspapers placed on a footing of equality with the newspapers of Europe.

Repression laws.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor

9. The *Swaraj* of the 10th August makes a passionate appeal for the repeal of all the repressive laws which are now being examined by the Repressive Laws Committee.

Racial distinctions.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 12th August learns that the Government of India have circularised the Local Governments on the question of the abolition of racial distinctions between Indians and Europeans in the administration of justice. If Lord Reading succeeds in removing these distinctions, he will really render great service to the British *Raj*.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 12th August characterises the observance of such distinctions as palpable injustice to the Indian, which they can no longer tolerate.

The boycott of foreign articles.

AKALI (Lahore);

11. Referring to the cablegram sent to Mahatma Gandhi by the negroes of America assuring him of their sympathy, the *Akali* of the 11th August thanks them but cannot refrain from impressing upon the Indian people that true liberty will be that which they will gain by their own efforts. The boycott of foreign articles is essential to reach the pinnacle of liberty.

Sir George Lloyd's speech.

SIYASAT (Lahore);

12. In commenting upon the recent speech of Sir George Lloyd, Governor of Bombay, the *Siyasat* of the 12th August asks if His Excellency has ever taken the trouble to study the causes which have brought about the present situation in India. If Government officials think over the question dispassionately and try to remove the causes of unrest, the political atmosphere of India will be much better than at present. It now appears that the Government of Sir George has sharpened its weapons which will be used against poor Indians and His Excellency's warning amounts to an ultimatum. But Sir George and other Government officials should ponder over the results brought about by the repressive measures which bring no good. If they want to restore peace in the country, the best way for them is to view with sympathy all the demands of the Indians, do justice in the Punjab and Khilafat doings and grant *Swaraj*.

The policy of Government now and in 1897.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Sana Ullah, editor.

13. The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 12th August 1921 refers to the sentence of imprisonment passed against the late Mr. Tilak in 1897 and remarks that by punishing Mr. Tilak Government wanted one of two things—either that Mr. Tilak should be made to tread the right path or the people should escape from his baneful influence. Government, however, failed in attaining either object, for Mr. Tilak remained undaunted till his death and the influence he exercised over his fellow-countrymen can be judged from the fact that in every city and town in India his death anniversary was recently celebrated. The present policy of Government against the non-coöperation movement is severer than that followed in 1897. While only one Mr. Tilak was arrested in 1897, several Tilaks, political and religious leaders and even Sadhus have been now sent to jail. Again, while Mr. Tilak's innocence was sought to be proved in the Privy Council, the accused in the present cases refuse to offer any defence. The editor invites the attention of the officers of Government to the march of events and asks them to study those events not from the standpoint of the administration but from a philosophical point of view. Is the remedy adopted retarding or helping the growth of the disease? Government should know that those who are being sent to jail with the hope of their being reformed will not give up non-coöperation through fear of imprisonment.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmed Ali, editor.

The Indian situation.

14. The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 13th August reproduces from the *Mashraq* an article saying that the days of the mutiny of 1857 are about to come back and it is possible that the year 1922 may mark its commencement. The Ali Brothers' announcement to proclaim a democracy by December next if their demands are not acceded to is interpreted by the people as implying that the extremists will go out of the sphere of influence of the British Government and will paralyse it. Thus there will be a general disturbance and Government will have to make every possible effort to suppress it.

AROR BANS SUDHARAK (Lahore); Salig Ram, editor.

Religious and social work to proceed along with political work.

15. The *Aror Bans Sudharak* of the 13th August urges that at present, when the bureaucracy is determined to ruin the people of India by casting aside all canons of justice, political work should be vigerously carried on and all measures which the political leaders adopt for the well being of their countrymen should be put into practice. At the same time, religious and social duties should not be forgotten, for by doing so the country is likely to go from bad to worse.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Village Panchayat Bill.

16. Commenting upon the Village Panchayat Bill, the *Bande Mataram* of the 9th August writes that it could never expect that the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Hussain will introduce such a Bill in which the preliminary principles of liberty have been lost sight of and in which the principle of nomination has been inserted. He is helpless. Patriotism and love for truth are nice things. But a salary of five thousand rupees and power and influence have some meaning. We, however, fail to understand why the Bill was not rejected by the Council. The question, however, is what should be done now. The Bill is before the Select Committee. It depends upon the people of the country to guard against the impending ruin. It is necessary that people should think over the *pros* and *cons* of the question and then express their opinion and call upon the members of the Council to represent their views properly. If they fail to do so a vote should be passed declaring that people have no confidence in them. The public should not remain silent over the Panchayat Bill. It should not be allowed to be passed. It will crush all that is left of the spirit of liberty in the country. Could there be a greater oppression than this that we are being offered the shackles of slavery in the name of liberty and that we are being subjected to the oppression of the bureaucracy in the name of democracy?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Indianisation of the Army.

17. The *Tribune* of the 19th August writes:—"The Indianisation of the Army was one of the questions on which emphasis was laid during the discussions in the Legislative Assembly in March last. Of course, the first essential thing at present is that this process should take place as soon as possible. It is on the maintenance of a large and costly force composed of European soldiers and officers that much of the increased expenditure is incurred and since the recent war has clearly demonstrated the fact that the Indian soldier is quite as effective in action as any European soldier there should be no difficulty in largely substituting Indians for Europeans in the Indian Army. We do hope that the recommendations made by the members of Legislative Assembly in March last will be fully adopted and that Sir D. E. Wacha's able evidence before the Military Requirements Committee will convince the authorities of the serious injury done in the past to India by regarding her as the 'milch-cow of England,' as the English Finance Minister declared in 1863, and lead them to effect a complete change in the present policy which, in its financial aspect, is clearly endangering this country, by increasing poverty and economic discontent and suffering."

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

The Congress and the Sikhs.

18. The *Sansar* of the 13th August remarks that the Sikhs should be pleased to learn that the National Congress has realized its mistakes and decided to confer on them the rights that have been conferred on the Muhammadans. The Khalsas should now enlist as members of the Congress in large numbers. The time is approaching when the standard of the Congress will fly in India and Congressmen will hold the reins of the country in their hands. Then traitors to the community will not be able to cut the throats of their co-religionists,

The second object of the Sikhs is to have their separate colour shown in the national flag and this will be also realised, as promised by the Congress. The third object of handing over the control of Sikh *Gurdwaras* to the Sikhs should be included in the national programme.

Seperation of Judicial and Executive functions.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

19. The *Zamindar* of the 6th August states that according to a correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Sir William Vincent announced in the Council of State that he would not object if any Provincial Government proposed the separation of judicial and executive functions. If this permission had not been given Lord Sinha and his Council would have never dared to put forward a proposal for the separation of judicial and executive functions in Behar and Orissa. Nevertheless, the Behar Council deserves praise, as it was the first to take advantage of Sir William Vincent's announcement. This permission is, however, a palpable proof of the helplessness of the Provincial Councils. Will not the admirers of the reforms be convinced even now that the key of the administration is in the hands of Sir William and that the reforms were merely meant to keep the Indian agitators silent for some time?

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Kartar Singh Jhabbar.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

20. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 12th August writes:—"The crowning instance of Mr. Keough's bias and prejudice against the accused is furnished by the uncalled for remarks with which the trying Magistrate has thought fit to dismiss that part of the evidence, the only and the most reliable and trustworthy of the whole lot of the prosecution witnesses,—Sardar Harbans Singh of Attari, the then President of the Gurdwara Committee of Nankana Sahib,—which bore an eloquent testimony to the good character of Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar for at least the past four years or over since he came into (contact) with him.... How readily the Magistrate accepts the evidence of such arch fiends of the Sikhs as Dewa Das, Rallia Ram and Tulsi Ram. And how slightly he dismisses and rejects the evidence of a Sikh Sardar whose honesty and love of truth is beyond carp or cavil and whose uprightness of character has stood many a test. A major portion, if not the whole, of the prosecution witnesses has been drawn from the Mahant's known associates and his circle of influence, who were naturally pitched deadly against the Sikhs. And it is on the evidence of the prominent of them named above that Mr. Keough bases his judgment. Then again the so much trouble which the trying magistrate has went out of his way to take in explaining away the delay in the case being reported by the complainant, clearly goes to prove the solicitude of the magistrate for the prosecution which formed no part of an impartial trial or unalloyed justice. Under these circumstances we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the conviction and sentence passed by the magistrate is neither justified nor valid, nor reflects any credit on the impartiality of the judge for which British justice once enjoyed a good name."

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 14th August honestly believes Kartar Singh Jhabbar to be quite innocent. He is an humble follower of the "Pride of the Universe" who saw his own parents sacrified for their religion, who had the necks of his children severed to maintain the honour of his religion, whose innocent children were buried alive in a wall at Sarhand, thousands of whose followers burnt themselves like moths on the candle of religion before his eyes and who himself eventually offered his head at the altar of religion. It is not surprising that a follower of such a Guru does not feel perplexed on being sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Kartar Singh has to-day retired after serving the Sikh community and is going to jail. It is possible that we may not see him released. He has sacrified himself not for the sake of his children but for the honour of the *Gurdwaras* and the *Khalsa Panth*. It is the duty of the Sikh community not to forget this martyr.

Conviction of Habib Shah.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

21. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 18th August says:—"Of the several cases in which persons have recently been tried in this Province on a charge of sedition—all of them weak—this was decidedly the weakest, and very strong reasons will be required to convince the public that the accused deserved either the conviction or so drastic a sentence.... The partiality for severe sentences in political cases,

which a section of our magistracy has been exhibiting of late, added to the tendency that has always existed in them to convict every one accused of a political offence, constitutes a distinct menace to the liberty and well-being of the subject, and as such deserves the immediate attention of both the Government and the public."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 20th August writes :—"There has been a grievous failure of justice. Let us hasten to add that when we say justice, we mean substantial and not technical justice. . . Of the several articles in respect of which Sayad Habib was prosecuted, the strongest undoubtedly was that in which he used what he himself described in his written statement as the Mahant simile. . . The whole question in this case is, whether by the Mahant he meant the Government as such, or merely the present form of government, and whether when he asked his countrymen to release India from the sway of this Government, he pleaded for its peaceful transformation or for the overthrowing of it by unlawful and unconstitutional means. And this is precisely the question which the Magistrate did not consider". . . .

(*c*) Elsewhere the paper says :—"One of the most extraordinary aspects of this case, to our mind, is the order of the Magistrate deleting certain parts of the written statement submitted by the accused. We do not know and it is nowhere stated in the judgment, under what section of the Criminal Procedure or any other Code this was done. . . Section 256, sub-section (2), provides that "if the accused puts in any written statement, the Magistrate shall file it with the record." There is no discretion of any kind vested in the Magistrate, either as regards filing the statement with the record or as regards determining what is or is not relevant."

Habib Shah's treatment in Jail.

22. The *Tribune* of the 20th August writes :—"We understand that unlike the other prisoners convicted under Section 124-A of the Penal Code, Maulana Syed Habib is not allowed to wear his own clothes and is being kept in a solitary cell in what is known in jail parlance as the *Siyasat Khana*. He has to sleep on the floor, and is given the same diet as the ordinary prisoners. The treatment of certain other persons now undergoing imprisonment for political offences indicated that the Punjab Government had adopted the wholesome policy of treating its political prisoners on a different footing from the other prisoners. Are we to understand that the Government has gone back to its old practice of treating persons convicted of political offences with the same rigour as ordinary prisoners? We fail to understand what there is in the case of Mr. Habib to differentiate it from the other cases of sedition or justify his not being admitted to the special ward where the other political prisoners are kept. An explanation is certainly due from Government."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Ganga Singh's return to Jullundur Cantonment.

23. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th August, Ganga Singh (who was expelled from the Jullundur Cantonment) says that he has now been allowed to return home. He attributes his expulsion to false reports by the police against him. The paper says that the Government should not act upon one-sided reports but allow an opportunity to persons to be punished for making their defence. Now that Ganga Singh has returned and the authorities have been assured of his innocence, may we enquire how he will be compensated for the losses suffered by him and what Government intends to do to put an end to this kind of oppression in future?

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PARKASH (Lahore); Radha Kishen, editor.

Politics and the Arya Samaj.

24. A correspondent, writing to the *Parkash* of the 14th August, advocates the preaching of politics from the platform of the Arya Samaj and to show that it is the duty of the Samaj to actually push propaganda work and exert for the attainment of *Swaraj*. He publicly challenges all and sundry to discuss the matter with him. His conviction is that the Arya Samaj as such should take a prominent part in the Swadeshi and *Swaraj* movements. He also thinks that the Arya Samaj should admit the defects of the existing Government and adopt every lawful means to remove them. Lectures should be delivered about Mahatma Gandhi's orders and the present political situation from the Samajic platform. The resolution passed by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha that the Arya Samaj has nothing to do with present day politics is opposed to the Samajic doctrines.

Cow sacrifice.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

25. Writing on the *Id* sacrifice, the *Zamindar* of the 11th August urges Muhammadans to abstain from sacrificing cows on the occasion.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Europeans and racial hatred.

ZAMINDAR, (Lahore); Akhtar Ali Khan, editor.

26. The *Zamindar* of the 10th August characterises the resolution passed by the Anglo-Indian and European Educational Conference, that the character of Europeans and Christians would be endangered if Indians were admitted to European schools, as extremely mischievous. Are Indians so degraded and impure that they will vitiate the morals of the European students? And yet these advocates of civilisation and morality tell the Government that Indians spread feelings of contempt against Europeans and Christians. When these regard Indians with so much contempt and hatred, their sense of shame demands that they should not touch the money of the Indians. Have the authorities ever considered who teach the lessons which come under section 153 A of the Indian Penal Code? The answer is European schools and their European teachers!

Missionaries misleading the untouchable.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

27. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th August Swami Shardhanand says that the Roman Catholic missionaries have created an impression in the minds of the Chamars of Delhi that the Indians if they obtain *Swaraj* will crush them, that their existing safety is attributable to Government, that they should unanimously oppose the *Swaraj* movement and help the Government. This movement has been started in Delhi. A big meeting will be held at Delhi on the 19th instant when not only the Deputy Commissioner, but even the Chief Commissioner is expected to attend. The missionaries have given out that the Viceroy also will grace the meeting. The paper says that instead of feeling disappointed or afraid, we feel pleased as it will afford a conspicuous proof of the success of the non-coöperation movement and impress on the minds of the people the helplessness of the authorities. When this reprehensible move will be exposed, as it is sure to be exposed, the seven crore untouchables will find out who their real well-wishers are.

Political agitation in Bhiwani and Sirsa.

ZULFIQAR (Lahore); Syed Ahmad Shah, editor.

28. The *Zulfiqar* of the 8th August remarks that this week the editor made a tour in the Hissar District and has learnt that the agitators are carrying on their propaganda boldly in the Bhiwani and Sirsa Tahsils. It is to be feared that serious trouble will arise and the paper hopes that the authorities are not ignorant of the matter. These Tahsils should be placed under a sufficient police force and experienced and intelligent police officers should be posted there. Peace-loving local citizens and loyalists should promptly establish peace associations and remove the misunderstandings that are being spread among the people.

The *begar* system.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

29. The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th August publishes an open letter from Rama Nand, *Sanyasi*, to His Excellency the Viceroy. The writer daily receives complaints from the Keonthal State in particular and other States in general that people are harassed by the local officers. The *begar* taken after every eight days has been abolished, but people have been taxed instead and the tax thus levied constitutes a fourth of the land revenue. His Excellency should take immediate steps to put an end to these troubles.

The Gurdwara Committee: A dangerous move.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

30. The *Sansar* of the 16th August has been horrified to learn of a very crooked move to create confusion in the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee by one or two persons having approached the Hon'ble Lala Harkishan Lal and assured him that if he satisfied them of kind treatment at the hands of Government in future, the 35 or 40 members to be nominated by the Committee would be the nominees of the Government. No one was authorized at any meeting of the Gurdwara Committee—whether held by the General Committee or the Executive one—to see the Minister for Agriculture and talk about such a harmful suggestion. We put the whole *panth* and its representatives on their guard about such a dangerous and secret move.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Compensation Committee.

31. The *Kesari* of the 13th August says that it is a matter for shame and regret that the Committee appointed for granting compensation in connection with the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy has adopted the most shameless attitude towards Amritsar. Its members spoil the object with which the Committee was appointed.

SIYASAT (Lahore);

An address to the Prophet.

32. The *Siyasat* of the 10th August publishes the following poem from one Muhammad Abdul Qayum Kamil of Shorkot, who calls himself a servant of the Caliphate :—

"O Prophet come and see the distress of Thy followers;
"Christians are practising oppression without cause.

"O Lord! it is the hour of need, come to the rescue soon;
"This ruin of the Turks can no longer be tolerated.

"O Lord, the same Turkey is surrounded by infidels
"Which for long served as Thy gate-keeper.

"The condition of Thy followers is not hidden from Thee;
"Our innermost sorrow is fully known to Thee.

"The difficulty of Thy followers will be solved in a moment
"If another Khalid comes into existence.

"We shall sacrifice our hearths and homes for the honour of Islam;
"We are Muslims and have no fear; we will shed our blood like water.

"Do not feel sorrowful, O Kamil, God is our protector;
"God's blessing is about to visit the followers of the Prophet."

PARTAP (Lahore); Badla Krishna, editor.

High prices.

33. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 13th August writes that flour is selling at four seers a rupee and asks if Government has taken the trouble of paying consideration to the causes of this dearness and removing it.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 20th August writes :—" One of the most disquieting features of the present economic situation is the famine prices at present ruling the wheat, rice and gram markets. It would have sounded incredible some time ago, but it is a fact all the same, that *atta* is selling at present at three seers and a half for the rupee, while wheat is selling in the market at Rs. 9 and annas 13 per maund. The impression prevails among the public that these scarcity prices are due to the large exports of wheat to foreign countries. Colour is lent to this view by news from Karachi to the effect that large quantities of *atta* are being shipped to foreign countries from that port. Whether the rumour regarding the export of grain is true or not, the unpleasant fact cannot be gainsaid that the country is in the grip of a famine of unprecedented severity. Government owes a duty to the people in this matter and we should like to know how long it is going to persist in its attitude of detached aloofness. If it is a fact that large quantities of wheat and other grain are being exported daily to outside countries, is it not the clear duty of Government to put a stop to it forthwith ? If the authorities do not move in the matter at once, the time is not distant, if it has not indeed come already, when distress owing to scarcity of food grains among the poor and middle classes will become unbearable."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

(*c*) The *Liberal* of the 17th August writes :—" The conditions in the Lahore market, and possibly in the other markets as well, are becoming very grave. In Lahore, the price of *atta*, the main item of food, has gone up from 5 seers to 3½ seers per rupee within the course of a week or ten days. This is really alarming, for an average family of four people, who could formerly, talking only of normal times, live with Re. 1 a day, would require at least double the amount to escape starvation. How many people are there, specially among the poor middle *Safedposh* class, who can thus manage to keep their bodies and souls together ? We hope something will be done in the direction by those who are in a position to render help."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 19th August says that people hold the Government responsible for the dearness of wheat and refers to the rumour that Government has ordered the Ralli Brothers to purchase several lakh maunds of wheat at the rate of Rs. 13 per maund. We cannot believe the rumour;

but the facts are greatly embarrassing. At any rate the present dearness is causing acute distress and it is the duty of Government to save its distressed subjects.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(e) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th August is surprised to find that flour is selling at the rate of 3½ seers per rupee in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, which is the largest grain-producing province in India. The paper thinks that grain-dealers are raising the price of grain. The Deputy Commissioner should forthwith summon the Tahsildar and the grain-dealers and enquire from them the reason for this dearness. The report is current in Lahore that Government is purchasing grain and throwing it in the sea simply to suppress the non-coöperation movement. It is also being talked of that Government has permitted the firm of the Ralli Brothers to purchase wheat at the rate of Rs. 13-4-0 per maund. It is the duty of the Punjab Government to announce what steps it is taking or wishes to take to discourage these rumours, which are proving a cause of uneasiness to God's created beings. It is also the duty of Government to announce what it is doing to make flour and grain cheap. Does not Government know that the present dearness and famine are greatly helping Gandhi's propaganda?

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(f) The *Bande Mataram* of the 19th August says that various rumours are afloat concerning the dearness of grain. Some people say that as Mahatma Gandhi has boycotted foreign cloth, Government has caused dearness in return. It is strange that the Ralli Brothers are making purchases at a time of such dearness and grain is being exported. The price of grain cannot go down unless Government prohibits its export and a friend writes stating that the only method of stopping such export is to stop the means of transport, and this can be done in the following way :—

(1) The coolies at coal mines should not work and if no coal is taken out, no railway trains will run and no corn will be exported.

(2) The labourers who load corn in railways should be asked to do some other work.

(3) If it is necessary to send corn from one part of the country to another, the recommendation of the Congress or the Khilafat Committee should be secured to this effect.

These proposals show the helplessness of the people. It is necessary that every person should help to put a check to this export. If the above suggestions assume a practical shape, the export of corn can be stopped.

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(g) The *Partap* of the 20th August says that people were complaining that flour was selling at the rate of 4 seers per rupee, but the situation has grown still worse, and flour is now selling at the rate of 3½ seers. If the situation does not improve, we have no hesitation in saying that the state of affairs in the country will become very dangerous and the Government will not then be able to remove the general unrest. It is strange that the Government has not taken the trouble to issue any *communiqué*. It is generally believed that Government is purchasing wheat in large quantities and exporting it to foreign countries without caring for poor India. This idea may be wrong. All the same Government is responsible for the welfare of its subjects and it is its duty to stop the export of wheat. The paper then refers to the Karachi telegram that flour is being daily sent out in large quantities from Karachi to foreign countries and says that there is justification for holding the Government responsible for this dearness. In the name of the poor of India we emphatically remind the Government of its duty.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Lloyd George on the Turkish Treaty.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

1. The *Swaraj* of the 18th August remarks that it cannot help praising Mr. Lloyd George for his argument. It would have been better if he had said what he now stated at a time when the Greeks were unable to stand the brave attacks of the Liberal Turks and were running away. We even now hope that the Liberal Turks will gain a victory over the Greeks. We request our impartial Premier to persevere in his present policy. The possession of certain Turkish territories by the Allies is not in conformity with the Turkish treaty and the Allies have no right to prevent the Turks from entering their territory. At the same time, it is incumbent on them to evacuate the Turkish territories which they are holding in possession. At any rate, we wish that the British Premier may fulfil his promise.

The Turkish problem.

SIYASAT (Lahore); editor.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 22nd August publishes an article from its Berlin correspondent saying that the English will not let the Turks sit still unless they succeed in establishing possession over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorous. But they cannot have direct control, as there are other rivals. They are, therefore, anxious to become paramount masters by giving Smyrna and Thrace to Greece. France and Italy have understood the meaning of this political move and have made friends with the Turks. The English have become the masters of the Arabian Sea by making Sharif Hussain a nominal king of the Hedjaz. France is, therefore, afraid of losing Syria and this is the reason why she is anxious to establish friendly relations with the Turks. In reality there is no friend of the Mussalmans. It is simply due to their own political moves that if, on the one hand, there are the enemies of Turkey, on the other, friends too are coming into existence. The people of the East should be on their guard.

Indian assistance to the Turks.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th August quotes a contemporary as reporting that the Muhammadans of Bengal and Assam have proposed at a meeting that as

the Greeks are determined to crush the Angora Government and as the Turkish Liberals are protecting the Khilafat, it is the duty of Indians, especially of the Indian Muhammadans, to help the Angora Government with ten thousand soldiers and a crore of rupees. The *Paisa Akhbar* thinks the proposal is a reasonable one, but as the British Government is neutral in the Turko-Greek war it will not allow the Indian Muhammadans to help the Turks with men. There is, however, no harm in the Indian Muhammadans inviting the attention of the Government of India to this wish of theirs.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 21st August refers to the resolution and asserts that the suggestion is reasonable. It will not be out of place if the Government of India approve of the idea.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

4. The *Shanti* of the 17th August publishes the following :—

Bolsheviks in Pamir.

"'The frontier place of Kashmir conquered by the Bolsheviks.'—Pamir is a well-known place situated towards the west of Kashmir. About two or three months ago, the message of the Bolshevik Commander to the Red troops, at the time of their despatch to Pamir, reached India through the British press. The message while attaching importance to Pamir for the purposes of bringing about a revolution in India urged the troops to hoist the Red flag at Pamir. It now appears that the said expedition is gaining success in its object and that the Bolsheviks have conquered the place. Accordingly a special telegram to the *Civil and Military Gazette* says that the Bolshevik Commander of the Turkistan front has sent a message to the forces despatched to the frontiers of Afghanistan and India, *i.e.* to Pamir, that Turkistan has become free and that the Bolsheviks have taken possession of the fortifications of this *ilaqa*. The possession of Pamir by the Bolsheviks signifies the emancipation of all Eastern nations, including India, and Red troops on the peaks of Pamir will be the posts indicative of a revolution. There has already been a change in Afghanistan and it is evident that 'a revolution' signifies a revolution in India. If in reality this report is correct, it means that the time is at hand for which the Bolsheviks have for some time past been grinding their teeth against Great Britain in India."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The British Medical Council.

5. The *Tribune* of the 23rd August writes :—"The decision of the British Medical Council betrays not only a want of sympathy with, but also a lack of appreciation of the conditions prevailing in India and it is not at all surprising that this action of the Council has created a feeling of widespread resentment and righteous indignation not only among the Indian medical men who are primarily affected by it, but also among Indians in general . . . . One immediate effect, as we have pointed out, of the action of the British Medical Council will be to disqualify Indian medical graduates from competing for the Indian Medical Service. This service is meant exclusively for India and the members thereof are required to serve either in Indian regiments as medical officers or as health officers or Civil Surgeons in this country. Is it not reasonable to urge that only those men should be declared qualified for competing for the Indian Medical Service and for service in India who have undergone a thorough training in tropical diseases and diseases of the eye ?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The election of Mir Muhammad Khan.

6. The *Tribune* of the 23rd August remarks :—"The Local Government has exempted Mir Muhammad Khan, whose election to the Punjab Legislative Council was declared void some time ago in accordance with the recommendation of the election Commissioners, from the disqualifications entailed by such declaration, under the proviso to clause 13 of Act XXIX of 1920. . . . . It has always been believed that the discretion in this case is not arbitrary, but must be used only when the Governor is satisfied that the exemption is in the public interests and, where the office in respect of which the exemption is made is one that brings its occupant into close touch with the public, that it is likely to commend itself to the people concerned. In the face of the repeated protests of the local organ and other manifest expressions of public opinion to the contrary, he would be a bold man who would hold that this condition is satisfied in the present case. How is the exemption, then, to be defended ?"

Commander-in-Chief's reply to the All India Cantonment Association Deputation.

CANTONMENT ADVOCATE (Ambala); U. N. Zutshi, editor.

7. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th August says :—"Lord Rawlinson's reply created a feeling of disappointment and distinct encouragement among the members of the deputation,—a feeling that led to their passing the subsequent resolution of giving up further approaches to the Government and of taking independent action through the Indian Legislature."

The Prince's visit.

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

8. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 20th August says that in condemning the resolution passed by the Lahore Municipal Committee regarding the boycott of the Prince's visit, the *Civil and Military Gazette* has made certain remarks against the nationalist members. It assures the Government that the Lahore public is in entire agreement with the resolution.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 25th August writes :—"But if there is no such object in view, if His Royal Highness is not the bearer of a message from the King and the Ministry which would apply the much-needed balm to India's lacerated heart, then whether the visit is boycotted or not, it is bound to remain largely infructuous. And need we add in this connection that during the last few weeks the argument based on the supposed inutility of the visit has become stronger owing to the prevalence of famine conditions in certain parts of the country ? . . . . Surely, it is worthy of serious consideration by Government if a time of acute distress, and with famine raging in more than one part of the country, is the most suitable time for spending something like a crore of rupees upon pageants and ceremonies that, whatever their use, can surely wait for a better and more convenient season !"

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Confiscation of the *Fatwa* of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

9. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 19th August says that by forfeiting the *Fatwa* of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi has taken a heavy responsibility upon himself. If it really contained anything against Government, Lord Reading should have taken upon himself the responsibility for its forfeiture.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue of the 20th August, the *Kesari* assures the Mussalmans that it is in full sympathy with them in all that they do to safeguard their rights, provided that they do not act against the principle of non-violence.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 20th August opines that the Government has committed a great mistake in proscribing the *Fatwa* issued over the signatures of 500 Muslim Ulema of India.

SIYASAT (Lahore); editor.

(*d*) According to the *Siyasat* of the 21st August, the Delhi Government has committed a horrible mistake in confiscating the *Fatwa* of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind. In these days of civilisation no Government has the right to interfere in the religious affairs of its subjects. Muhammadans should carry on a constitutional agitation and hold meetings everywhere to protest against the order of confiscation. They should not rest till the matter is settled in conformity with their wishes.

Syed Habib's conviction.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore);

10. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 19th August congratulates Syed Habib on his making a protest against the objectionable methods of the administration.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th August says that a foreign Government has two means of keeping subject nations enslaved, *viz.*, one of repression and the other of prizes. But now a most dangerous weapon is being used by the bureaucracy, that of obtaining apologies. This weapon has been used against Habib Shah. He was asked to apologise, but he declined.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 20th August cannot congratulate the Government on its policy of releasing political prisoners after securing an apology. It takes exception to the magistrate's order expunging certain passages from the statement filed by Habib Shah. The editor of the *Siyasat* has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the publication of a report covering only eleven lines. The heading of the report could be taken exception to. But a mere warning would have sufficed in this case.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*d*) The *Partap* of the 21st August admits that the heading of one of Syed Habib's articles is certainly objectionable, but not to such an extent that the editor should have been prosecuted under section 124-A. Government could, if it so wished, prosecute the editor of the *Siyasat* for M. A. Khwaja's original telegram; but in our opinion it is no offence to publish a contradiction on the part of Government with the addition of a few words. As regards the third article the magistrate thinks that to suggest to the people that the orders of the Deputy Commissioner should be disobeyed is to spread disaffection towards Government. We do not admit this view and do not think the Deputy Commissioner is the Government. He is only a part of the Government machinery. Nor is it an act of sedition to suggest civil disobedience. But section 124-A is so wide that no paper can escape it. By putting Syed Habib into jail for three years Government has not weakened but strengthened the non-coöperation movement. The more Government practises repression, the nearer will *Swaraj* approach.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 21st August writes:—"We now come to the weakest and most extraordinary part of the case against Maulana Syed Habib, the part based upon his alleged advice to the City Congress Committee to disobey an order of the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore under the Seditious Meetings Act. . . . The position taken up by the accused was that it was not any existing order of the Deputy Commissioner which he had asked the City Congress Committee to disobey—in fact the article appeared six days after the last of the two orders had expired—but only a prospective order, an order which had not been and might never be issued, but which if issued would, in his opinion, be illegal and unjustifiable. We do not consider that the accused was guilty of any offence, far less of sedition, even on the basis of the official translation, but his position is certainly improved if we accept his own translation, and it is worthy of note that neither the Public Prosecutor in his argument nor the magistrate in his judgment specifically challenges the correctness of that translation. . . . "It is quite apparent from his article," he [the magistrate] writes, "that he meant that no orders of the Deputy Commissioner, whether they existed at the time or whether they were to be passed in the future, were to be obeyed." This is, on the face of it, a far too extravagant construction—one wholly unjustified by the actual words of the accused, but it is surely more consistent with the accused's than with the official translation. . . . We entirely fail to see wherein the offence of the accused consisted. The whole question in this case is, whether passive resistance is or is not a constitutional course, and that is exactly the question which it did not occur to either the Public Prosecutor or the Court to consider. If it is the case, as we firmly believe it is, that passive resistance is a perfectly constitutional course, then the advocacy of passive resistance can be no offence in itself, though the man who actually resists may be liable to punishment for his specific act. Happily, on the main issue, there is no difference of opinion, at least in the English-speaking world. . . . The moment it is admitted that passive resistance is constitutional, the whole case against Syed Habib on the basis of this particular article at once falls to the ground. Both the Public Prosecutor and the magistrate took their stand on the assumption that the order of the Deputy Commissioner was the same thing as an order of the Government, that an order of the Government was the same thing as a law, that the violation of a particular law was the same thing as the violation of all laws, and consequently that the advice given by the accused to the Congress Committee to violate a particular order of the Deputy Commissioner was the same thing as an advice to it not to obey the lawful authority of the Government. Every part of this assumption is entirely and fundamentally wrong. . . Resistance to an individual law, which is deemed either oppressive or unjust, is perfectly consistent with a general disposition to obey the lawful authority of the Government. . . . We have no hesitation in saying that the finding of the magistrate in this particular case is not only wholly wrong but fundamentally repugnant to our accepted notions of the undoubted rights of the subject, and as such ought to be immediately set aside by superior authority."

country. But the question is how this export can be stopped. The Government is not our own Government and the prosperous bureaucracy does not care if the members of the poor and middle classes die of starvation. There is only one method of stopping the export without any bloodshed. People should practice non-coöperation in respect of all those companies whose business it is to export grain outside India. To be more clear it means that the farmers should not sell grain to foreign firms, that no broker should settle any bargain in respect of grain, that cart-drivers should refuse to carry grain from villages to railway stations, and that labourers should refuse to load grain in railway trucks. If every individual does his own bit to carry out these suggestions, the export of grain will be stopped.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*h*) The *Partap* of the 22nd August says that many big famines occurred in India during British rule, but a famine like the present one is unprecedented. The causes for the alarming rates of wheat are not known to us, but we think that in the first place wheat is being exported to foreign countries in large quantities, and in the second place people have begun to indulge in *Satta* gambling. Government has up to now shown extraordinary carelessless. It should remove both the causes referred to above. The first cause can easily be removed. Every Deputy Commissioner should warn wheat brokers not to practise *Satta* gambling. The second cause is rather difficult to remove. But Government will have to temporarily stop the export of wheat. It has previously been issuing similar orders on special occasions. There is, therefore, no reason why it should not now issue such orders to save lakhs of Indians from starvation.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*i*) The *Kesari* of the 22nd August remarks that the responsible officers have allowed the export of wheat in such a large quantity that their own country has fallen a prey to famine. With such a copious rainfall the present high prices of wheat are inexplicable. The whole country is complaining of dearness but the authorities are indifferent. Our benign Government can do every thing to remove the famine and the authorities should give the matter their attention.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*j*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd August published the following :—

"Ah, bread.

"O ye thirty crore children of Mother Bharat be prepared to die of hunger and writhing in agony! The country has resolved to ruin you. You are perhaps already destined to lay down your lives, longing for a single morsel. The conspiracy for your ruin has perhaps already been completed. Kings had been coming for centuries past to rule over you. They remained engaged in merriments on coming to your house, led lives of luxury and took away heaps of gold and jewels to their homes. They came and went. They took away India's wealth, her diamonds, jewels, rubies, pearls, etc. They prepared their palaces with bricks of gold. They paved their houses with silver. Nevertheless, no frown appeared on the forehead of the inhabitants of India. They uttered no word of complaint. They saw this with their eyes open and witnessed this loot carried on in broad day-light, but kept quiet, because they knew the worth of stones and bright mineral products. They realised that these stones and mineral products could not affect their stomachs. They knew that these stones, no matter whether they appear in the form of sapphires or give out the lustre of diamonds or rubies, were after all stones and could not fill the stomach of a hungry person. They also realised that these stones could afford satisfaction to the mind but could not remove hunger, and that pearls could decorate necks and ears but could fill no corner of the stomach. The mind of no Indian was, therefore, shocked on seeing these stones, mineral products and jewels removed. But do you know what is now going on? India is saying in the form of a poor man: 'Many purchasers of diamonds and jewels came to me, but I had no purchaser of grain. Several men came to exhaust my mines, but none had hitherto come to keep me hungry. And ever since the enemy of my stomach who is going to kill me by starvation has come, the painful cries of 'Ah bread'! 'Ah bread'! are being heard from all sides.

"How shocking? Did any one ever hear flour selling at the rate of 8 seers for a rupee? People ask what they should eat now. One whose stomach is empty and is tired of hunger replies and they should eat stones. Is there no master of India now? Have her protectors gone to the other world? The whole creation, having been rendered helpless by hunger, is to-day recollecting Janak who even worked the plough for his distressed subjects. Will no Janak be born now? Will every Indian thus go on passing his days in extreme trouble under the present foreign Government? Will the day ever come when we shall be able to say to our Government 'The subjects are being rendered helpless by hunger, be kind and open for them the stores of grains kept in the Cantonments, stop the export of wheat which is being sent abroad in an enormous quantity?' But it is not known when that time will come. What complaints are we to make to this foreign Government? To make any complaint to it will be to cry in the wilderness. We therefore find no course open to us, except to go on crying, 'Ah, bread'! Ah, bread!'"

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(k) The *Vakil* of the 22nd August makes the following suggestions for the removal of the present famine:—

(i) A commission, with a majority of non-official members, should be appointed to enquire into the present extraordinary famine conditions.

(ii) The export of wheat should be totally stopped for a certain period and subsequently restricted in consideration of the requirements of the country.

(iii) The sale rate of grain and other edibles should be fixed every year and those who sell dearer than the fixed rate should be legally punished.

(iv) *Satta*-gambling should be forbidden Proper measures should be adopted soon, otherwise the state of affairs will become very critical and dangerous.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(l) In noticing Lala Lajpat Rai's speech at Lahore on high prices, the *Tribune* of the 24th August says:—"The British Government have succeeded in remedying this grave evil, the gravest that can beset the life of man or nation..... But the efforts have usually begun and ended with the relief of actual suffering. So far as preventive measures are concerned, measures of a permanent character, measures calculated to develop the productive power of the country, to conserve national wealth, to secure its more even distribution, in a word, increase both the actual income and the staying power of the average man and thus diminish the chances of every failure of rain or some such calamity reducing millions to utter destitution, the progress has been all too slow, and in certain directions is almost imperceptible. Yet it is precisely this which a Government under modern conditions is expected to do. The days of *laisser faire* are gone for ever. At present no Government can for a moment stand the test of impartial criticism which does not do all that for the well-being and the progressive self-development of the people committed to its care which neither individuals nor unofficial groups of individuals can do for it. Here as elsewhere the old and time-honoured view in India has been found to contain a solid fragment of truth. That view was that one of the things for which a people inevitably suffered was the sins of its rulers, and that where the king was virtuous, the people were prosperous. . . There is no country on the face of the earth more richly endowed by nature than India, and if we overlook the colossal ignorance of the people, for the continued existence of which the Government cannot evade its share of responsibility, there is no people on the face of the earth which has a larger share of the intellectual and moral qualities that go to the making of useful citizens. In such a case, if anywhere, it can be said with complete assurance that if only the people had a Government which could completely identify its being with their happiness and progress no difficulties would deter and no obstacles would impede their steady progress towards their heaven-appointed destiny..... The root of the trouble lies in its very character as a foreign Government, which does not derive its authority from and is not responsible to the people.... The only true remedy lies in the transformation of this Government into one made by the people and responsible to the people. That is why *Swaraj* in India is to-day as much the goal of the British Parliament and the King-Emperor as it has been our goal for over three decades. The speediest attainment of that goal is, as Lala Lajpat Rai points out, also the surest way to end those gigantic evils of which the frequent famines in India and the

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*f*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd August publishes an article from Lala Lajpat Rai, who says that magistrates and Public Prosecutors seem to be taking an undue advantage of the non-coöperation movement. The court had no power to expunge passages from the accused's statement. The writer has also gone through the articles on the basis of which Syed Habib has been convicted and in his opinion no weaker case of sedition than the present one, except Sardul Singh's, was ever heard of.

Akhtar Ali's arrest.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 19th August remarks that the nationalists should have nothing to complain against the repressive policy of Government, as the bureaucracy against whom they are ranged is putting them to the test by throwing them into jails. We hope that Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan will remain as steady and strong after his arrest and conviction as he was before it.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore);

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 19th August assures its readers that its conductors have decided to continue its publication until Government forcibly stops it. The conviction of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan and the arrest of his son and of the publisher of the *Zamindar* have doubtless proved that the conductors of the paper are performing their duties in a fearless manner and are prepared to sacrifice their all. In return the paper expects its readers to patronise it, to support the national cause and to take part in political movements. It also appeals to its readers to wear *khaddar* and become true nationalists.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*c*) Writing to the *Kesari* of the 19th of August, its special correspondent refers to the sacrifices which the family of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan have made for the country and the community. When Maulvi Akhtar Ali and Raja Ghulam Qadir got into the prisoner's van, the place resounded with national shouts. We wish some responsible Englishman could see the condition of the Indians at the time and explain to Government its mistakes. He would have seen how Government was alienating the people by such acts.

The length of the *kirpan*.

AKALI (Lahore);

12. The Government *communiqué* regarding the *kirpan*, writes the *Akali* of the 18th August, shows that those who made the law about the *kirpan* were either fools or the law was not formulated at some cold place like Simla. They committed a great legal blunder in failing to specify the length of the *kirpan*. The Sikhs interpreted the law in the manner it could be interpreted and wore *kirpans* which they believed they were allowed to wear. But we are handcuffed and punished, even though we live within the bounds of religion and law. If the state of affairs is to remain like this, Government should make a clear announcement that religious freedom is not allowed to any one under British rule and that the *kirpan* is not exempted from the operation of the Arms Act. If Government does not really interfere in religious matters why then is insult offered to our religious symbol by calling it a weapon of great length ?

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

High prices.

PAISA AKHBAR, (Lahore); Mahbub Alam editor.

13. (*a*) In the course of a leading article, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th August remarks that Lord Reading should make a tour in the country to see the condition of the famine-stricken areas with his own eyes and acquire knowledge for the removal of the causes of dearness. He should then adopt measures to put an end to this famine. The Governors of the different provinces should also follow suit. Again, local officers of the areas which are visited by excessive dearness and famine should adopt preventive measures. Besides, foodstuffs should not be exported from British India for a few months and the persons who accelerate artificial dearness should be discouraged by means of law. Municipal Committees should open cheap grain and flour shops to help the poor only. The best thing is that the Government of India should fix special prices for foodstuffs so long as permanent measures are not adopted. Changes in the rates should depend on the opinion of local officers who will take into account local circumstances.

VAKIL, (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 20th August writes that it is regrettable that in spite of rains corn-dealers are becoming more and more greedy and corn is becoming dearer day by day. It is stated that flour was selling at the rate of 3½ seers per rupee in Lahore on the occasion of the last I'd. Why such oppression was practised particularly on the occasion requires no reply. But Government should intervene and all Deputy Commissioners should send for the local corn-dealers and enquire into the matter. As political leaders have not paid any heed to the matter and are silently seeing the sight of unlawful gains being made by avaricious merchants, the public is compelled to pray to the Government to make use of its powers.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(c) The *Desh* of the 21st August says time has come when Government should no longer remain quiet, but tell the people what this extraordinary dearness of corn is due to. To all appearance there is no cause for this dearness. It is only due to the conspiracy of the corn-dealers, by which they are making very heavy profits. Although there is a large stock of corn in Lahore, yet the traders are enhancing the rates by conspiring together and there is nobody to ask them to account for this. It is necessary that the Deputy Commissioner and Tahsildar of Lahore should send for the corn-dealers and enquire from them what the cause of this artificial dearness is. It is also commonly talked of in Lahore that Government is purchasing corn and throwing it into the sea to suppress the non-coöperation movement. It is also heard that Government has permitted the Ralli Brothers to purchase wheat at the rate of Rs. 13-4-0 per maund. In our opinion both these rumours are quite baseless. At any rate, it is a fact that shopkeepers are selling flour at a very high rate by making use of these rumours. The Deputy Commissioner should enquire who are responsible for giving currency to such rumours. As the Punjab Government is responsible for the welfare of its subjects, it should issue a *communiqué* stating what measures are being adopted to check these rumours, which are a source of anxiety and trouble to mankind, and whether corn and flour will become still dearer.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(d) The *Vakil* of the 21st August quotes the *Beopar* of Karachi which says that a large quantity of flour is being exported to foreign countries. It is the duty of Government to stop the export without any further delay. It is not wise to creat a state of starvation here in order to fill the stomachs of the foreigners.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai editor.

(e) The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st August writes that the rapidity with which the rates of wheat and gram are increasing is terrible and yet the Punjab Government and its responsible officers have assumed a criminal silence and remained totally unmoved. The Ministers who are called the representatives of the people are so careless about the matter as to have no concern with the starving people, who do not get even one full meal a day. We remember perfectly well that even the unsympathetic Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is not now-a-days remembered with honour and love in India, at once stopped the storage of corn during the war when the rate of wheat went up to nearly 5 seers for a rupee. But today, when the rate has risen to 4 seers a rupee, storage still continues and it is not known how long it will continue. This criminal silence on the part of the authorities is giving an impression to the people that the dearness of corn is being caused in opposition to the Swadeshi movement. Different rumours are also set afloat on this account Some persons say that the officers are threatening to bring the rate of flour to one seer a rupee, while others remark that in the cold season cotton will sell at the rate of ½ seer a rupee, so that people may not produce yarn by means of the spinning-wheel and obtain *khaddar* to cover their bodies. It is essential that Government should immediately pay attention to the matter and contradict these rumours practically. Otherwise, it is feared the state of affairs may become critical, which cannot produce good results for both the rulers and the ruled.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(f) The *Partap* of the 21st August remarks that the complaint of dearness is daily growing in the Punjab. A strong agitation should be started in the country. Big meetings should be held in every village, town and city at which resolutions on the present critical condition should be passed. Processions of starving men should be taken out, if it is possible to take out such processions peacefully. We think Government will certainly adopt measures to remove the dearness which is intolerable.

KESARI Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(g) The *Kesari* of the 21st August says that the best method by which India can be saved from starvation is to stop the export of grain, as even in these days of famine and dearness the constant purchase of wheat by the Ralli Bros. is a clear proof of the fact that there is no dearth of grain in the chronic poverty of the people are but an outward expression, and which the present form and system of Government has not been able and can never hope to put an end to."

(*m*) The *Tribune* of the same date says:—"Persistent talk regarding the export of wheat to countries outside India has, it appears, forced Government to issue a *communiqué* denying the truth of such rumours. The statement issued by Government is, however, bald and says nothing with reference to the present economic situation beyond a categorical denial on the question of export. If, as the *communiqué* says, there has been no export of wheat to any country, either Europe or elsewhere, there can only be two causes responsible for the present scarcity prices. Either the total available supply of wheat in the market is insufficient or the supply is sufficient, but speculators are holding back the stocks. No improvement in the present situation is possible unless the cause or causes at the bottom of the trouble are accurately diagnosed. It is but cold comfort to the starving millions of India to be told that there has been no export of wheat since April 1921, and that the total quantity actually exported from purchases made before the 31st March 1921 amounted to approximately three per cent. of the total yield of the all-India wheat harvest of 1920. The *communiqué* does not contain a word of sympathy for the suffering people or encouragement in the way of a promise to investigate the causes responsible for high prices and afford relief to those who have been hit the hardest. Does Government think that it is absolved of all further responsibility in the matter after it has issued a statement like the one before us? Where does the "popular" element in the reformed Government come in, if it does? The duty of an administration responsive to popular feeling is clear. A prompt enquiry into the causes of the prevailing high prices should be undertaken and immediate steps should be taken, both pending the result of the enquiry and subsequently to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. But if the Government has its duty in the matter, so have the popular leaders. . . . The situation is critical in the extreme and admits of no delay in handling it."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*n*) The following is extracted from Lala Lajpat Rai's contribution to the *Tribune* of the 24th August:—"Wheat is selling at Rs. 10 per maund, a price unheard of in India, and people are ascribing all sorts of motives to the Government. A large number of people seem to be under the impression that this is a retaliation for boycott. I don't believe there can be any truth in that statement, but if there be a grain of truth in it, then all the worse for the Government. . . . The British Government in this country has failed in its 'first duty' of making it possible for the riyot to obtain 'cheap grain and cheap cloth.' This is the verdict of the President of the U. P. Liberal Conference. The Reformed Government cannot do better. The country can get neither cheap grain nor cheap cloth unless it is relieved of the incubus of heavy and disproportionate Imperial responsibilities, and gets absolute fiscal and military autonomy. No amount of special pleading will prove the contrary. We do not know the exact causes of the present rise in the prices of food-grains, but we know the duty of the Government. If the Government fails to perform its duty it is because the Government is not responsible to the people of this country. The people are crying for cheap food and the Government and the moderates are trying to impose a burden of millions upon the people by inviting the Prince of Wales to honour us with a visit. There is only one word by which this conduct can be described, *viz.*, "madness." The whole thing is being done in absolute disregard of the interests of the country and in a spirit of "damn the country, we will go our own way." . . . Let the moderates ponder over these figures and they will see whither lies their duty. We appeal to their patriotism and good sense to insist upon absoute fiscal and military economy as a *sine qua non* of any acceptable reform."

The duty on cotton goods.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

14. The *Vakil* of the 21st August says that a deputation of the spinners of Lancashire is coming to India to protest against the enhancement of customs duty on cotton goods. It hopes that the Indian members of the Legislative Assembly will display moral courage and adhere to their former decision. In our opinion it is the moral duty of the Government also not to budge an inch from the decision at which it has already arrived.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

The 'white list.'

15. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 20th August writes that non-coöperating newspapers, the names of which do not figure in the approved list of papers to which Government advertisements will be sent, have strongly criticised the list. But the question is when these newspapers are advocating non-coöperation with the Government, why are they so much excited? How can a person opposed to having any connection with the Government be justified in receiving advertisement charges from the Government? Newspapers given to non-coöperation should have, on the other hand, been pleased, as the list in question saved them from the sin of receiving money from the unholy hands of Government. Their criticism, however, shows that there is a great difference between their words and deeds.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The *Akali* fund.

16. Referring to the suit for damages instituted by Mr. King against the *Akali*, the *Bande Mataram* of the 20th August believes that not only Akali and other Sikhs, but even non-Sikhs will contribute to the *Akali* fund, thereby proving the futility of the new weapon employed by the bureaucracy to kill nationalist newspapers.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Strangers in India.

17. The *Partap* of the 22nd August publishes an Urdu poem from Mahasha Brij Gopi Nath Baikal. Some of the verses run as follows:—

> "No stranger should be the gardener of our garden, why should this inherent right of ours fall to the lot of others?
>
> "This cannon and this musket all are harmless, don't be afraid, don't be afraid. Trust in one God. He alone is at your back."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Amir Fiesel.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd August praises Amir Feisel for his ability and statesmanship and observes that his election as King of Mesopotamia will result in realising the Arab dream of a large and powerful Arab State. It is also true that the sympathy of the English has helped him a great deal; but the question is whether Amir Feisel will be an independent ruler from the beginning or whether he will remain under the influence of the English.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th August remarks that now that the people of Mesopotamia have elected Amir Feisel as their King by a majority of votes, he should be given an opportunity to rule independently and freely. British forces and British officers should be withdrawn. Of course, a British envoy should remain there. As to the oil trade, some special agreement should be entered into with Amir Feisel.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*c*) According to the *Siyasat* of the 26th August, Amir Feisel's election as King of Mesopotamia throws light on the political and foreign policy of Britain. Since 1916 Amir Feisel has had several turns of fortune. The British had a special regard for his services and they have now made him the permanent King of Mesopotamia. But here the question arises whether there was no capable Arab in Mesopotamia itself to govern the kingdom.

The treaty with Afghanistan.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor

2. The *Vakil* of the 24th August quotes a correspondent of the *Times* who says that it is generally believed that the Amir of Kabul is not prepared to enter into a friendly treaty with England until the situation brought about by the Nationalist Turkish Government of Angora eases off and Turkish peace terms are eventually settled. The articles published in the Afghan newspapers show that it is owing to the Angora affair that the treaty between England and Afghanistan is being delayed. British statesmen should consider the

matter carefully. Will the Government of India realize their duty and explain to the Home Government how the religious relations of Afghanistan and Angora stand in the way of the conclusion of an Anglo-Afghan treaty.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

3. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 24th August does not approve of the resolution of the Lahore Municipal Committee boycotting the Prince of Wales and feels confident that the municipality will reconsider its decision.

(*b*) A correspondent writes to the *Liberal* of the 24th August:—"In connection with the public meeting of the citizens of Lahore held outside Mochi Gate on 23rd August 1921, I desire to express certain views on the subject of such a great importance .... The resolution of the meeting under reference though carried unanimously with one or two exceptions does not clearly and explicitly indicate the views of the citizens of Lahore, because there are few men bold enough to express their views as they are sure to be hooted down by the irresponsible mob."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th August disapproves of the resolution passed by the Lahore Municipal Committee and characterises it as impudent.

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd August, Lala Lajpat Rai says that to offer a warm reception to the Prince of Wales in the present circumstances is to trample upon the feelings of the country and to bid farewell to all sense of shame. A dreadful famine is raging in the country and wheat is selling at the rate of 4 seers per rupee. Government expenditure is daily growing and the country is labouring under the weight of such a heavy military expenditure that any moment it might become insolvent. An Indian who thinks it lawful to spend India's money on the Prince's reception is an enemy of his country and nation. The writer is deeply grieved to learn that Raja Narendra Nath is zealously working in Lahore for the reception of the Prince. A military officer is ruling Lahore, one who has already committed several illegal acts to maintain his prestige. How can any Punjabi, who is endowed with a sense of shame, offer a sincere reception to the Prince?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 31st August writes:—"Our contention is that the distress is already widespread, and that the Government has not much time left within which, first, to observe the conditions and then to make up its mind. If it thinks that the present conditions are not suitable for a royal visit, it should countermand its decision regarding the visit with the least possible delay."

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

Non-coöperation.

4. The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 20th August scouts the action of non-coöperators in appointing non-official committees of enquiries in all matters of dispute between the Government and the public. The publication of the reports of such committees of enquiry does no good at all. If Indians wish that their efforts for the attainment of *Swaraj* should be crowned with success, they must enlist the coöperation of Government.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Home Rule.

5. The *Partab* of the 24th August pleads that the permanent remedy for famines is to attain *Swaraj* or Home Rule as enjoyed by the colonies.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Martial law prisoners.

6. Writing in connection with the rumoured release of martial law prisoners, the *Tribune* of the 30th August says:—"All we can say is that we hope with all our heart that His Excellency will be no party to a policy of discrimination. Past experience shows that it not only does no good, but often a lot of harm. It surely fails to serve the supreme purpose which all measures of clemency have in view, that of striking the imagination of the people. The great thing which His Excellency has to do is to wipe out the memory of the unfortunate episode, and so far as these prisoners are concerned, that object can only be served by a wholesale release.... We do hope Lord Reading will not make the same mistake, but will follow a different policy."

Sikh prisoners.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

7. The *Sansar* of the 25th August says that we are not going to make any request to the Government at present, but keeping in view the relations that have existed between it and the Sikhs for the last 70 years, we would ask it to open its eyes even now and not displease the Sikhs over trifling matters. It should release all Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara movement.

The Kiara Sahib case.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

8. The *Sikh* of the 2[illegible]th August says:—"By letting nearly all or most of the Gurdwara Reform criminal cases be decided by Mr. Keough whose biased mind against the *Akalis* has betrayed itself in every case more than its predecessor, the Punjab Government have exposed themselves to ridicule. In fact in his judgments he has spared no vocabulary which he could use in moving heaven and earth and making mountain of a molehill against the accused. Now before us is the judgment of the so-called Kiara Sahib shrine case, an attentive perusal of which will convince any right-thinking mind of how one and the same basis has been availed of in all the cases decided by the Magistrate, Mr. Keough..... If His Excellency the Governor-in-Council or His Excellency Lord Reading ever desired, with a view to doing the afflicted Sikhs at least the full justice promised to them, he had better place side by side all the judgments delivered by Mr. Keough in the several Gurdwara Reform cases and go through them one after the other. The alleged desecrations of tombs and other similarly false allegations were categorically denied by reliable deputations of *bonâ fide* Hindu and Muhammadan bodies."

Syed Habib's case.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

9. The *Liberal* of the 24th August says:—"We have gone through the judgment delivered by Mr. Harris, Additional District Magistrate, Lahore, in the cases against Moulana Syed Habib, editor of the *Siyasat*, and are in a position to say that the judgment is most unconvincing, one-sided and biased. The more we study the judgment the more we are convinced of the innocence of Mr. Habib. The charges brought against him were based on flimsy evidence which could not be regarded as independent or trustworthy.... The judge has failed entirely to carry the moderate opinion in the Province even in convicting Mr. Habib and in sentencing him so heavily."

The Munitions Board case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th August writes:—"In a lengthy *communiqué* issued by them on the subject, the Government of India have, after stating all or most of the salient facts connected with the Munitions Board case, expressed the opinion that the failure of Sir Thomas Holland to consult the Governor-General was due to *an error of judgment*. That historic phrase has done duty before now in far more important cases, and it is no matter for surprise that it should figure in this case. But the fact remains that the error of judgment in this case has led to grave and irreparable consequences."

(*b*) In its issue of the 31st August, the *Tribune* says:—"We learn that Sir Thomas Holland has resigned. One must entirely and unreservedly agree with the *Pioneer* that his continuance as a member of the Government which has publicly repudiated the action which he took was impossible and that if he were to retain his seat on the Council he would be nothing but a source of weakness to a Government which has difficult days ahead of it. But what of the others? What of those two members of the Governor-General's Council whom Sir Thomas consulted and who must, in some measure at least, share his responsibility in the matter, and what of the Advocate-General who made himself responsible for so extraordinary a statement?.... Should not the Advocate-General be asked to state how he came to be associated with such a proceeding?"

The *kirpan*.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

11. The *Sikh* of the 28th August writes:—"Now with all the declarations of Government assuring us of *kirpan* being exempt every day reports a fresh case of Kirpanophobia having developed in this or that department, of course, of the self-same Government. The following letter (translated from Gurmukhi) has been received by the Secretary, Shromani Gurdwaras Parbandhak Committee: 'I was a student of the Military Training School, Dera Dun. I wear *kirpan* some two feet long. A flattering Subedar Kehr Singh by name

who is the manager of the school attempted to divest me of the *kirpan*, but I *refused to part* with it. Then on the basis of this grudge that flatterer got me imprisoned for nine months. It is about one month and-a-half that I have been obeying the *orders of Father Almighty* in Saharanpur Jail, with none else to look after me but the Guru Panth. I count upon you for support.' The italicised portions bespeak the strength of a Sikh's devotion to religion and faith in God. The report speaks for itself and we respectfully but strongly draw the attention of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to this alleged interference with a Sikh's religion."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Treatment of prisoners in the Montgomery jail.

12. The *Tribune* of the 28th August has the following :—"We are constrained to say that the Punjab Government's *communiqué* regarding the treatment of certain political prisoners in the Montgomery jail leaves the main issue untouched. That issue is not whether the particular allegations made in the *Zamindar's* article were correct—on that point the Government's statement will undoubtedly carry due weight—but whether political prisoners received in the Montgomery jail from the North-Western Frontier Province are being treated as certain political prisoners are treated in the Lahore Central Jail. In other words are they treated on a differential footing as compared with ordinary prisoners on the ground of their being political prisoners? That they should be so treated is the whole point of the people's case. You do not meet that case merely by saying that the prisoners in question are detained in cells because they were transferred to the Montgomery jail as agitators, and it is not considered desirable that they should mix with the other prisoners, or that no general latrine is provided for the cells, as each cell has its own provision, or that somebody was given the task of medium grinding for ten days and then put on the light labour of opening yarn, or, finally, that the food ordinarily given to prisoners in this jail is good. In all these respects what public opinion demands is that the prisoners concerned should be treated with greater consideration and humanity than ordinary prisoners are treated. The Government *communiqué* does not contain a word to show that they are so treated. On the contrary, the admission that at least one of these prisoners was given grinding work—in fact we have been told that this work has been given to several of them—shows that no discrimination worth the name is made."

Akali (Lahore);

Sikh *gurdwaras*.

13. Writing to the *Akali* of the 22nd August, Labh Singh of Lyallpur maintains that the Panth is the owner of all *gurdwaras* and it is unintelligible how a just and religious-minded ruler can deprive the Sikhs of the property which has been lawfully secured by them. To deprive them of the property is obviously an illegal and oppressive act. The law of the Government concerning the possession of immoveable property puts obstacles in the way of the ownership of the Panth. The Sikhs should not rest until all *gurdwaras* are brought under the full control of the Sharomani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Lahore Municipal Committee.

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th August says that a threat is being held out to the Lahore Municipal Committee that if its attitude remains unchanged, it will be abolished and an official Commissioner appointed in its place. It is to be hoped that the Municipal Commissioners will not be afraid of such threats and will adhere to their principles, for we are confident that Government will not commit such a mistake. But if it does, it will do us no harm and will strengthen our claims for *Swaraj*.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Lyallpur Municipal Committee.

15. The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th August, referring to the election of the President of the Lyallpur Municipal Committee, remarks that eleven elected members of the committee voted for Khwaja Abdur Rahman and eight nominated members for Khan Sahib Maulvi Ghulam Bari. The Khan Sahib, who was then acting as President, gave his casting vote and decided the election in his favour. Those who are enamoured of the Reform Scheme and are singing its praises can say nothing in its favour except that the members of municipal committees will be granted complete freedom in local self-government. But actual experience belies this. The use that has been made of casting votes at the Sirsa and Lyallpur Municipal Committee meetings is ridiculous and shameful.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Viceroy's coming visit to the Kashmir State.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

16. A correspondent writing to the *Tribune* of the 28th August dwells upon the prevailing scarcity of food-grains in the Kashmir State and makes a plea for the postponement of the coming visit of the Viceroy to a future date.

High prices.

PANTH SEWAK (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

17. (*a*) In the course of a leading article, the *Panth Sewak* of the 17th August remarks that it would be no wonder if the Panjabees have also to eat grass, etc., like the Russians. What greater insult can there be to the people of the Punjab than that foreigners fill their stomachs with food sent by the Punjab, while the Panjabees die of starvation? Our readers know full well that Englishmen came to India to trade, but they ultimately got hold of our country. They did not give up trade, even though they made themselves the rulers of the land. The cloth prepared in our country used to be sent to foreign countries, but Englishmen stopped its export by enhancing the duty imposed on it. They do not feel at all whether Indians get food to fill their stomachs or not. They are simply concerned with their trade, the trade which has made them opulent. Nobody can prevent them from taking our corn to other countries, because all laws and regulations are in their own hands.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Sana Ullah, editor.

(*b*) The *Ahl i-Hadis* of the 19th and 26th August remarks that if India does not yield a good harvest for a year, people begin to starve, although a year's produce of India can last for several years. On the other hand, the annual produce of England is hardly sufficient for two months. Nevertheless, the British people do not feel the pinch of dearness as keenly as the Indians do. Government should not allow free trade, nor the export of grain from India without keeping in view the requirements of the country. Moreover, Government should prohibit *satta* gambling.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) A correspondent writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd August says that according to *Capital* 90,089 tons of wheat was exported from India between 1st April and 31st July 1921, while the quantity of wheat exported last year during the corresponding period was only 3,514 tons. Will Government take action to stop the export?

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd August puts the following questions to Government:—

(1) Is Government aware that before the rains flour was selling at the rate of 5 seers and is selling now at 3½ seers?

(2) Is Government aware that different rumours are current in the city about this abnormal rise and that one of the rumours is that Government has ordered the Ralli Brothers to purchase wheat at the rate of Rs. 13 per maund in order to divert the attention of the people from the boycott of cloth and the non-coöperation movement?

(3) If this rumour is true, will Government say what firms have been ordered to purchase wheat and up to what rate? Where is wheat going to be sent and what stock of wheat is there in the country? Is Government aware that wheat is being exported from Karachi in a very large quantity?

(4) If Government has no hand in the export of flour and wheat, will it tell us where the Ralli Brothers and other firms are sending wheat and whether the export has no connection with the supply of provisions to Greek troops?

(5) If these firms are exporting grain at their own initiative, will Government stop this export in India's interests?

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th August notes with interest that Government did not learn of the dearness of foodstuffs until the subject was mentioned in the public press. It is surprising that Government which knows everything about the people through its Criminal Investigation Department should be so ignorant in this respect, a state of things that is all the more surprising as the confession comes from Lala Harkishan Lal who mixes with the Indians and who owns a flour mill. The fact that the *ex*-President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee has totally changed the impressions formerly made on his mind goes to show the magical influence of the bureaucracy. Is it necessary to point out to Lala Harkishan Lal that the cause of the present dearness is the export of grain? If grain is not being exported now, it must have been exported before. Does not Lala Harkishan Lal know that the number of bullocks has decreased in the country owing to the destruction of cows and this naturally affects the produce of grain? Like Englishmen, Lala Harkishan Lal has learnt in a short time from the bureaucracy how to plead ignorance, though he knows everything.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(*f*) The *Vakil* of the 26th August quotes the *Hamdam* as stating that it has transpired from certain reports received from Calcutta and Bombay that large quantities of grain are being purchased for export and there is a reasonable ground for believing that grain is being sent to Greece. The *Vakil* thinks that this harmful and destructive act on the part of the Ralli Brothers deserves attention. Government must know that it is its foremost duty to stop the Ralli Brothers at once from exporting wheat. In the first place, the country cannot tolerate that a single grain should go out of the country. And in the second place export of grain to Greece can in no circumstances be tolerated.

(*g*) The *Vakil* of the 27th August remarks that great stress is laid on the necessity of stopping the export of corn from the country. Indeed, if Indians had the power they would not at present allow a single grain to go out of the country. Very few people have paid any attention to the export of other articles, although their export too has much to do with the existing famine, such as mustard seed, sesamum seed, cotton, etc., which are sent to foreign countries in large quantities. At any rate, it is necessary to impose strict restrictions on the export of every kind of produce. Until that is done, people will not get sufficient food to fill their stomachs, nor will our industries and country prosper.

DESH
(Lahore);
Dina Nath,
editor.

(*h*) The *Desh* of the 22nd August says that there can be only two causes of the present high prices of wheat. Either there is a sufficient quantity of corn in the country and people are indulging in speculation or there is not sufficient quantity. In the former case the matter is quite clear and simple. If the leaders can pursuade the people to collect crores of rupees, if they can get their costly clothes burnt and if they can prevent *khaddar* sellers from making profits, then there is no reason why they should not prevent corn dealers from speculation. If Messrs. Ralli Brothers are really exporting corn, people can very easily refuse to sell corn to them. In the latter case Government should be requested to import wheat from Australia. If the leaders think this course against the non-coöperation movement, they should make use of the crore of rupees in the Tilak *Swaraj* Fund which is lying idle with them.

AKHBAR-I-AM
(Lahore);
Gopi Nath,
editor.

(*i*) The *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 24th August remarks that national workers should first of all see that Indians do not starve. Now that there is a possibility of a further rise in the price of grain, Government should also adopt such measures as are likely to check the evil. When people will not be able to get food sufficient to fill their stomachs, of what use will *Swaraj* be to them? Great anxiety is being expressed in these days throughout the country. It is the duty of Government not to remain indifferent to the plight of the public.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

(*j*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd August remarks that there is no doubt that the final responsibility of removing the present dearness devolves on the Government and it is Government alone before whom people should lay their grievances. In these days of unprecedented dearness, which is causing acute distress, it behoves Government to take preventive measures. It should not grudge legislation to discourage those who promote artificial dearness. If Government fails to take strong action things are likely to go from bad to worse, and it would be no wonder if disturbances take place and the shops of corn-dealers are looted. Moreover, in the absence of preventive measures, the prestige of Government will also be lowered. It is an admitted fact that the present dearness is, to a large extent, artificial. Corn-dealers should show a spirit of patriotism.

(*k*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th August takes exception to the export of any quantity of grain and urges the people of India to boycott the Ralli Brothers who export wheat to Greece which is at war with Turkey.

(*l*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th August does not think the present short tour which the Hon'ble Lala Harkishan Lal and Mr. King have undertaken in the Punjab will enable them to find out the causes of the present famine. The investigation should extend over a larger area and occupy greater time than is at present intended.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*m*) The *Tribune* of the 28th August publishes the following from Makhan Lal of Sargodha:—"Wheat and wheat flour is selling at 100 per cent. more than Government famine price level. Recent rains have materially improved standing crops, but prices of foodstuffs are going up beyond all records. Although danger is appreciable, but the Government is silent. Is it then not the duty of the present Government to do her mite to mitigate the distress of the people. In our opinion the Government should act at once on the following proposals:—

(1) An official survey should at once be taken through the District heads to ascertain whether the stocks of wheat are not being held back by greedy people to obtain further higher prices.

(2) All export of wheat, wheat flour and all other foodstuffs be at once stopped either by land or by sea.

(3) The Punjab being the worst sufferer removal of foodstuffs from the Punjab to other provinces be stopped at once and railway freight should be at once reduced from the stations of the United Provinces where heavy stocks are lying to the stations of the Punjab. This should be done immediately, otherwise fear is entertained that thousands shall die of hunger."

(*n*) The *Tribune* of the 28th August writes:—"How long is the present intolerable position going to last, and what are either the Government or the more well-to-do classes going to do to meet it? . . . The situation, indeed, is such that it is only by the mutual co-operation of the Government and the local bodies that it can be mitigated. After all, there are four and only four things which can afford relief in the present circumstances. The Government has definitely announced that no wheat is being exported by them at present but it is not known if unofficial agencies are exporting wheat. If they are, steps should be taken immediately to put a stop to it. Again it has been stated that purchases are being made for the military. If these purchases are for present needs, they are quite as important as purchases by private individuals and cannot possibly be done without. It is just possible, however, that a part of the purchases is not for present - but for future needs, and in this case we have no doubt the Government will consider the desirability of reducing the purchases, even if they cannot stop them altogether for a time. But it is uncertain what relief this will bring. In any case it will not go far enough by itself. The two measures on which, more than on any other, we must rely, apart, of course, from the stoppage of all export for a time, are the opening of as many cheap grain shops in suitable centres as can conveniently be managed and the stopping of speculation, and both these are measures in respect of which the Government and people must co-operate. The resources of local bodies and of public bodies like the Congress are so limited that by themselves they cannot possibly cope with so widespread a distress, even if they are helped by private charity. When a nation stretches out its hands for food, relief to be adequate must come largely, if not principally, from the Government, and in the present case we are perfectly certain that no local body will be able to go far in the matter of relief, unless the Government will come to its aid and augment its resources. The Government and public bodies must at once and seriously set themselves to the task of ascertaining whether and how far the present situation is due to excessive speculation. If, as is generally believed, a good deal of speculation calculated to raise prices is still going on, then we have not the smallest hesitation in saying that it is the clear duty of the Government and the public to stop it by all reasonable and lawful means."

(*o*) The *Tribune* of the 30th August writes:—"The only impression that has been made upon the wheat market by all the talk and threat of action that we have heard during the last few days is that the price of *atta* has fallen from 3½ to 4 seers per rupee. The fall is utterly negligible and means little or nothing in practice. Six seers is the very highest price at which *atta* can sell, if the position is not to be rendered intolerable to the vast majority of the people, and so long as it does not fall to that level, the acute discontent that exists at present will continue, and the pressure of public opinion will continue to be exerted to the fullest extent. The Government will, we hope, make no delay in announcing the action it proposes to take."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*p*) The *Kesari* of the 29th August fears that by the time Government finishes its enquiry, the present dearness will have crushed the people. It is the duty of Government to issue orders promptly and provide some punishment for those who are causing dearness. The fact is that an *anti*-Government feeling is now commonly prevalent in the country and Government should remove dearness to suppress this feeling.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

(*q*) In the course of a leading article, the *Shanti* of the 24th August says the general cry from every corner of India is for cheap prices, a cry which comes out of the wounded heart of every poor person. It produces no effect on the rich, who will be able to get flour even if it is sold at the rate of one *chhatank* for a rupee. But it is a great matter for the poor who cannot fill their stomachs even with gram. Matters have come to such a pass that apart from other articles, *atta* is selling at the rate of 3½ seers a rupee, and, seeing that its rate is increasing day by day, it is not beyond imagination to suppose that it will some day sell at the rate of one seer for a rupee. But who will eat *atta* at that time? Two seers of *atta* is ordinarily used by a family daily. Wherefrom will a clerk or a labourer bring *atta* worth Rs. 60 a month, whose income is Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per mensem? A Karachi telegram was published in the newspapers stating that many crore maunds of *atta* was exported to foreign countries. It is rumoured that this mischief has been practised by the well-known Ralli Bros. We are astonished why Government is silent if these rumours are not baseless. Does it not know that famine is raging in the country and spreading daily?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Government of India press *communiqué* on the dearness of grain.

18. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 25th August publishes an article from Lala Lajpat Rai, who refers to the recent press *communiqué* of the Government of India on the dearness of grain and asks whether the Government of India mean to say that from the 1st April 1920 to the 1st April 1921 no wheat was sent from India to Europe and other countries. If the Government of India mean this, then they should say so in clear terms, or they should state what quantity of grain was exported from India during these twelve months. Besides, the question arises what quantity of flour and other grain has by this time been exported. The Government of India should have also stated what quantity of wheat and other grain was produced in the country in 1920 and 1921 respectively. The writer is of opinion that it is the duty of the Government of India to keep a watch on the prices of edibles, so that poor Indians may get grain at reasonable rates. Both the export of wheat and the import of cloth and yarn should be stopped.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 25th August says that in spite of the issue of the *communiqué*, the matter is not clear. Although it shows that Government is not exporting wheat by purchasing it at a high rate, yet it has not told us why notwithstanding a heavy rainfall the price of flour has gone up from 5½ seers to 3½ seers for a rupee. Government should have clearly explained the reasons for this and declared what steps it was taking to put an end to this present terrible dearness. Mere contradiction can hardly satisfy the people.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 27th August states that flour and wheat are always purchased for military requirements. Will Government kindly tell us what quantity of flour or wheat has been purchased for this purpose, what quantity has been sent to Mesopotamia, and at what rate? Is the firm of Messrs. Ralli Brothers alone purchasing flour or wheat or has this work been entrusted to some other firm also? If Government answers these questions clearly, it will be found out who is responsible for this dearness. Some member of Council should obtain answers to these questions. But dearness is simply ascribable to the large demands of wheat and the shortage of supply. Military requirements have increased of late and the produce has been comparatively small. It rests with the Government to render wheat cheap by curtailing military requirements.

(*d*) The *Desh* of the 29th August affirms that the Government *communiqué* cannot give satisfaction. Indeed, it is a horrible and bitter reality that the rise in the price of wheat is unprecedented. If this dearness is not removed, people will be confronted with grave difficulties. Government should see whether the corn which it has stored does not exceed its requirements and it should also check the stores of foreign corn merchants. At the same time, it is equally important to control the prices, prevailing in the market. The real cause of the present dearness should also be traced. Prompt instructions should be issued to the Provincial Governments and this critical state of things removed as early as possible, for people are in great trouble. It is a pity that though things have reached such a juncture, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are sitting quietly.

Gyani Autar Singh's apology.

PARTAP (Lahore) Krishna, editor.

19. The *Partap* of the 27th August refers to the humiliating words in which the apology has been tendered. Those who think that they can become popular by delivering speeches against the Government in an irresponsible manner should learn a lesson from Autar Singh's apology. The man who brings false charges against the Government is deserving of the treatment that has been meted out to him. But we ask Government whether its dignity has been promoted by accepting the apology of a misled young man like Autar Singh.

The Nankana Sahib affair.

AKALI (Lahore); editor.

20 (*a*). The *Akali* of the 22nd August suggests that if the Sikh League is not prepared to enquire into the Nankana tragedy, the Sharomani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should make some arrangement for holding an inquiry.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 21st August demands the publication of a full account of the conference held by the Commissioner of Lahore in connection with the *gurdwara* question and referred to by Mr. Mercer in his evidence in the Nankana Sahib trial. The names of those who attended the conference should also be given.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Amir Feisel.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 27th August remarks that if the Arabs of Mesopotamia have any sense of shame and self-respect they will never agree to be governed by an outsider.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd September remarks that Shah Feisel has been granted the suzerainty of Mesopotamia subject to special restrictions. His government, however, can never be called an independent one, seeing that on one hand it is under Great Britain and on the other under the League of Nations. The Shah might feel pleased on being made a ruler but the Muhammadans of the world have at present no reason to rejoice.

The Turko-Greek war.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

2. The *Swaraj* of the 27th August writes that in their first attack upon the Turkish nationalists, the Greeks suffered a crushing defeat and took to their heels. On this the British press made a great clamour and the British Government also urged the desirability of a settlement. The English papers admitted that the Greeks had neither power nor money enough to face the Turks. But it is surprising that since their second attack, the Turks have not been able to resist the Greeks. It is undeniable that if the Allies had not supported the Greeks, the latter could not stand before the Turks.

England and Persia.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

3. The *Kesari* of the 29th August remarks that there was a time when England had great influence in Persia, which did nothing without consulting her

But now England has totally lost her influence and British troops have come back from Persia. English statesmen seem to be still repeating their old mistakes.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Indian assistance for the Turks.

4. The *Kesari* of the 29th August considers it the duty of the people of India in general, and the Muhammadans in particular, to adopt some very effective way of helping the Turks. The paper is at present unable to make a definite suggestion, but it undoubtedly realises that the Turks should be sufficiently helped by India in their present difficulties. It is the most important duty of the Indian leaders to attend to the matter.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Punjab Land Alienation Act.

5. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 28th August defends the Punjab Land Alienation Act and insists upon its utility in protecting the landed classes from disintegration and ruin. It understands, however, that at the next sessions of the Legislative Assembly Dr. Nand Lal will move a resolution recommending the repeal of the Act, while the Hon'ble Lala Harkishan Lal is also stated to have prepared a bill which apparently does not seem to be very prejudicial but is really a forerunner of an attack on the Land Alienation Act. It is the duty of the zamindars of the Punjab to gird up their loins to oppose these efforts which are sure to bring about their ruin. They should lose no time in protesting against them from every part of the province.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 3rd September publishes a communicated leading article in which similar views are expressed and strong exception taken to the attitude of the capitalists towards the Land Alienation Act and their activities for its repeal. If this measure is repealed by Government, the next step will be an attack on the Agricultural banks.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Indian element in the reformed Government.

6. The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th and 29th August publishes an article over the signature of Lala Lajpat Rai. It appears, says the writer, that the Congress men appointed as ministers to the Government in the Punjab and the United Provinces now blindly support Anglo-Indian policy, though formerly they used to denounce the Government. So far we have not been able to see any difference between the policy of the bureaucracy and of the Indian ministers. The Punjab ministers are the component parts of the bureaucracy, the only difference being that they utilise their influence and information to the advantage of the bureaucracy. Indian ministers mix with us and so know our weak points and this knowledge they use for the benefit of the Government. It also appears that the Minister for Education is very fond of nomination as he can thus show his favours to certain persons. This fact is further evidenced by his draft bill on the village Panchayats. Again he has so far done nothing tangible in the Education Department. The policy of repression pursued in this province indicates the work done by the Indian Member of the Executive Council. Judging from all this, it can be safely said that not only the reform scheme has done no good to the Punjab, but it has done harm. Full self-government is the only remedy for our ailments.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Muhammadans and the Congress.

7. Writing to the *Vakil* of the 3rd September, Sanaulla, editor of the *Ahl-i-Hadis*, says that the time is coming when the Indians will hold the reins of the administration of their country. Non-Muslims are undoubtedly larger in number than Muslims and they cannot naturally safeguard Muslims' rights. The latters' right can, however, be safeguarded if the Congress accepts the principle that every community will be free to perform its religious duties and to carry out religious injunctions. The writer invites the attention of the All-India Muslim League, the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema to the matter and asks them to arrive at some understanding with the Congress on this point at its next sessions.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Sadhus and passive resistance.

8. The *Kesari* of the 31st August states that some time ago Sadhus sent a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy asking for the release of all the Sanyasis hitherto imprisoned, as otherwise they would proclaim passive resistance. No reply has yet been received. We cannot deny the fact that a large number of Sadhus

do no work and are undoubtedly proving an unbearable burden to the country. But it is deplorable that Government should maltreat the Sadhus who are making sacrifices for the liberty of their motherland and nation. This can produce no useful result for Government which should not harass but fear them.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Forfeiture of the *Fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

9. The *Siyasat* of the 29th August says that voices of protest are being raised in every part of the country against the forfeiture of the *Fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind by the Delhi Government. Mussalmans consider it as an interference with their religion which is altogether opposed to the policy of Queen Victoria and her successors, and are carrying on a constitutional struggle against it. For some time perhaps they will see what attitude Government adopts in the matter. An Islamic *Fatwa* bearing the signatures of 500 *Ulema* constitutes a unanimous verdict of seven crore Mussalmans and its forfeiture directly wounds their feelings. Government should act with greater care and wisdom in religious matters. If the authorities do not withdraw the orders of forfeiture, the Muhammadans will be prepared to break the law which will further increase unrest and discontent in the country. Things should not be allowed to reach such a climax. If the Mussalmans resolve to resort to civil disobedience, the result will be harmful both to the ruler and the ruled.

The martial law prisoners.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

10. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 29th August says that if the report that all the martial law prisoners, excepting half a dozen, are shortly to be released is true, it will give us great pleasure. But we think it our duty to point out to Government that agitation will be continued with vigour if any prisoners are kept in jail. The Home Government has set an example for the Government of India by releasing an Irish culprit who committed a murder.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 6th September writes:—"One grave disappointment of the Viceroy's speech to us in the Punjab is His Excellency's failure to make the long looked for announcement regarding the release of the remaining martial law prisoners. The matter has been engaging His Excellency's attention almost ever since he landed in this country, and from time to time apparently inspired communications have been published in the Press to the effect that an announcement will soon be made. Need we say that the present is one of those matters in which hope deferred is peculiarly liable to make the heart sick? Where conciliation is the object in view, the timeliness or otherwise of a measure is of its very essence."

The Ali Brothers.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

11 (*a*). The *Partap* of of the 31st August remarks that if Government has really decided to put the Ali Brothers into jail, it will commit the most serious mistake it has ever committed. The Mussalmans will go out of its hands for ever. It is to be hoped that Government will refrain from committing such a mistake.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd September says:—"We hope, with all our heart, that there is no truth in either statement. As we have said times out of number the worst of many bad mistakes which a Government bent upon removing political discontent can commit is to seek to punish the men who are merely the voice and the organ of that discontent."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*c*) The *Vakil* of the 2nd September suggests that instead of prosecuting the Ali Brothers, the Government should take a similar action against Greece which is the author of all the atrocities that have disturbed peace in the East and which are agitating the minds of the Indian Mussalmans.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) Writing in connection with the rumoured prosecution of certain Indian leaders, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd September says that in view of the present circumstances, the agitation will increase instead of being allayed by prosecutions. There are certain legitimate grievances and if they are removed, the agitation will die of itself. It is to be hoped that Government will prefer the removal of complaints to the prosecution of agitators.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*e*) The *Siyasat* of the 3rd September says that if there is any truth in the rumour that Government has decided to prosecute the Ali Brothers, it should then be borne in mind that the British statesmenship has gone bankrupt and that the Government of India is anxious to repeat everywhere in India the Punjab incident of 1919. We doubt if Lord Reading would commit such a mistake.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Prosecutions for sedition.

12. The *Tribune* of the 1st September writes :—" One fact which must have struck even the most superficial observer is that while, on the one hand, no political trouble of any magnitude has occurred in this Province during the last twenty-eight months, there have, on the other, been more prosecutions for sedition in it, so far at least as newspapers men are concerned, than in any other Province. We want once more to raise the question of policy, to ask the local Government what precise object it has in view in these prosecutions, and where precisely this process is going to end. We want to know, in the first place, what particular movement or form of political activity the Government wants to suppress, and secondly whether there is any reasonable chance of its being able to suppress it by this particular means. Similarly, when we ask where the process is going to stop, we expect something more in reply than a merely verbal proposition. We want to know at what stage in the prosecution of its object the Government will think of abandoning its present policy either because it has served its purpose, or on the ground that the purpose is unattainable by this means. How comes it, then, that the local Government has all through the last twelve months or so been pursuing a policy which is not only not calculated to lead to the end which Sir Edward Maclagan professed to have at heart, but which can only tend to defeat it? The question whether the Government should or should not start a prosecution for sedition is a question of expediency and not of technical justice, and it is all the more so when instead of starting one or two isolated prosecutions, a Government launches forth upon a regular and systematic campaign of prosecutions."

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

The *kirpan*.

13 (*a*). Writing to the *Sansar* of the 31st August, Indar Singh of Garhi Megha, Lahore District, complains that on returning from leave to the 30th Regiment stationed at Lahore Cantonment, he was asked by Subedar Ishar Singh and Jagat Singh to remove his *kirpan*. This he refused to do and he was placed before the Officer Commanding who ordered a Mussalman to remove the *kirpan*, but he refused to comply. He was then court-martialled and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Subsequently his name was struck off from the rolls of the army.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

(*b*) Writing to the *Punjab Darpan* of the 31st August Bhai Bakhtawar Singh complains that the Sikh sepoys of the 28th Regiment, Lucknow, are being forced to remove black turbans from their heads. Those who refuse to do so are being sentenced to imprisonment. In many cases, the Sikh sepoys have been severely punished.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 3rd September reports that the Commanding Officer, Lucknow, ordered a Sikh to remove his *kirpan*. On his refusal, he was consigned to the quarter-guard on the 18th August. Till 28th August he had taken no meal. It is not known, remarks the paper, what has happened to Government officers. We have already told the bureaucracy that either they should announce that nobody is allowed religious liberty under British rule or they should give up unnecessary arrests.

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The North-West Frontier Province Conference.

14 (*a*). Writing to the *Kesari* of the 28th August Paira Khan thanks the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan for his polite and courteous attitude in inviting the workers of the North-West Frontier Province Conference and communicating to them the decision of the Local Government to prohibit the holding of the Conference at Dera Ismail Khan. But he takes exception to the decision as an attempt to stop people from giving expression to their wishes and protests against the oppressive laws of the Frontier Province.

SAWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor

(*b*) The *Sawaraj* of the 31st August characterises the prohibition regarding the holding of a political Conference in the Frontier Province as an act of high-handedness and repression on the part of the Frontier authorities. It requests Frontier people to double their efforts as a response to this unlawful order of the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan, and apprise the Government of their strong determination.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 31st August takes exception to the orders issued by the authorities of the Frontier Province to the local inhabitants prohibiting the holding of a political conference in the province. Those who notice how the men of other provinces are enjoying freedom of speech and writing can never declare the Frontier Province a part of British territory. The Bolsheviks seem to be holding sway on the other side of the Indus, because the movements of Indian leaders are particularly watched there. The Frontier Province authorities think that they are performing a very important duty by prohibiting the entry of people into the province or by stopping meetings. But they do not know that such acts create feelings of hatred towards the Government which develop gradually and burst out suddenly on occasions, with the result that the authorities have to make use of troops, rifles and machine-guns. Such restrictions, though justifiable in days of war, are anything but just after the attainment of victory.

The Mopla riots.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

15. (*a*) The *Desh* of the 29th August remarks that a noticeable feature of the Mopla riots is the direction of their fury against the law-abiding Hindus. The facts that the Hindus have been forced to wear Mopla caps, that their temples have been demolished and that their idols have been desecrated clearly show that these disturbances are not due to economic causes. The Hindu population is in a state of great distress at seeing both its religion and money endangered. The question is whether it is not the duty of the Madras Government to protect the law-abiding people by suppressing these disturbances with all its might and main. Besides Government, it is the duty of the leaders also to use their influence and put an end to the disturbances. If the Governor of Madras has prohibited Mr. Yaqub Hassan from going to the scene of the disturbances for some sufficient reason, why should the other leaders remain silent? Mr. Gandhi should visit the place and make a full enquiry, especially as the matter is taking the form of a Hindu-Muhammadan question.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar) Gyan Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 2nd September says:—"We would expect that none of the iniquities committed by the martial law administrators during the Punjab Disturbances in 1919 will be allowed to be repeated now in the Malabar Division where the martial law has been proclaimed. The methods of suppression while effective, should neither be inspired by motives of revenge nor by the desire to humiliate and 'teach lesson' as done to the Punjab."

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lahore Municipal Committee.

LOYAL GAZETTE, (Lahore); Amar Singh editor.

16. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 28th August observes that there is no likelihood of the newspaper suggestion about the abolition of the Lahore Municipal Committee and its substitution by a Commissioner being carried out. Municipal Committees are now under the Legislative Council and not the Punjab Government. Even if the Governor wanted to adopt the suggestion, he could not do so without being confronted with the danger of the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Husain resigning his post for it is impossible for the latter to side with the Government in the matter, as he is an elected member. His Excellency has powers to suspend the Municipal Committee, but he will have to remove Mian Fazl-i-Hussain also from his post.

The Rupar and the Ambala Municipal Committees.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

17. The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st September publishes the objections submitted in writing by Pandit Ganga Ram Sharma, Municipal Commissioner, Rupar Municipal Committee, to the President of the Committee against the election of an official President.

At another place, the paper publishes a communication from Duni Chand, Vakil, Ambala, who learns that an effort is being made to elect some official as chairman of the Committee. The writer thinks that it will be an unconstitutional act on the part of the Deputy Commissioner to become a candidate for the presidentship of the Committee in opposition to its unanimous decision regarding the election of a non-official chairman. The *Bande Mataram* is unable to understand how a responsible officer can offer himself for a post which the citizens do not like him to hold. It is to be hoped that the Sub-Divisional Officer, Rupar, and the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala will forego their posts as chairmen; else they may be unintentionally creating unpleasantness.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

PANTH SEWAK (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

High prices.

18. (*a*) The *Panth Sewak* of the 24th August remarks that so long as we do not establish *Swaraj* we cannot enjoy complete happiness. It is only by establishing *Swaraj* that we can make useful laws and repeal the measures that are ruining the country. The country is on the verge of starvation, and still the British Government does not stop exporting corn. Can a father export corn to earn money and allow his children to die of starvation? The father who acts like this is not the father but the enemy of his children. A Raja is always regarded as the father of his subjects, but it is regrettable that the British Government is proving itself to be something different.

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

(*b*) The *Watan* of the 26th August says that the horrible dearness of grain has wrought havoc in the country. But lovers of mother India and the followers of Mahatama Gandhi are indifferent to the sufferings and starvation of millions of Indians. If this Mahatama and his disciples ever wake up, they do so with a view to throw dust in the eyes of the world and to spread further unrest and discontent in the country by throwing the whole responsibility for the existing situation on the Government. Otherwise, even a blind man knows that the chief cause of this dearness is the greed and *satta* gambling of corn dealers. But the Mahatma has shut his eyes to this real cause and columns after columns are being written to blame the Government. At the same time, it must be stated with regret that Government too has not yet done anything to check dearness. Government is invested with vast powers and can check every evil if only it chooses to do so. Government is certainly responsible in so far as it has not stopped the export of wheat and flour. But those really responsible are our own kind-hearted corn dealers. Simple-minded Muhammadans and Hindus perhaps do not know that the largest amount of money contributed to the funds started by Mr. Gandhi comes from the gamblers and dealers in corn. If today these leaders have sold the people of their country to the corn dealers, can any one say that they will not sell or mortgage them to the Bolsheviks or others tomorrow?

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banka Dial, editor.

(*c*) The *Virat* of the 29th August remarks that great uneasiness is now prevailing in the country owing to the high prices of wheat. If the Indians had their own Government, this state of affairs would never have come to pass. When the Sialkot people complained of dearness to the Deputy Commissioner, the latter tauntingly told them to go to Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai. The Deputy Commissioner has cut this joke, but when the whole of India begins to act according to the suggestions of these leaders none will then care for the authorities. Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders can remove dearness provided the officers, who are incapable of redressing the grievances of the subjects, vacate their chairs.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Sansar* of the 30th August remarks that on the 25th August some members of the Congress Committee brought wheat bread from the ovens and weighed them. They found that an average bread weighing 5 tolas was sold for one anna. At this rate, it is clear that *atta* was sold at the rate of a seer per rupee. We consider it necessary to tell the present bureaucracy that if this state of affairs is allowed to continue, people will commit acts which will create unrest in the country. If, however, unrest is caused by famine, the bureaucracy will be responsible for it, as it is intentionally abstaining from administrative action to cope with the situation. The question can be solved if the purchase of wheat by foreign countries is stopped. However, the rate at which wheat is sold should be fixed, especially on the present occasion, when bread is being sold for one anna.

(*e*) The *Sansar* of the 30th August publishes the following:—

An open letter to the Governor of the Punjab.

(1) A bread weighing nearly 5 or 6 tolas is sold for one anna.

(2) Why is no step taken to prevent wheat being purchased by foreign countries.

(3) Purchasers of food grains appear to be mostly the neighbours of the present Government.

(4) Who will be responsible if famine compels the people to plunder the country?

(5) It is strange and inexplicable that milk is selling cheap in places where it was formerly sold at very high rate and it is sold at the rate of 2½ seers per rupee in places where it was never expected that it would be sold at a high rate.

(6) Your Excellency is perhaps maintaining silence at the present moment in the hope that being stricken by hunger the people will give up non-coöperation and will seek your pretection.

(7) Or Your Excellency probably thinks that people when stricken by hunger will bitterly cry and then you will place obligation on the people thereby telling them as it were that Gandhi did nothing for them and should now come to their senses, because you are now fixing the rate of the food grains.

(8) If, however, you fail to adopt any measure with a view to cope with the famine then you will be responsible for any trouble ensuing in the country.

(*f*) The *Tribune* of the 1st September writes :—"It is gratifying to learn from a Punjab Government *communiqué* that the statement recently made by that Government that wheat, flour and *atta* are not being exported overseas, except in small quanties to places in the Indian Ocean, is comprehensive enough to include export by private firms as well as by official agencies. What the public is entitled to know, however, is the actual quantity of these comodities that is being exported to places in the Indian Ocean, and why even this export cannot cease for a time. Further it is not enough that no exports should be actually made. The merchants and others must be given distinctly to understand that no export will be allowed for a specified time or until the prices return to the normal level in India. But the most important question remains behind. If it is the case that no export is being made, surely the theory that a good deal of speculation calculated to raise prices is in progress has additional strength lent to it. What is the Government going to do to put an end to this speculation? And when is the Government going to announce its intentions in the matter of opening cheap grain shops? We do hope no further delay will be made in making an authoritative statement on the policy which Government proposes to follow in all these respects."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*g*) Sita Ram, M. L. C. of Meerut, writes to the *Tribune*, of the 2nd September :—"In any case the duty of Government is clear. Will it promulgate an Ordinance to stop the speculation, and to place an embargo on the export of wheat and flour by sea to foreign countries, including those in the Indian Ocean? Mere press *communiqués* will butter no parsnips"!

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*h*) The *Shanti* of the 2nd September thinks that the statement made by the Government of India in its recent press *communiqué*, that neither wheat is being purchased in a large quantity for official purposes nor it is being exported, can allay the uneasiness of the Indian public. Government will be relieved of its responsibility only when it finds a way to remove the present dearness. The public thinks that wheat is being purchased in a large quantity. Government should enquire what firm is making purchases and stop the export.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

(*i*) A correspondent writing to the *Desh* of the 3rd September says that the condition of the poor is getting very deplorable in villages and wheat cannot be procured even on cash payment. Cheap grain shops have been opened in cities, but there is none to look after the poor in villages. Cheap grain shops should soon be opened in villages also. Otherwise the villagers, being hard-pressed by hunger, will march towards cities and it is not known what calamity will thus be created.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Government *communiqué* on high prices.

19. (*a*) Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd September, remarks that we publish to-day a *communiqué*, dated the 23rd August, issued by the Government of India. It behoves the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab to make statements more explicit. They

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

should not use expressions which might bear double constructions or which might make it necessary for the public to ask further questions. In the first *communiqué* issued by the Government of India on the 20th August, there was a mention of *atta* and no mention was made of purchases made by Government. We, therefore, asked questions about the matter. It will be better for the Government to publish a statement about the purchases made in 1920 and 1921 and the details of the entire export together with the quantity (purchased), the date of the purchase and the rate at which the purchases were made. We have no doubt about the statements of the Government. But it is necessary in order to throw complete light on the question and to continue the discussion on reasonable principles that full facts should be published, because it is our opinion that when the quantity of food grains in the country is not sufficient for its internal needs, the export of grain even to countries in the Indian ocean should not be permitted. It will be better if the expression "army based on India" is also explained. It should be borne in mind that we do not attack the intentions of the Government. But these facts make it necessary for us to express our views on the policy of Government. There is so much ignorance about, and darkness in these affairs that Lala Harkishan Lal, Minister of Agriculture, has repeatedly expressed his ignorance and want of knowledge in his speeches. He has repeatedly stated that "I shall make an enquiry," "I shall inform the Government," &c.

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal Kapur,
editor.

(*b*) Writing in connection with the official *communiqué* on the high prices of wheat, etc., the *Kesari* of the 3rd September says that the horrible dearness of foodstuffs which had begun in the Punjab and which still continues has greatly harrassed all the inhabitants of this country, no matter whether they are Hindus or Muhammadans. It is true that the present dearness has not reduced people to starvation, but no one can deny the fact that it is difficult to find a parallel in the history of the Province of the dearness which is now prevailing in the Punjab. As the time rolls on, the people are feeling extremely uneasy to see that nothing has been done to check this dearness. And still we cannot definitely say when and how this famine will be removed. The famine spread throughout the province in such rapidity that the Punjab people had no time to recover themselves. At last they began to cry and demanded the Punjab Government not only to explain the causes of this famine but to adopt measures to check it as early as possible. This voice of the people reached the ears of Government which began to consider the matter. And the Government is still considering it. It has done something for its employees. It has also taken a step to afford relief to the common people in conjunction with municipal committees. But it cannot be said to be sufficient enough to put an end to all the difficulties of the Province. At any rate, whatever has been done is better than nothing.

When the people of the Punjab were all of a sudden overtaken by the calamity of famine and could get no time to think over it, naturally a number of rumours were set afloat. And these rumours while going round from one place to another at times assumed such a dangerous aspect that the common people, who could neither think for themselves nor arrive at any definite conclusion, formed such opinions as were against Government and could thus become a source of danger not only to themselves but to others also. We think that such rumours instead of being useful are extremely harmful to the country and the community, and we view with the greatest contempt those who invent them and thereby cause embarrassment to Government and the people. But at the same time we cannot help saying that it was not at all an easy thing to suppress such rumours in the circumstances which suddenly cropped up in the Punjab. The rumours went on spreading and it was natural because although they could not afford any relief to the famished people still they wasted their time. Since Government was silent up to the time, these rumours were spread against it and we cannot help saying that if Government had not taken prompt steps to contradict these rumours they would have done it a lot of harm. When Government saw that unrest among the people was increasing a good deal, it also moved and it appears from the official *communiqués* that the Government is not responsible in the matter except remaining silent for some time. The said rumours laid stress on the point that Government exported wheat or flour to foreign countries by purchasing it directly or through its agents at a very high rate. But Government has announced that it has not exported this year a single grain of wheat directly or through any agent.

Nor has it any wish to do so in future. Nor is this all. The Ralli Bros. through whom Government was accused of exporting wheat, have also announced that nothing to say of sending wheat out of India they have been importing wheat to India at cheaper rates from Australia. This statement of the Ralli Bros. is very surprising and this makes our surprise greater still when we see that in Europe, America and Australia where there is a small number of agricultural classes, wheat is selling cheaper than in India where 90 per cent. of the people are agriculturists. After going through the *communiqués* issued by the Government we have not the least doubt in admitting that the rumours regarding the export of wheat were altogether wrong. But in spite of this all, we cannot absolve Government of all its responsibilities. It is its primary duty not only to trace the causes of this horrible dearness and famine as early as possible but to take such strong steps as may permanently put an end to the trouble. So long as Government will not perform this duty, people will have some sort of complaint against it.

The tour of Lala Harkishan Lal and the Financial Commissioner in the Punjab.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

20. (*a*) Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd September, remarks that Lala Harkishan Lal and the Financial Commissioner, are now-a-days touring in the Punjab to enquire into the causes of dearness of grain in the province. These gentlemen have seen municipal commissioners and influential citizens at public meetings held in big cities in the Punjab. We cannot prophesy what the results of these visits will be. But the impression created on our mind is—

(1) Lala Harkishan Lal has very frankly and honestly admitted that no effort is made in official departments to study the rates of grains and derive inference therefrom.

(2) Government is unable to give a correct estimate of the quantity of wheat required for and of the quantity of grain available in the country.

(3) The announcements which Government has hitherto made regarding export and official purchase of grain are not quite satisfactory.

(4) Government seems to possess less information then even the public.

These facts go to show the unfitness of the bureaucracy. The primary duty of the Government is to make arrangements for the food of the poor. Again it should make arrangements for the distribution of food to every individual according to his requirements. The speech of Lala Harkishan Lal and the official press *communiqués* do not make it clear what quantity of grain was produced in 1920 and what quantity was purchased by Government and other exporters. It is also not clear what quantity of grain was produced in the country in 1921 and what quantity was purchased in accordance with the contracts entered into in 1921. It is also not clear what quantity of grain was sent to the countries lying in the Indian Ocean and to Europe. It is thus evident that the first press *communiqué* issued by the Government of India was wrong. The delivery (of the grain) regarding which agreements were made by Government prior to the 31st March 1921, was taken after the 1st April. Hence the average of the produce about 1921 mentioned (in the press *commnniqué*) cannot be correct. True facts should be laid before the public. In our opinion, the Indians have the first claim to the produce of their country. The writer went to Lyallpur only two days ago and talked on the subject with the leading traders. The latter told him that there was a very small quantity of grain in markets and that the produce of wheat was decreasing because canal water was not supplied in sufficient quantity. The writer thinks that Government should prohibit foreign firms from making forward contracts which raise the price of grain. Lala Harkishan Lal has agreed that if sufficient quantity of grain is not to be found in the country, its export should be stopped. But is it not the duty of his department to tell us what quantity of grain is to be found in the country, and why its price has risen so high. At any rate, it has become evident from Lala Harkishan Lal's tour that Government itself is in the dark. Indians do not want famine relief works. They want a radical change in the system of administration which could remove poverty from India. This is possible only when the bureaucracy is replaced by responsible Government.

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(b) The *Swaraj* of the 1st September writes that famine is raging in the Punjab at the present moment. The Punjab Government gained consciousness when public and the press cried loudly. But with a view to wipe off the tears of the Punjabis and to express sympathy with them the same old method was resorted to which used to be adopted heretofore, that is, Lala Harkishan Lal, Minister for Agriculture and Mr. King, Financial Commissioner, were deputed to make a tour in the province to investigate the causes of the famine. We never expected that the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan, instead of doing anything practical, would waste a good deal of public money by appointing a commission of two Government officers. Indeed it will be very fortunate if the labours of the commission result in something substantially useful. But we wonder that in all the speeches which he made, Lala Harkishan told the people that he would communicate to the Government their proposals which are that Government should help municipal committees with money in opening cheap (grain) shops. We would ask if the ministers have been empowered to repeat like a gramaphone, the views of the Government to the people and *vice versa*. If our ministers and other Indian members of Government have not got powers to save their brethren from the clutches of death, may we ask what else people should expect from them? The sympathy which Government expresses with us is as clear as the noon-day sun. Lala Harkishan Lal and Mr. King will take 15 or 20 days in making the tour. After that, some days will be spent in discussion, for it is not a matter regarding the prosecution of an editor of a paper or a political leader which can be decided in a few minutes. It is, on the other hand, a matter which concerns the lives of the people. We, therefore, apprehend lest this adage, 'before antidate is brought from *Irâq* the person bitten by snake will breathe his last,' should apply to the Punjab people also.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

His Excellency the Viceroy's proposed visit to Kashmir.

21. The *Partap* of the 4th September thinks that this is not a suitable time for the Viceroy to visit Kashmir seeing that famine is nowadays raging there and the people are starving. His Excellency should postpone his visit for a year.

RAJPUT GAZETTE (Lahore); Sukh Ram Dass, editor.

Pension for the widows of Rajput sepoys.

22. The *Rajput Gazette* of the 27th August complains of the inadequacy of the pensions granted to the widows of Rajput sepoys as also of the inconvenience incurred in realising the pensions by going to the headquarters of tahsils from long distances.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

23. The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st September remarks that Maharaja of Kapurthala has excelled even the Maharaja of Baroda in having made Europe his home. If he comes to his State at all, he comes as a stranger and returns to Europe with money after a few days' stay. Readers will be surprised to learn that two tennis players have been sent to England by the Kapurthala State to play matches there, and their expense will exceed twenty thousand rupees. Famine is prevailing in the country and people are starving, but the Maharaja is going to spend twenty thousand rupees on a tennis match in England.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai editor.

The Lower Bari Doab Canal, Patwaris.

24. The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st September publishes a complaint from the Canal Patwaris of the Okara Division, Lower Bari Doab Canal, Montgomery, who say that high officers do not take provisions from the contractors appointed by Government to supply provisions to officers on tour, but ask the patwaris to supply them with provisions. The writers then allege that a certain Canal Officer stayed at the Canal bungalow at Shahpur and ordered a patwari to supply him with provisions and on his refusing to do so threatened him with dismissal. The writers request the Canal authorities to issue instructions in a book form for their guidance.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Begar in Simla Hills.

25. (a) Mr. S. E. Stokes contributes a letter to the *Tribune* of the 31st August. He says that two young officers came up to shoot in Kulu. They had brought a letter from Mr. G— (a high official) to the various chiefs in route, asking them to

aid in procuring mules, etc. They arrived at Mathiana with mules on the 22nd August where they insisted upon keeping the animals and refused to give the mule drivers enough money to feed themselves and the mules for the night while the man who asked for an advance was beaten. They then sequestered the pack saddles, etc., in their quarters. The unfortunate drivers having nothing to eat escaped during the night leaving their property at Mathiana. A shopkeeper's mules were then impressed and sent to Narkanda. Again these officers kicked one mule-man by name Beli with his heavy boots when he urged that he might be given enough money to feed the mules and his companion. As a consequence these men fled with their mules. Neither at Mathiana nor at Narkanda were those who brought their luggage paid a pice by these officers. It remains to be seen what action is taken by the authorities against these two officers.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd September also publishes the above communication which shows that the 2 officers in question belong to the Royal Field Artillery stationed at Ambala and that their names are C. H. L. Penney and L. F. Morish(?) It further appears that the high official referred to as Mr. G. is Mr. Gibson, Conservator of Forests.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur.

26. The *Bande Mataram* of the 31st August thinks it ridiculous that the Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur should feel annoyed at the cry of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai" We would suggest that no one should raise this cry in the presence of Englishmen. But if English officers apart from their official duty, preach in streets and provoke the people by being enraged at railway stations, they should be prepared to learn that people will not tolerate such matters as quietly as they used to do. We express no opinion about the merits of the case and the Deputy Commissioner's statement must on the whole be true. But, in our opinion, by such acts Lieutenant-Colonel Buck, instead of defeating non-coöperation movement, is making it stronger and is disgracing his Government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); L. Lajpat Rai, editor.

Journalism in India.

27. In the course of a leading article the *Siyasat* of the 27th August dwells on the difficulties of journalism in India. Those acquainted with the policy of Lord Reading did not feel much satisfied with his declaration on the repeal of the Press Act. Although the Press Act has not yet been passed into new form, yet the arrest of the publisher of the *Zamindar* shows that in future the editor, the publisher and probably the printer also of a newspaper will be considered equally responsible and will under some section of the Indian Penal Code be prosecuted and sent to jail. This mean weapon which Lord Reading wishes to wield against the Indian journalists is in no way suited to the dignity of a Government which loudly proclaims its broad-mindedness and justice. Verily the journalists are in these days confronted with dangers; but it is to be hoped that they will not hesitate to speak the truth and perform their duties.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain editor.

The Tonk State and newspapers.

28. A correspondent of the *Siyasat* of the 28th August reports that the entry of the *Siyasat* and the *Zamindar* has been forbidden in the Tonk State.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 10th September 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Turko-Greek war.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

1. The *Siyasat* of the 3rd September writes that the Allies should no longer watch this scene of murder and bloodshed in Asia Minor. They should intervene and ask Greece to evacuate Thrace and Smyrna. The statesmen of Italy and France are inclined to this view and if British statesmen urge upon Greece to evacute the territories, bloodshed can be easily stopped.

Indian help for Angora.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

2. (*a*) "A Liberal Mussalman," writing to the *Siyasat* of the 4th September, suggests that a grand medical mission should now be sent from India to Turkey to help the wounded and sick.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Kidar Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Swaraj* of the 9th September refers to the resolution of the Bengal Khilafat Conference regarding the raising of a corps of ten thousand Muslim volunteers of India to fight on the side of the Angora Government and says that at the present moment the Angora Government does not stand in need of men as much as it stands in need of munitions. Now that the British Government has declared that every one is permitted to send munitions of war to Greece or Angora, the Muhammadans of India should display a spirit of generosity in giving financial help to the Turks.

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Prince of Wales.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th September refers to the report that the Prince of Wales will announce the establishment of Dominion Home Rule in India. The hearts of people are so disappointed that they can no longer rely on such rumours. The country is not prepared to welcome the Prince with its lacerated heart. If it is intended that India should offer a sincere and warm reception to the Prince, the concessions, if they are to be granted by His Majesty the King-Emperor, should be announced beforehand. The great advantage derived from this announcement will be that the minds of people will be pacified, and even those who are com-

pelled to boycott the Prince's visit with a heavy heart will be prepared to welcome him.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th September asks if it will not be advisable to postpone the Prince's visit till the Indians are pacified and the country becomes more prosperous. Does not the Viceroy's announcement clearly signify that neither the Prince is coming with any special concessions nor will the Indians be granted an opportunity of laying their complaints before him ?

SWARAJ (Lahore); A. D. Hamid, editor.

(*c*) The *Swaraj* of the 5th September is not prepared to credit the report that after his arrival in India the Prince of Wales will announce the grant of Dominion Home Rule to India. The attitude of Government towards the non-coöperation movement is sufficient to prove that such news is altogether unfounded. Rumours are set afloat with a view to please Indians so that they may accord a splendid welcome to the Prince. But the difficulty is that the Indians are thoroughly acquainted with the tricks of the members of the British Government and they are not at all prepared to credit rumours that have proved to be false on several previous occasions.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Viceroy's speech.

4. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 7th September writes :—"Those who had been looking forward to the Viceroy's speech at the joint meeting of the two branches of the Indian Legislature held on Saturday last in the hope that it would contain a definite statement of policy on the subjects that are so violently agitating the public mind of India must confess to a feeling of disappointment on rising from a perusal of the speech... It is this right thing, a clear, courageous and statesmanlike grasp of the burning questions of the day, of which there is no evidence in the speech... After all, His Excellency has been in India for only a little over five months, and the problem that confronts him is in its magnitude and dimension one of the greatest that any statesman was ever called upon to face. But statesmen cannot take their own time for dealing with situations in which the feelings and passions of large numbers of people are involved, and in the present case His Excellency knows but too well that India has partially taken the riddle of her destiny into her own hands. In such a case rapid comprehension of the problem and of one's duty in regard to it is of the essence of successful solution, and even if such a solution was not to be expected so soon, the least that one could have expected was an assurance that His Excellency realised the supreme necessity of avoiding any undue delay in tackling the problem. We cannot say that there is any such assurance in the speech... But a clearer statement than His Excellency chose to make would probably have gone a longer way towards influencing that margin of men on the edge of either party who have yet to make up their minds... The part relating to the Imperial Conference deserves notice only for the exceptionally feeble terms in which His Excellency gave expression to India's dissatisfaction at the attitude of South Africa... The attitude of philosophical detachment which these words betray is scarcely worthy of the head of the Government of the country whose rights, wishes and interests South Africa has systematically trampled and is at this very moment trampling underfoot, and it cannot certainly be expected to be very helpful in effecting the ultimate solution... Regarding the Press Laws report, His Excellency made the welcome announcement that legislation on the lines recommended by the Committee would be shortly laid before the Legislature. Unhappily our gratification is diminished by the reservation made by His Excellency in the same breath that "it may become necessary to consider what form of protection is to be given to the Ruling Princes." The matter was fully discussed by the Committee who deliberately refrained from recommending any special protection for the Princes. For the Government of India now to go back upon that decision would be a positively retrograde and, in our opinion, wholly indefensible step... The one possible solution of the problem [of martial law prisoners] was to release all the remaining prisoners at once and irrespective of what was or was not on the record. We are not without hope that this solution will yet commend itself to His Excellency... On the subject of the high prices, to which His Excellency's reference was far too meagre, practically the only important statement made by him was a repetition of the announcement made in a recent *communiqué*. This is good as far as it goes, but what of the measures of relief that are immediately needed ? Why is no reference made either to the

necessity of dealing with undue speculation, or provision for cheap grain shops ?... Regarding racial tension in India it is gratifying to note that His Excellency has already partially modified his previous view. In place of what we were confidently told in a famous speech as to there being no feeling of racial superiority in Europeans, we are now told that "the evidence of strong racial antagonism that to some extent prevails" has caused His Excellency the greatest concern. Unhappily the process of education does not seem to have gone very far ; it has certainly not gone far enough, for His Excellency still asserts that there is in general no ground of complaint to be made. What is undoubtedly gratifying, however, is His Excellency's announcement that an opportunity will be taken during the course of the present session to eliminate racial inequality at least from the Statute Book, for this we suppose is what His Excellency meant by saying that "means will be found to satisfy public opinion that justice will be done both to Europeans and Indians." We can only hope that justice means *equal justice.*"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 8th September writes :—"We do consider that there is grave risk of a preconception like that which we have found to exist in His Excellency's mind leading the Government to both wrong and premature action, action which could only accentuate the evil which the Government is anxious to put down. To induce yourself to believe that non-coöperation cannot possibly remain non-violent for all time is the very worst preparation for taking a calm view of a movement like the present which, for its scale and magnitude, undoubtedly represents a novel experiment in history, and it would be no matter for wonder if those in whom this belief was strong actually scented danger where none existed or magnified an evil which was by no means serious. Nor is another fact to be forgotten. The statesman who in a crisis like the one that faces us in India announces his intention of putting down a popular movement by force if it exceeds legitimate bounds must himself be ready to do everything in his power to see that the movement has no incentive and no excuse afforded to it for exceeding legitimate bounds. . . . But the speech does not contain one single word to show that His Excellency has a full or adequate perception either of the grievances or of the Government's duty in regard to them. To the Punjab question he did not refer at all, except for his all too brief statement about the martial law prisoners ; about the Khilafat he only reiterated the position of the Government ; while on the most important of all questions, that of Swaraj, he was absolutely silent, except for the note of caution he struck in the concluding lines. His Excellency must really see that he and his Government must go a long way farther if the hands of the sober and responsible elements in the country and in the non-coöperation movement itself are to be properly strengthened against possible disruptive and violent tendencies."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 8th and 9th September thinks that the Viceroy's recent speech is disappointing, lifeless and elusive. His Excellency has expressed regret that the representatives of South Africa do not find themselves in a position to accept the findings of the Imperial Conference. But what remedy does His Excellency suggest ? Should the Indians go on trying to have their position acknowledged by the representatives of South Africa ? Should the Indians go on rubbing their foreheads before the South African authorities ? If not, will His Excellency be prepared to lead the Indians as Viceroy ? The most important part of His Excellency's speech is the one in which reference has been made to the non-coöperation movement and the Malabar disturbances. But we ask who is responsible for these disturbances. Surely Mahatma Gandhi is not responsible for them. We fear that the entire country will support non-coöperation in case no marked change takes places in the policy of Government. We regret to say that the hopes reposed in Lord Reading are being daily blasted.

Fresh military expenditure.

VAKIL, (Amritsar) ; Abdulla Minhaj, editor.

5. The *Vakil* of the 7th September says that according to an Associated Press telegram, the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the posting of 15 Indian battalions beyond the sea. It is true that the British Government will bear the expenses of the troops. But the initial outlay will, of course, be paid out of the Indian exchequer. Since, however, these fresh troops will form an integral part of the Indian army, it is natural that there should be a permanent increase in the military expenditure of India. What has become of that promise of the

Government of India which it had made in connection with the revision of the existing military expenditure on the score of economy? It is the duty of the Government of India to protest against this fresh burden. At least, the Indian public should not remain silent in the matter.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Indians in the Political and Foreign Department.

6. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th September is glad to learn that a substantial number of posts have been thrown open to Indians in the Political and Foreign Department of the Government of India. It, however, urges the Government to fix this number and state how many posts will be filled each year. Another important matter which concerns the department is that the appointment of Indians should not be confined to junior posts. It will not, therefore, be an extravagant demand if the Indians are appointed Residents and Political Agents. These appointments should no longer be monopolised by Europeans.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, Mohan, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 9th September is glad to learn that Indians will now be taken in the Political and Foreign Department. They should be appointed Residents and Political Agents and Government should fix the number of their appointments in the Department.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

Confiscation of the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind.

7. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 1st September publishes an open letter from Said Razwi of Bhopal to Maulvi Ahmad Said of Delhi. It is headed "The forfeiture of the *fatwa* is an insult to Islam: The Mussalmans can no longer stick to non-violence." After referring to the arrest of distinguished leaders and eminent Ulema such as Maulana Nisar Ahmad of Cawnpur, the writer says that the repression of Government has now become intolerable for the Muhammadans. Government has taken upon itself a dangerous responsibility by forfeiting the *fatwa* of the Ulema and by offering an open insult to the sacred religion of the Mussalmans. It has trampled underfoot the religious feelings of seven crore persons. No self-respecting Muhammadan can put up with this indignity. At a time when legal restrictions are being imposed on Divine commandments, every Muslim will sacrifice his life and property. It is a question affecting the religion of the Muhammadans and we cannot accept the advice of Mr. Gandhi or any other leader in the matter. We should decide in accordance with the dictates of our conscience and religion. In arriving at such a decision we will bear all troubles and hardships. You should convene a meeting of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. It should ask Government to cancel its order of forfeiture within a fixed time. If Government fails to do so, they should proclaim civil disobedience. Government is determined to ruin and humiliate the Indians as far as possible and it behoves us to be up and offer opposition for the protection of our nationality.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 2nd September says that, by confiscating the unanimous *fatwa* of the Ulema-i-Hind, the Delhi Government has created a feeling of uneasiness and resentment among the Muhammadans and meetings of protest are now being held everywhere in the country. The man who has the least idea of justice must be viewing this step on the part of the Delhi Government with regret and sorrow. Muhammadans can never tolerate that the authorities should unnecessarily confiscate such papers as bear Quranic verses, etc. No matter how degraded Muhammmadans are, they hold their religion dearer than every thing else and can become prepared to sacrifice everything for its sake. The confiscation of the *fatwa* has undoubtedly shocked their religious sentiments. If, however, their constitutional struggle produces no result, they will evidently be constrained to resort to some other means. The representatives of the British Crown are bound to avoid interference in the religious affairs of all sections of the people. Lord Reading should display extraordinary statesmanship and prudence on the present occasion. The Muhammadans have decided to resort to passive resistance in case the orders regarding the confiscation of the *fatwa* are not withdrawn. They will see for some time what attitude the authorities adopt in the matter.

AR-RAI (Lahore); Qazi Fateh Muhammad, editor.

(*c*) *Ar-Rai* of the 2nd September says that the step taken by the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, is very painful and it has shocked every Muslim mind. God knows when the Muhammadans will come to their senses and realise this act of religious interference.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*d*) Muhammad Abdul Wahid Khan of Akbarabad, writing to the *Siyasat* of the 7th September, says that although the *fatva* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema has been forfeited and the religion of the Muhammadans is being clearly interfered with, yet they are as indifferent as ever. If this state of things continues, God knows what awaits them in future. They should raise their voice and demonstrate to the world that they are alive. They should try to carry their voice to the ears of the tyrants. They should neither take rest themselves nor let others do so. They should be ready to act up to any course suggested to them.

The martial law and other political prisoners.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

8. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 4th September suggests that if Government really wishes to make the people forget the unpleasent days of the martial law *regimé*, it should release all martial law prisoners at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. Government should also release all the prisoners interned under the Defence of India Act.

The Court-fees Act.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Mular Singh, editor.

9. (*a*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 24th August refers to the proposed amendment of the Court-fees Act resulting in the increase of court fees in land suits and says the amendment is not justifiable.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th September refers to the above and is not sure if such a proposal has been laid before the Punjab Legislative Council; but if so it is the duty of the "Zamindar" members of the Punjab Legislative Council to try even now to have the proposal dropped.

The Mopla riots.

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th September says that Sir William Vincent has attributed the Mopla riots to the non-coöperation and Khilafat movements. If these disturbances are due to the Khilafat agitators or Khilafat resolutions they ought to have first of all taken place in Karachi or Sindh. Is not the whole Muslim world agitated over the Khilafat question? Was it not natural that the Moplas who are more religious-minded than other Muhammadans should have been influenced by this state of things? That Sir William Vincent has attributed all these disturbances to an imaginary cause by shutting his eyes to the real causes and their necessary consequences betrays an attitude of mind on the part of the bureaucracy against which the people of India have always complained.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Kine-killing.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

11. (*a*) Writing in connection with the non-coöperation resolution passed at the Brindaban Conference, the *Partap* of the 7th September supports Mr. Gandhi's view that the responsibility for the protection of kine should be thrown on the Muhammadans. As regards the slaughter of cows in cantonments, it is sufficient to invite the attention of Government to the matter, because it is essential to stop kine slaughter on economical grounds as well. The Hindus, who do not think it a matter of shame to make a request to Government, should send a deputation to the Viceroy under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and pray His Excellency that instead of slaughtering cows in India beef might be imported from foreign countries for the consumption of soldiers.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 8th September deeply regrets that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya suggested the postponement of the resolution on kine-killing at the Brindaban Conference. If the Hindus hesitate to pass the resolution Hindus will, so far as the question of kine-killing is concerned, lose the sympathy of Muhammadans, which they have gained after great sacrifices and exertions.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Dehra Dun College.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

12. Referring to the Viceroy's announcement regarding the Military College at Dehra Dun, the *Tribune* of the 9th September says:—"All this is truly gratifying, though it is impossible to avoid the sad reflection that steps that might have been taken much earlier—in some cases, many years ago—have been deferred till to-day or rather to-morrow, with the result that the time that ought to have been devoted to the actual transfer of the task of defence to Indian shoulders has to be spent in the preliminary work of preparation. Even now who can say that the progress is not far too slow?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Mayo Hospital, Lahore.

13. A correspondent, writing to the *Tribune* of the 8th September, complains that the Mayo Hospital refuses to treat cholera cases. In his presence a poor man was brought for admission, but he was sent to the Infectious Diseases Hospital where equipment is very inadequate. The writer requests the Indian Minister to stretch out a helping hand to the Indian public in this important matter.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

High prices.

14. The *Partap* of the 9th September thinks that Government has done well in prohibiting the export of wheat and flour from India till the end of March 1922: But the export should be prohibited for a longer period, because no harvest will be ready by March.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 17th September 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Spain and Morocco.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, Saliq, editor.

1. The *Zamindar* of the 10th September quotes the *Times of India* as saying that the Spanish Consul at London is recruiting volunteers to raise an army for fighting against the Muhammadans of Morocco. If this be so, it will add to the number of heroic deeds which the British forces have performed in destroying the liberties of Mesopotamia, Syria, the Hedjaz, Turkey and Egypt, in short, all Islamic countries. But in spite of its being neutral is the British Government justified in permitting its countrymen to enlist in the Spanish army for destroying the Muhammadans of Morocco? If so, are the Muhammadans of India permitted to raise a formidable army for despatch to Angora to help the Turks? Will the Government of India agree to provide ships for such troops?

The British Government and the Muslim Caliphate.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, Saliq, editor.

2. In a leading article, the *Zamindar* of the 9th September writes that it is an open secret that the Sharif of Mecca, Amir Feizul and Amir Abdulla are engaged in a conspiracy to put forward their claim to the Caliphate by gradually bringing the whole Arabian Peninsula under their sway. Indeed, everything points to the eagerness of the Sharif of Mecca to occupy the throne of the Caliphate. The British Government also seems to be labouring under the misunderstanding that it will be able to serve its own purpose by establishing the Caliphate of the Arabs. As a matter of fact, however, no Islamic Power which is indebted to the British Government in any way or which has co-operated with it can ever be called an Islamic Power by the Mussalmans, to say nothing of its being entrusted with the responsibilities of the Caliphate.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid, Saliq, editor.

England and Greece.

3. The *Zamindar* of the 9th September states that the whole Islamic world is turning hostile to the British Government over the questions of Mesopotamia and Greece. Some of the keen-witted politicians of England itself are viewing the position with alarm and are anxiously noticing how, with the unwise policy which Mr. Lloyd George is pursuing in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, he is digging the grave of the British Empire with his own hands. The paper quotes a correspondent of the *Sunday Chronicle*, who tries to discredit the declarations of the British Government and the Government of India, which have always tried to convince us in official *communiqués* that England has never helped the Greeks.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Greeko-Turkish war.

4. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th September reproduces an article from the *Muslim Standard* (London) which asks what action Greece and her ally Great Britain wish to take against the Turks. The answer is easy. Both Greece and Great Britain expect that the Turks will be turned out from every place and will be crushed at places from which they cannot be driven out. Venezelos, the tool of Mr. Lloyd George, is dreaming of a magnificient Greecian Empire and is desirous of gaining supremacy in the Meditarranean Sea. Great Britain is desirous of obtaining possession of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and Constantinople. But our view is that this is impossible.

Ar-Rai (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

England and Turkey.

5. *Ar-Rai* of the 9th (received on the 16th) September learns that the British High Commissioner at Constantinople has issued a note to the Porte demanding that he should be allowed to control Turkish finances so that the money spent on the maintenance of British troops might be recouped. The noteworthy point is that neither the French nor the Italian High Commissioner has made a similar demand. The reader can well understand what a deplorable effect such unjust demands will make on Constantinople where all Turks, from the highest to the lowest, are starving.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Indian assistance for the Turks.

6. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 15th September 1921 asks Muhammadans to lose no time in rendering pecuniary assistance to the Nationalist Turks on a scale that may enable them to drive their worst enemies, the Greeks, out of Thrace and Smyrna and protect Islam.

Siyasat (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 16th September 1921 urges Muhammadans to take advantage, by rendering all possible assistance to the Turks, of the permission granted by the European statesmen to private firms to help the Turks and the Greeks by munitions and money. The barge of Islam is being buffeted by hostile winds and the mighty waves of the ocean would drown it. To tow it safely to destination, all Muhammadans should combine their efforts and energies.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid Saliq, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 16th September 1921 says that at present the Turks stand sorely in need of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition and thinks that if the Khilafat Committees and Muslim Associations set to work it will not be difficult to collect a crore of rupees. The paper urges the millionaires of Bombay, Rangoon, Calcutta, Delhi and other big cities to lend money to the Turks, as they did in the European war. Newspapers should by propaganda work help in making the loan a success. It also asks Muhammadans to enlist a lakh of their co-religionists as volunteers so that the last Islamic kingdom and the sacred Khilafat may not complain that the Indian Muhammadans abstained from shedding their blood to protect Islam. Although the British Government will, on the pretext of their so-called neutrality, oppose the recruitment of volunteers, still the Indian Muhammadans should leave nothing undone to prove that they are ready even to lay down their lives to protect the honour of the Khilafat. Moreover, Indian Muhammadans should send a properly equipped medical mission to Angora to attend the sick and wounded. If Muhammadans fail at this juncture their national existence will cease to have any meaning.

Siyasat (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

The Bukhara Republic

7. The *Siyasat* of the 5th September publishes a communication from Iqbal Shaidai, who describes the hoisting of the flag of the Bukhara Republic on the 18th August on the Bukhara Embassy at Kabul and says that the Russian

Ambassadar congratulated the Bukhara Ambassador and delivered a speech, in the course of which he remarked that the Russian Republic deeply sympathised with all the oppressed Eastern nations and was always trying to extricate them from the tyrannical claws of Europe. He further observed that the day would really be very auspicious when the national flag of independent India also would be seen flying over the Embassy at Kabul. He expressed the hope that such a day was very near. Abdur Rahman Bey Effendi, Ambassador of the Angora Government, delivered a very well-argued speech and urged the necessity of Islamic unity.

Afghanistan and the Government of India.

AR-RAI (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

8. *Ar-Rai* of the 9th (received on the 16th) September declares that the treaty concluded between the Bolsheviks and the Afghans has proved very useful to the latter, who have obtained concessions beyond expectation. It is now stated that the Amir of Afghanistan does not wish to negotiate with the British Delegation so long as a satisfactory understanding is not arrived at with the Turks. This means that the British delegates will pass their days in idle ease in Afghanistan. It is obvious that Afghanistan does not want to lose the fruits of the liberty it has gained. Moreover, it wants to coöperate with the Asiatic Powers more than Great Britain. No agreement can be made with Afghanistan which might bring about the ruin of other countries. British Ministers should soon bid farewell to their Muslim-offending attitude, of which the whole Islamic world is to-day complaining. The peace of India is in great danger, because the Bolsheviks are in power on the North-Western Frontier and Afghanistan will never take the trouble of standing in their way. The Indian Muhammadans wish that an alliance may be soon made between England and Afghanistan and the Khilafat may be restored to its former dignity and glory.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Repeal of the Press Act.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The *Tribune* of the 17th September remarks:—"As has been pointed out again and again, the inauguration of the new era by the passing of the Government of India Act and the Royal Proclamation ought to have synchronised with the removal from the statute book of every single measure calculated to restrict or interfere with the rights and liberties of the people. Unhappily it is the besetting weakness of a bureaucracy not to do right things at the right time and, even when they do at last make up their mind to do them, they do them by halves. It is thus that instead of having ended all repressive legislation a year and a half ago and beginning the new era with a clean slate, the Government of India have, after a year of the working of the new Legislature and the new Constitution, just taken the first step towards that consummation."

The uselessness of the reform scheme.

AKALI, (Lahore); Uttam Singh Giani, editor.

10. The *Akali* of the 5th September deplores that it was during the time the reformed Councils were sitting that the Seditious Meetings Act was enforced in various districts in the Punjab and other provinces, that the jail population has increased, that rigours have been practised on the Sikhs, that many Sikhs have been arrested for keeping the *kirpan* and that hundreds of Sikhs have been thrown into jail for reforming their *gurdwaras*. The reformed Councils have also brought into existence the system of diarchy, as also much increase of pay, with the result that a heavier burden has been imposed on poor Indian tax-payers. Moreover, the system was responsible for the appointment of worthless and flattering Indians to high-salaried posts in place of Europeans. Being devoid of power these Indian officers naturally look up to the English officers for promotion. So long as they are not responsible to the people the latter can derive no happiness.

The Prince of Wales.

JIWAN TAT, (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Jiwan Tat* of the 6th September denounces Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues for their efforts to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. They say that they cannot welcome the Prince as he is coming for a political purpose; but he is coming as a Royal guest. People can, notwithstanding their differences with the present Government, welcome His Royal Highness like good citizens. The paper sincerely welcomes the Prince and wishes him a safe journey.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 9th September writes:—"We trust that in view of the fact that His Royal Highness's visit to India is not connected with any political party or Government, the people of India in general and the Sikhs of the Punjab particularly will respond to the Viceroy's earnest appeal to the extent which it is consistent with the mood and hospitality due to a nation in deep mourning."

Tribune, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) In a communication headed "India and the Prince", Rai Bahadur K. B. Thapar, O.B.E., writing to the *Tribune* of the 11th September, makes the following remarks:—"Let us give concrete expression to our differences with the bureaucracy, not by standing aside and allowing the case to go by default, but by organising our own functions, arranging our own welcome, and making clear the fact that our quarrel is not with the Prince personally, far less with the gracious House to which he belongs, but with the present administration of India—an administration which, as in other countries which the Prince has visited, is bound in no long time to be replaced by one more in sympathy with the wishes of the people."

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Viceroy's speech.

12. (*a*) Referring to the Viceroy's speech, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 9th September remarks:—"The tone of the speech leaves nothing to be desired. It was at once guarded and dignified and not a word has been used by His Excellency which might in any way pinch or slight the Indian sentiment. Apart from the merits of the points touched upon by His Excellency, the highly sympathetic tone of the speech alone gives the Viceroy the true perspective of a statesman of first waters."

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 8th September remarks that the Viceroy has shown great sobriety and it is to be hoped that His Excellency will be soon in a position to satisfy Indian sentiment. The announcement that the Prince of Wales is not coming as the supporter of any party is an agreeable declaration. But as on his arrival in India the Prince will receive addresses and Indians will have no chance of giving expression to their views and feelings before the Prince, their leaders have thought it advisable to boycott the tour. If people are assured by the Government that like the worshippers of officialdom they too will be free to lay their grievances before the Prince, the present boycott movement can be checked. The paper refers to His Excellency's remarks about Afghanistan and asks whether it is not a matter of shame for the Government of India that after eight months' continuous efforts it has failed to establish friendly relations with Afghanistan.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue of the 9th September, the *Kesari* states that it is preposterous that although a large sum of money is being spent on the frontier, still Indians residing there are not safe. Lord Reading has also referred in his speech to the present condition of the Indians in the British colonies, but we are constrained to say that Great Britain should feel ashamed of the weakness it has displayed in dealing with the colonies. The Indians have played no less a prominent part in developing the colonies, where they are now being accorded a shameful treatment.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The Viceroy's policy.

13. The *Kesari* of the 11th September reproduces a note from the *Independent*, which takes strong exception to the Viceroy's attitude in absolving the military authorities from all responsibility. Lord Reading has committed a serious mistake in making the announcement and instead of improving the political situation in India His Excellency has set a very bad example.

Swaraj (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Non-coöperation and Government.

14. The *Swaraj* of the 11th September exhorts the people of India to adhere to the principles of non-violence even if their revered leaders are arrested and says that they should try to follow them to jail. The present policy of repression pursued by the Government, it adds, is a clear indication of the fact that Government has resorted to mean acts and it has become quite sure that it will be defeated and that Indians will triumph. In conclusion, it says, Government will leave no stone unturned to discredit the non-coöperation movement.

Watan (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

Differential treatment by Government.

15. The *Watan* of the 9th September remarks that it is alleged in the papers that hundreds of passengers including Europeans were recently caught travelling without tickets in a railway train. But while a

sum of Rs. 2,251 was realised from the Indian passengers nothing was demanded from the European passengers. If this allegation is true, Lord Reading should say whether the differential treatment is worthy of the justice to which he lays claim. Again, one Pandit Radha Mohan Gokal Ji was recently required to furnish security for delivering three speeches and was sent to jail in default. After remarking that according to Mr. Gandhi there was nothing in those speeches which hundreds of speakers, including Mr. Gandhi, had not said on different occasions and from thousands of platforms, the paper says that the question will naturally arise why these persons have not been, and are not being, treated in the way in which Pandit Gokal Ji was treated. Nor is this all Differential treatment is accorded even to journalists. In the Punjab, for instance, the majority of those papers which take a prominent part in creating feelings of hatred and contempt against the present Government consists of non-Muhammadans. But while the editors of the *Zamindar* and the *Siyasat* and the publisher of one of them have been arrested, some of the other papers are the favourites of the Government and are given official advertisements for publication. This differential treatment is not only causing alarm and wonder to the people, but is also creating discontent. Indeed, why have these two Muslim organs alone been made a scape-goat and why have the well-known and skilled leaders of the non-cooperation movement been ignored? The paper then refers to the paucity of the Muhammadans in the different branches of the public service and remarks that all these defects demand the attention of Lord Reading.

Lord Reading on racial differences.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

16. The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th September takes exception to Lord Reading's view that the complaints of mutual ill-treatment are made by both Indians and Englishmen and says it has heard for the first time that Indians too have the courage to maltreat Englishmen. We wish to assure Lord Reading that the present unrest cannot abate so long as the thorn of racial distinction is not removed.

Government and the Muhammadans.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

17. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 9th September publishes a communicated article, the writer of which says that Government complains that the Mussalmans are mere puppets in the hands of their Hindu countrymen and are endeavouring to obtain *swaraj*, which will be prejudicial to their interests. Almost all the politicians realise that the friendly relations between Hindus and Muhammadans should be based on a strong foundation rather than on any anti-Government feeling. But the anti-Muslim policy of the British Cabinet has greatly exasperated the Mussalmans, with the result that the latter are working out their own ruin under the spell of the clever political jugglers who are anxious to overthrow alien rule in India. The writer then goes on to refer to the small representation of Muhammadans in the Councils and official committees and the lists of title-holders. Will it be a matter for surprise if Muhammadans prefer to live under the Hindus? The stability of the British Government in India, however, depends upon its making friends with the Muhammadans. If the Government pursues a policy calculated to disappoint the Mussalmans and throw them into the arms of the Hindus, there is nothing for which the Muhammadans should remain loyal to the Government.

Hindus-Muslim unity.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

18. The *Desh* of the 10th September observes that the Moplas took to murdering and converting the Hindus to Islam. At Meerut also it was the Hindu shopkeepers who were looted. Where had the supporters of the Khilafat and the members of the Congress Committee gone?

The Military College at Dehra Dun.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, edtior.

19. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th September asks if the members of the martial races of India will be also admitted to the Military College about to be opened at Dehra Dun or whether, like the Sandhurst College, the young men of Madras and Bengal alone will recieve training.

The President of the third Sikh League.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor

20. The *Sikh* of the 18th September says:—"Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal has been elected President for the next session of the Sikh League to be held at

Lyallpur during the ensuing Dussehra holidays. We heartily welcome the Panth's choice and pray that under Sardar Amar Singh's guidance useful and practicable results may mark the success of the session."

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Forfeiture of the *fatwa* of the Ulema-i-Hind.

21. The *Swaraj* of the 10th September takes strong exception to the forfeiture of the *fatwa* issued by the Ulema-i-Hind and remarks that in confiscating the *fatwa*, which is in complete conformity with the injunctions of Islam, the Government has clearly interfered with the religious affairs of the Muhammadans. If any chapter and verse of the Bible is similarly forfeited in any Islamic country, will Mr. Craik and his satellites approve of the action of the Government? If not, why has the *fatwa* been forfeited?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The policy of Government officers.

22. The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th September remarks that Government officers and their flatterers are exhausting their strength in defeating the non-coöperation movement. But the repression that is being practised by the authorities, the unjust decisions which are being pronounced by the courts and the shameful treatment which is being generally accorded to political prisoners are strengthening the movement.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Racial inequality in the statute book.

23. The *Tribune* of the 18th September writes:—"Subject to some reservations to which we shall presently refer, the Indian Legislative Assembly is to be congratulated on the result of the debate on Mr. Samarath's resolution on racial inequality in the statute book. The resolution was not, indeed, passed in the form in which it was moved, but the form in which it *was* passed was, if possible, an improvement upon the original..... The Delhi session will last till the end of March, and we entirely fail to see what difficulties the Committee, if sufficiently businesslike, could have had in submitting its report during that session. We are told that the Hon'ble member dropped this part of his proposal, because Sir William Vincent told him that it would be impossible on the part of the Committee to submit a report during so short a time. We are entirely unconvinced by that argument. If the Assembly and the Government mean business, the question is really very simple. They have only to repeal those sections of the Criminal Procedure Code which differentiate between Indians and Europeans. There is one and only one thing which can make the task of the Committee difficult and complicated. If the object it had in view were to continue the existing inequality and privilege under a different name and in a different guise, then undoubtedly a good deal of ingenuity and resourcefulness would be needed to give the recommendations of the Committee a colourable shape and form. But we can assure all concerned that it will be no better than time and labour thrown away. The public is in no mood for make-believes or even partial solutions. Nothing but the frank and complete elimination of all traces of inequality in every form and shape has any chance of proving acceptable to it."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy; editor.

The paralysis of administration by non-cooperation.

24. The *Tribune* of the 13th September has the following:—"We do not consider the paralysis of the present administration to be the end of non-coöperation or even a necessary link in the process. The end, of course, is the establishment of *swaraj*, and that is the only end we support. Non-coöperation is only a means to this end, and with us, as distinguished from the orthodox non-co-öperators, only a part of the means. As regards the paralysis of the administration, even Mahtama Gandhi does not consider that it will be absolutely necessary to reach that stage. For our part, we are convinced that long before that stage is reached, the country will be able to put such an amount of pressure upon the Government (not by non-coöperation alone, but by a more comprehensive method of which the working of the Reforms is an important part) that the Government will have no choice left but to concede the country's demand in full. It is only if this hope is not fulfilled—if when the country's preparedness for putting its pressure on the Government is complete, the Government still refuses to do its duty,—that the question of bringing about a paralysis of the administration will arise, and in

that event and on that condition, this particular part of the process will have our full sympathy and support."

Government servants and the *swadeshi* movement.

PARTAP (Lahore); Radha Krishan, editor.

25. The *Partap* (Lahore) of the 17th September 1921 writes that Government servants can support the *swadeshi* movement like others. Government is not likely to influence its servants to wear foreign cloth, but if any official commits such a mistake, his subordinates can refuse to obey his order. Government servants should wear *swadeshi* cloth, because they can take part in no other political movement. It is their duty to tell their officers, if they persist in asking them to wear foreign cloth, that they will give up Government service and find out other sources to maintain themselves.

A plea for a united stand.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

26. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 16th September writes:—"It is too much, rather childish and foolish, to expect that England can do untarnished justice to India. We cannot get it, however strong our plea for it may be. We stand for national honour and its vindication requires a solid front, a united front. Without moral power to enforce justice we shall not get any. Let us therefore be welded together into one mass of solid nationality, Hindus, Sikhs, Muhammadans and all. Without this there is no hope for us. Let us, therefore, act in the living present and join hands together for the advancement and betterment of our motherland. United we stand and divided we fall."

Prosecution for sedition.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

27. The *Tribune* of the 18th September says:—"If the view of sedition that has hitherto been accepted in this country were to pass muster, then in all these cases conviction may be said to be a foregone conclusion, and it would be both economical and consistent with the true dignity of the court as well as of the parties concerned if the procedure were as far as possible shortened by laying stress only on essential and uncontroversial points. Secondly, we would earnestly point out that the time has come for the Government to seriously consider if it should not discard the usually accepted definition of sedition in this country in favour of one more in accord with the time spirit and the altered condition of things in India"

Government and Sikhs.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

28. The *Sikh* of the 11th September has the following:—"The world knows how with all the hue and cry of the community the Gurdwara reforms workers were caught, consigned to a Magistrate of Mr. Keough's temper and finally convicted and awarded monstrously heavy sentences under offences of dacoity, criminal tresspass, and the like. In vain did the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, supported by the Panth everywhere, try to assure it of the innocence of the accused, arrested and convicted Sikhs; in vain did the Chief Khalsa Diwan try to impress upon the minds of His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan and the Hon'ble Sir John Maynard that these so alleged to be dacoits and tresspassers were mere religious workers, for the Government would not admit it. However, at last in response to the entreaties of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, a hope was held out that something would be done after the cases had been judicially concluded. The *something* now has come out in the shape of a *communiqué* granting amnesty to all the Sikhs imprisoned in connection with the Gurdwara cases, including of course Bhais Kartar Singh and Teja Singh awarded 18 and 7 years respectively from the *dargah* of Mr. Keough, with a definite condition that they shall give an undertaking to the effect that henceforth they will not take or join the taking of possession of any Gurdwara, in which case they will be re-arrested and re-imprisoned. Now, if this is not a peevish case of obduracy what else is it? .... The *communiqué* may, we are afraid, be interperted to mean that Government wants to suppress at the present and discourage in the future the laudable movement of Gurdwara reform, while we expect it to support us in every way in this connection."

The Sikh conspiracy case.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

29. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th September remarks that a conspiracy case is about to be launched against a number of Sikhs in the Punjab. We do not know so far what the object underlying this conspiracy was. We would, however,

represent to Sir Edward Maclagan that special care should be taken to save innocent people from falling victims to the personal grudges of the Crown witnesses and police officials. Moreover, only those officers should be appointed to investigate the cases whose honesty and impartiality are beyond cavil.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

Treatment of Indian leaders and political prisoners.

30. The *Siyasat* of the 11th September deplores that repression is the order of the day in India and the authorities have thrown British morality and civilisation overboard. We have no hesitation in remarking that they are trying to take an undue advantage of the peaceful non-coöperation movement and are practising oppression on the people blindly. They are according very tyrannical treatment to the nation and the leaders of the country in general and the political prisoners in particular. This treatment is rousing feelings of hatred and aversion in the minds of the people against the Government. It is true that the Government has cannon, machine-guns and airships at its command, but how long will Indians lead lives of degradation?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Treatment of political prisoners.

31. Under the heading "Treatment of political prisoners", the *Tribune* of the 13th September remarks:—"From whatever point of view we may look at the matter, the present treatment of political prisoners is absolutely indefensible, and ought to make room for a better immediately."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Government's clemency and Sikhs.

32. Under the heading "Clemency", the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 16th September says:—"After all, the Sikh community ought to be grateful to the Government for the clemency, howsoever halting and conditional, which they have extended to the Sikh prisoners. But this beholdenness of the Sikhs would have been all the greater and more complete if the Government had removed this condition and also released, unconditionally, of course, all those Sikh prisoners who were put into jail in connection with cases directly arising, as sequel to them, out of *gurdwara* reform and *kirpan* cases."

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Sardar Kartar Singh and other Sikh prisoners.

33. The *Kesari* of the 11th September refers to the official *communiqué* in which it is mentioned that if Sardar Kartar Singh and other twenty-four Sikh prisoners were to give an undertaking to the effect that in future they would make no effort to take forcible possession of any *gurdwara*, the Government would release them. It is doubtful, adds the paper, that the Sardar and his companions will ever submit to this disgraceful course. It would have been far better if this *communiqué* had not been issued.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Rambhaj Datt.

34. Referring to the withdrawal of the orders by which Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Rambhaj Datt were prohibited from delivering public speeches, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th September remarks that the policy of paralysing big leaders by arresting the smaller ones has proved to be wrong. This is the reason why Government is withdrawing its orders of internment and prohibition against the public workers. We congratulate both the gentlemen on the removal of the restriction.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

The Mopla disturbances.

35. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 10th September writes that there can be no gainsaying the fact that the Moplas have acted in contravention of the principle underlying non-coöperation. No one who has the love of his country at heart can congratulate them on their excesses. But while we abhor these excesses, we must say that the methods adopted by the bureaucracy to put down the disturbances are not commendable. As a rule there are religious fanatics in every country, but the best way to suppress their activity is not to provoke them still further but to coöperate with their leaders and spiritual guides. Indeed, if Mr. Yaqub Hassan or some other Indian leader had been given an opportunity things would have never come to such a pass. But the Indian Government considers the Indian leaders to be disloyal and is so afraid of them that it considers it dangerous to consult them even in matters affecting the lives of thousands of Indians. We would assure Lord Reading that in the Malabar disturbances while the Moplas are guilty the bureaucracy is no less at fault. It will not be proper for the Viceroy to denounce the Moplas and other leaders and pat the bureaucracy on the back.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 9th September fears that incidents similar to those of the Punjab might take place in Southern India owing to the enforcement of martial law. The guilty should be certainly punished. But during the martial law *regime* innocent men are often arrested and released after being kept in custody for days. The martial law tribunals do not take proper care in enquiring into cases, but send the accused to jail for several years on very cursory proof. Besides, they confiscate property and even hang men. The paper thinks that Government should allow certain public leaders to go to Malabar and take part in the proceedings. If Government does this the Indian public will remain satisfied and there will be no mistrust.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 10th September says that ever since the outbreak of riots in Malabar reports have been pouring in that the Moplas disgraced Hindu temples, plundered the houses of Hindus and forcibly converted them to Islam. We are glad that these reports have not in the least shaken Hindu-Muslim unity. But this does not mean that Hindus residing in other parts of India do not sincerely sympathise with their co-religionists in Southern India.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The *Muslim Standard*.

36. The *Siyasat* of the 9th September refers to the prohibition of the entry of the *Islamic News* of London into India and says that it has received a paper from London, bearing the name of the *Muslim Standard*, which is in fact the *Islamic News* under a new name. Great Britain is not engaged in war and the stoppage of the entry of a harmless newspaper, which discusses Eastern affairs, is inconsistent with the freedom so loudly proclaimed by Government on most occasions. It is to be expected that in future the *Muslim Standard* will not find it necessary to change its name, as the authorities have realised that this paper always comes to India under one name or other.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain editor.

V.—EDUCATION.

The Punjab Text-Book Committee.

37. The *Arya Gazette* of the 15th September 1921 protests against the proposal of the Punjab Text-Book Committee to raise the minimum number of the pages of books accepted for consideration of the award of prizes from 100 to 300. The paper objects even to the present limit of 100 pages.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Sir T. Holland's successor.

38. (*a*) Referring to the question of Sir T. Holland's successor the *Tribune* of the 13th September remarks that in its opinion the appointment of a member of any of the permanent services to a membership of the Council ought to be regarded as an exception to the rule and not the rule itself.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 15th September remarks that:—"Now that it seems clear that none of the unofficial Indians nominated by certain Liberal organs can possibly be appointed to the seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council vacated by Sir Thomas Holland consistently with the letter of the statute, it is perhaps worth while enquiring why the appointment cannot be conferred on an official Indian. Several names will readily occur to every one in this connection, but we will content ourselves with mentioning one. Why cannot the post be offered to Mr. A. C. Chatterjee?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 16th September says:—"It is worth while enquiring whether Mr. Innes who has been temporarily appointed a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in place of Sir Thomas Holland is not junior to Mr. Chatterjee. We write subject to correction, but our impression is that while Mr. Innes joined the service of the Crown in 1898, Mr. Chatterjee joined in 1897. If this is so, may we enquire if justice did not require that the officiating appointment should go to Mr. Chatterjee instead of Mr. Innes?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) According to the *Sikh* of the 11th September, the Ho'nble Lala Harkishan Lal is the fittest Indian to fill the post.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(e) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th September suggests the names of Sir Ibrahim Rahmat Ullah and Mr. Ibrahim Karimbhoy for the post of Member for Commerce and Industries and urges that some Muhammadan should be appointed to the post which has fallen vacant.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The export of wheat.

39. (a) The *Desh* of the 14th September remarks that the Government of India have announced by means of a press *communiqué* that grain is not being at all exported from India. Lala Sita Ram, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, however, writing to the *Capital* (Calcutta), says that 6,203 tons of wheat were exported from India during the week ending the 30th July 1921. The question is whether Government or Lala Sita Ram is right.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(b) The *Kesari* of the 10th September remarks that the Government press *communiqué* on the export of wheat gives no satisfaction at all. The last Indian wheat harvest was very bad and the next harvest is not expected before May 1922. When the new crop of wheat will grow up Government will be free to export it. In these circumstances, we ask Government what obligation it has conferred on the Indians. Government should stop the export of wheat till the wants of India are fully supplied.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(c) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th September thinks that the press *communiqué* recently issued by Government regarding the prohibition of the export of wheat and flour from India till March 1922 cannot prove of much use to the Indians. In the first place, there is no large stock of wheat in the country and, in the second place, the next harvest will be ready by the end of May. The wheat to be imported from Australia will not help in removing the dearness, because its quantity has not been fixed. Besides, a certain quantity of this wheat will be re-exported from India in the form of flour. It is, therefore, necessary that Government should totally stop the export of grain from India till the next harvest is ready. Government should go on importing wheat from foreign countries till the next harvest and also fix the price of grain as an emergency measure.

AKALI, (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Giani, editor.

European commerce and Indian poverty.

40. The *Akali* of the 8th September remarks that three hundred years ago, Holland, Spain, France, Portugal and England cast covetous eyes on India. Merchants from those countries suffered indescribable troubles in trading with India, but they prospered and ships loaded with Indian wealth sailed to Europe. Then followed wars in which the English eventually came out successful. They conquered the country and gradually spread the net of their trade and slavery all over India. Merchants from Germany and America also coveted the trade of this country. They sold their goods very cheap and, as a result, the sale of Indian goods gradually dwindled and was finally swept out of existence. This unbridled commercial exploitation made the country indigent. And to-day Indians must look up to Germany, America, Japan and England even for the supply of the most insignificant thing. Can there be a condition worse than this?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Railway grievances.

41. The *Tribune* of the 11th September publishes the following:—"It was brought to the notice of the members of the Conference that booking office windows are not opened long enough before the arrival of trains to allow of passengers purchasing tickets conveniently. No conclusions appear to have been arrived at on this point. Mere exhibition of rules regarding the sale of tickets, no matter howsoever prominent, and the appointment of committees to represent grievances, will not enable third class passengers, the bulk of whom are illiterate, to purchase tickets conveniently and without feeling the need of bribing the petty railway officials, porters or police constables. An improvement in this direction will be effected only by keeping the booking office windows open for longer intervals than is at present the case."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Reforms in the Patiala State.

42. The *Tribune* of the 18th September publishes a communicated article in which the writer says:—"I would suggest that a mixed committee of officials and non-

officials be appointed immediately to draw up a suitable scheme of reform, that may satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the people. No task is nobler than this and if it could be satisfactorily achieved in the *regime* of Maharaja Bhopindar Singh Bahadur, his name will be handed down to posterity as a ruler who trusted his people and worked in co-operation and harmony with them, and as a deliverer who broke asunder the chains of bureaucracy and raised his people to the status of free and responsible citizens."

Kirpan in the Patiala State.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

43. The *Sansar* of the 6th September deplores that though the Sikhs are allowed to carry the *kirpan* in British territory and Hindu and Muslim States, restrictions have been imposed on them in the matter in the premier Sikh State of the Province. It also appears from the *Patiala Gazette* that the State has confiscated *Appeal kirpan*, *Kirpan faryad* and *Kirpan wirlap*. The object which the Patiala Darbar has in confiscating these three tracts will not be attained and the Panth should do its duty.

Sikhs and Public Prosecutorships.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

44. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 9th September says:—"With the resignation of Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh from the office of Public Prosecutor of the Province there goes out the last man in this line of the Government service. Whenever the Sikhs have made any representation on the subject of giving Sikhs an adequate share of Government services they have invariably been given assurance of a better treatment in future. But when the time for distribution of Government services comes they are lightly passed over. Government's indifference to the superior and prior claims of the Sikhs is one of the standing grievances of the Sikh community which is in no small degree responsible for their present mentality. Now that not a single Sikh is a Public Prosecutor we hope the Government would be doing only a just and right thing to appoint Sikhs, should duly qualified and willing legal practitioners be available to serve as such, to the vacancies that exist now or may come to take place in future. But we understand that immediately there exists a vacancy in Kasur."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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The 24th September 1921.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Afghanistan.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 16th September learns from the latest issue of the *Aman Afghan* (Afghanistan) that an important conference took place in Kabul, in which all the state officials took part. Hindu representatives were also invited to the conference. The Amir presided and personally took part in the discussion. Although the proceedings have been kept secret, yet it is believed that the question of making a treaty with the Bolsheviks was considered and approved.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 13th September publishes translation of an article from the *Muslim Standard* headed "Preparations for the invasion of Afghanistan." The paper says that the English people in London are thinking of invading Afghanistan. But the Afghan ambassador at Angora has openly declared that if Britain joins Greece, Afghanistan will fight against England. Differences between Islam and Britain are unavoidable, and this is entirely due to the obstinacy and arrogance of British statesmen. Islam will now be compelled to make an alliance with Russia. England has permitted British factories to supply as much war materials to the belligerents as they like. This is apparently intended to help Greece. Indians should take advantage of this and collect a crore of rupees with which war materials could be purchased for the Turks. Half of the Tilak Swaraj Fund should be advanced on loan to Muhammadans. War materials should be sent to Angora through Russian commercial agents who are in England or Italy. If war materials can be purchased from Russia, Muhammadans should not waste even a second.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

2. (*a*) The *Akali* of the 9th September says that if the Prince of Wales is coming to India as the son of His Majesty the King-Emperor, His Royal Highness may come and pay the cost of the journey from his own pocket. He should come as a private person and see the starving Indian people. Instead of seeing merely the well-furnished palaces of Simla and Delhi, he should visit the huts of the poor who are harassed by the bureaucracy. He should then go to England and describe the condition of the masses as seen by him to the independent-minded people of England. This will lead to a speedy understanding about the *Swaraj*. But while Indians have many grievances against the bureaucracy and are dying of starvation, the Prince is going to be welcomed at the cost of lakhs of rupees. Can any true Indian offer a hearty reception to the Prince in these circumstances? If not, why is not the Prince stopped from coming to India? Or why is not the visit held to be private?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th September says that the bureaucracy is realising that the Prince of Wales will not be offered any welcome in the large towns through which he will pass. It is reported from the Kangra district that retired sepoys are being urged to go to receive His Royal Highness and temptations are being held out to them. If the report is true, it will be an effort to deceive the world and even the Prince.

RAJPUT GAZETTE (Lahore); Sukhram Das, editor.

(*c*) The *Rajput Gazette* of the 17th September suggests that it will be proper if His Royal Highness does not take the trouble of visiting the Native States. If this is done, the Indian Chiefs will save a good deal of money which they are sure to spend on welcoming the Prince and the money thus saved can be utilised in helping the subjects of the states in these days of high prices and famine. Moreover, the Chiefs should not be invited to Delhi because they will be required to spend money lavishly in that city. Again, if an announcement is made that the Prince will not accept any present from any Chief, it will lead to good results.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 22nd September remarks that on the occasion of the Prince's visit to India it was the most important duty of the Government to try to placate the people of the country and refrain from any act that might add to their excitement. It should have released political prisoners, instead of which it has begun to arrest other political workers.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

The Viceroy's speech.

3. In concluding an article on the Viceroy's speech, the *Zamindar* of the 12th September says that if the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor is really anxious to respect the feelings and sentiments of the Muhammadans of India, it should withdraw its troops from Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and the Hedjaz and grant them complete independence. We can never believe in the sincerity of the British Government unless it evacuates the Arabian Peninsula.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

India's share of the war indemnity.

4. (*a*) Referring to the question asked at a meeting of the Council of State, about India's share of the war indemnity levied on Germany, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th September remarks that the Government reply is not a satisfactory one. India rendered greater war services than Australia and Canada and should have received a larger sum by way of compensation than either of the latter. But it is regrettable that when the time came for division of the spoils of war, India's prosperity stood in her way. This plea is not based on any principles of justice.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 22nd September characterises the official reply regarding India's share in the indemnity as unreasonable.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Empire Delegation.

5. In an article published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd September, Lala Lajpat Rai takes strong exception to the decision of the Council of State in sanctioning a lakh of rupees for the expenses of the Empire Delegates on the ground that it is sheer waste of public money. It has not been shown who the members of the Delegation are, what their object is and how it will be useful to India. He wonders how the Indian members could have sanc-

tioned such expenditure quietly especially when they knew that there were crores of unfortunate human beings in this country who could not get sufficient food to fill their stomachs. But how can they realise the sufferings of poor starving people when they get sufficient dainties to fill their own stomach ?

The Repressive Laws.

6. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd September says :—"Dr. Sapru and the members of the Repressive Laws Committees are to be congratulated on the way which they have paved for the simultaneous exit of the whole batch of the Repressive Laws. We are sorry a special reservation has been made about the Seditious Meetings Act which is to remain in force till the Delhi Session of the two Houses of Legislatures. We wish the Government had sent it to the grave along with the remaining laws."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Racial equality in India.

7. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 21st September, thinks that the Indians who are trying to deprive Englishmen of the special rights which they enjoy in India under the criminal law are engaged in a useless task. It is impossible to establish racial equality between Englishmen and Indians so long as complete self-government is not established in this country.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Shaukat Ali and Indian independence.

8. Writing in connection with Shaukat Ali's recent speech at Bombay in which he observed that if the Government failed to decide the Khilafat and the Punjab questions, they would raise the standard of independence in the next Session of the National Congress, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 11th September thinks that such a thing would be quite meaningless when the Indians lack the power to make India free. Public opinion in India should be strengthened by constitutional agitation so that the British Government may be forced to grant complete independence to India. Peaceful agitation and unanimous demand are necessary.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Muhammadans and the use of foreign cloth.

9. The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th September regrets that Muhammadans have not given up the use of foreign cloth to the extent they were expected to do it. It seems that the Islamic bravery which the sword of the enemy could not overpower has been tied down with chains of slavery by European fashion. At the present moment, when the Khilafat has been reduced to such a pitiable state and hundreds of respectable families in Smyrna have been ruined, can any self respecting Muhammadan use the cloth which is leading to his economical ruin, is strengthening the hands of his enemy and removing from his mind all ideas of self-respect ? The cup of martyrdom is being prepared for two respected Muhammadan leaders. Will not the hearts of Muhammadans melt even now and will they not throw aside the garb of foreign slavery ?

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Sikhs and *Swaraj*.

10. In the course of a leading article, the *Akali* of the 21st September says that if the Khalsa brethern regard *Swaraj* as their religion, they should not be afraid of handcuffs, fetters and prosecutions.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The forfeiture of the *fatwa* of the Ulema-i-Hind.

11. (*a*) The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 16th September cannot comprehend the reply given by the Home Member to the Hon'ble Syed Riza Ali Khan regarding the confiscation of the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Government would have been well-advised to say that the *fatwa*, religious though it is, is opposed to the wishes of Government and has consequently been confiscated. Such a reply, however, would be characteristic of such rulers as do not abide by any law or rule and who treat their word as law. The forfeiture has greatly shocked the Mussalmans.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Maulvi Sana Ullah, editor.

(*b*) Writing under the heading "The *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind confiscated : A terrible mistake on the part of Government," the *Zamindar* of the 19th September says that the unanimous *fatwa* issued by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind was in many respects the greatest religious commandment of the Islamic world. The most important feature of this sacred *fatwa* is that it affects the entire Muslim community and bears the signatures of

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

nearly 500 distinguished Muslim theologians. The confiscation of this *fatwa* is a great insult to Islam. It is a downright insult to the word of God.

Sir William Vincent has characterised *fatwa* as a political one. The Home Member should bear in mind that the religion and the politics of the Mussalmans are not divorced from each other. The *Quran* is brimful of political injunctions and if the mere fact of a certain book or a leaflet being of a political nature renders it liable to forfeiture, then the first thing which is liable to forfeiture is the word of God. The *fatwa* of the *Ulema* was publised ten months ago. The Khilafat Committees distributed *gratis* printed copies by thousands and there is now scarcely a literate Mussalman in the country who has not read it. In the Punjab alone, eighty-two thousand copies have so far been printed and distributed. In the circumstances, what wisdom can there be in the forfeiture of this *fatwa* now? In fact, the confiscation is synonymous with the forfeiture of the explicit verses of the *Quran*, which is so great an insult to Islam and the God of Islam that the Mussalmans cannot bear it in silence. Government is brewing this storm by its mean acts and if the storm rages it will be very troublesome. The hundreds of the esteemed *Ulema* who have affixed their signatures to this *fatwa* should realize their duty and emerge from their respective corners of seclusion and gird up their loins in order to preach and proclaim non-coöperation, because it is unbecoming of the dignity of the true *Ulema* to issue a *fatwa* and then to maintain silence over its confiscation.

KESARI (Lahore), Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Government and the present situation.

12. The *Kesari* of the 22nd September thinks that by arresting leaders of the first rank and vigorously pursuing a policy of repression, Government has brought the nationalists of India nearer to their goal of freedom. The question which is engaging the public attention at the present moment is: what will happen next? Either the strong national movements will be stopped for ever or the Indians will gain their object for which they have grudged no sacrifice. Indians met with failures so long as they lacked the spirit of sacrifice; but now that they have recognised the worth of liberty and are inclined to sacrifice their all for it, success is bound to follow and they must get *Swaraj*.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Ali Brothers.

13. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 16th September respectfully but emphatically asks Government not to take the wrong step of prosecuting the Ali Brothers. If Government will go on putting men into jail for carrying on an agitation against the present system of administration, people will be willing to go to jail. Expert lawyers also are of opinion that it is not sedition to carry on an agitation with a view to have the present system of administration changed.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th September says that in a public meeting held at Lahore on the 19th September to congratulate the arrested leaders, Lala Lajpat Rai appealed to the Muhammadans in the name of Islam and the holy *Quran* to continue the Khilafat agitation. The paper asks why this favour is being shown to Muhammadans only. It is interesting to note whether the Ali Brothers are being congratulated for success in the attainment of their chief object; but this is not really the case. Had this been so, Mr. Gandhi would not have at all suggested to the Ali Brothers, three months ago, to offer an apology, because Mr. Gandhi realises that agitation can be effectively carried on only by remaining outside the jail. But it is a pity that the Brothers put a wrong interpretation on the apology and made the situation worse.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 18th September says that the arrest will render the foundations of the British Government in India hollow.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 22nd September says that by arresting the Ali Brothers, the Government of Lord Reading has committed an unstatesmanlike and imprudent act. The arrest is no ordinary event. It is, on the other hand, a most important link in India's struggle for freedom. It will serve as an incentive to further activities on the part of other servants of the country. The Indians and especially the Muhammadans should bear in mind that they have come in contact with an experienced politician whom they can hardly defeat. Lord Reading is the greatest political chest-player and a remarkably ingenuous statesman of the British Empire. He is at present playing with India in the same manner in which a cat tries to kill a rat by tossing it up. Immediately on landing on the soil of India, he realized that the present struggle for freedom in India owed much to the Khilafat movement which he made every effort to crush. Again an abortive effort was made to prejudice the Hindus against the Muhammadans by misinterpreting Muhammad Ali's Madras speech on the Afghan invasion, and the bureaucracy is again busy trying to sow the seed of discord between the two communities. The stress laid by the Anglo-Indian press on the alleged atrocities on the Hindus in the Malabar disturbances point to the same end. The bureaucracy wants to prejudice Muhammadans against the Hindus by arresting their leaders and forfeiting their *fatwa* which might lead them to think that it is the Muhammadans who are the worst sufferers while the Hindus are immune from repression. But both communities should be on their guard against such clever tricks. It now behoves every Mussalman to be ready to offer himself at the altar of his country and community and to take or allow others to take no rest as long as the Ali Brothers are not set at liberty and the Caliphate is not restored to its independent position. In the end, the paper exhorts the public to stick to the principle of non-violence and use *khaddar*.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 19th September wishes that every true Indian may be filled with the zeal to follow in the footsteps of the leaders and sacrifice his all for the attainment of *Swaraj*.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*f*) Writing in connection with the arrest of the Ali Brothers, etc., the *Tribune* of the 20th September says:—"It is too much to expect ordinary men to be as cool-headed as Mahatma Gandhi, and yet to all outer appearance not only the leaders of the non-coöperation movement, but even the rank and file of the party have successfully controlled their feelings. The fact shows how very far India has travelled during the last two years and a half towards its appointed goal."

(*g*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd September writes:—"In connection with the new policy initiated by Government in dealing with the non-coöperation movement, four questions will have occurred to every one. The first of these concerns the opening words of the Bombay Government's first Press note. There it was stated that the Governor in Council had decided to prosecute the individuals concerned 'with the full concurrence of the Government of India.' Now the concurrence of the Government of India was in no way needed for these prosecutions, and even if the Bombay Government had obtained the consent of the Government of India to the proposed action, it was by no means necessary to state the fact in the Press note. Why was it so stated? It cannot be denied that the effect of the statement on the lay mind would be to create the impression that not only must the law officers of both Governments have carefully considered the matter before the prosecution was embarked upon but that the prestige of both was equally associated with it. That would be an unfortunate impression alike from the point of view of justice and of expediency, because, apart from the purely judicial aspects of the prosecution, the Government of India is really the appellate authority in such cases, and as such is expected to keep an open mind on the subject. The second question concerns the statement in the second Press note of the Bombay Government, that Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were also to be prosecuted on a charge of delivering speeches in Sindh tending to create disaffection, contempt, hatred and incitement to violence against the Government established by law in British India. Is this statement quite compatible with the definite declaration made by His Excellency the Viceroy in a famous speech, that so long as the Ali brothers adhered to the pledge of non-violence no action would be taken against them? The third question, which is even more important than the other two, concerns the following words of the Bombay Government's first note:—'Government are confident that all loyal citizens would unite in condemning and combating the attempts upon the allegiance of the army and repudiating the unwarranted reflection on its honour and devotion towards duty which such attempts necessarily imply.' Had this sentiment occurred in a general press note, unconnected with the impending prosecutions, not only would it have been unexceptionable, but there are many among us who would have actually applauded it. For our part we have no hesitation in saying that the action of the Bombay Government in this matter is wholly wrong and creates entirely bad precedent."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*h*) The *Siyasat* of the 22nd September says that the prosecution of the Ali Brothers is a glaring proof of the failure of the efforts of Government to counteract the non-coöperation movement, which has compelled Government to take out from its armoury the weapon which despotic Governments usually wield on such occasions. The paper exhorts the public to maintain perfect unity and refrain from indulging in any Hindu-Muhammadan question, should Government make a larger number of arrests out of any particular community.

SIKH (Lahore); Sohan Singh, editor.

(*i*) The *Sikh* of the 22nd September says:—"Nor is Government justified in thus laying its hands upon the universally acknowledged leaders of the Muslim community in India, who have, as is too well known, dedicated their lives and all to the cause of *Khilafat* and *Swaraj* and who have declared it times out of number that arrests, prosecutions and convictions cannot make them budge a hair's breadth from their own path. Prosecutions and repression under such circumstances do more harm than good. They stand in the way of rather than help the achievement of the object in view. If His Excellency Lord Reading, with whose full concurrence, the Government of Bombay has taken this action, were to study the history of political agitation in India since 1905, he would find that repression has always tended to increase the trouble. It is in the interests of both the ruler and the ruled and for the matter of that in the very interests of the present Government that we venture once more to suggest that the only true and efficatious remedy lies in pursuation and coöperation, not in repression."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, editor.

(*j*) The *Liberal* of the 26th September writes:—"We deeply deplore the prosecution against the Ali Brothers also, but regret we cannot accuse the Government of one-sided and hasty action so far as their case is concerned. The Viceroy gave out his Government's mind on the subject soon after His Excellency assumed charge of his high office and undertook to withdraw the prosecution which was then pending on the Brothers agreeing to a statement which they ultimately signed. If the terms of this latter undertaking were violated, it would require to be reasoned that the Government had any other option left to them but to institute these prosecutions. We only hope the prosecutions will vindicate British justice of which Lord Reading is so great a champion."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Dr. Kitchlew's arrest.

14 (*a*) According to the *Kesari* of the 18th September, Government has certainly committed a mistake in arresting Dr. Kitchlew. But the nation has a duty to perform. Its duty is that it should exercise perfect restraint and forbearance in this hour of trial and refrain from violence.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 18th September learns of the news of Dr Kitchlew's arrest with profound regret. Only few days ago orders prohibiting him from delivering public speeches were withdrawn. The attitude of Government in this respect is as unintelligible as it is regrettable.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 19th September heartily congratulates Dr. Kitchlew on his getting an opportunity to suffer in the service of his country. It, however, affirms that these arrests are not likely to prove a remedy against the actual disease. They will increase the spirit of unrest rather than remove it. The only way in which Government can put an end to unrest is by redressing public grievances and acceding to the demands of the people. On their side, people should practically demonstrate that they are the advocates of non-violent non-coöperation.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) In an article published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 19th September, Lala Lajpat Rai refers to Dr. Kitchlew's arrest and says that the present policy of Government finally proves that the programme of non-coöperation has already proved a success and has become so popular that Government has no alternative left except to arrest the leaders. No nation can obtain *Swaraj* without passing through this stage. We pray that God may grant strength to our leaders so that they may come out successful in this test. It is the duty of the public not to be excited over the arrests but to continue its work more zealously than before.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*e*) The *Zamindar* of the 19th September says that by arresting Dr. Kitchlew Government has repeated the mistake which resulted in creating the first stage of the present movement.

The arrest of Swami Shankar Acharya and other religious leaders.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

15. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st September says that the arrests of Swami Shankar Acharya and Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan will give a severe shock to their innumberable followers. We cannot say what the effect of Swami Shankar Acharya's arrest will be on Sadhus. But we affirm that every Hindu will be deeply pained on learning that his religious leader has been thrown into prison. To crown all, the announcement of the Government that a Hindu who calls himself Shankar Acharya will be prosecuted is likely to shock the minds of Hindus. Government had no business to use such insulting words.

KESARI
(Lahore);
Sham Lal Kapur,
editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 22nd September remarks that by arresting Swami Shankar Acharya, the Government has lacerated the hearts of thousands of Hindus. What has offended the Hindus more than the arrest itself, are the words which Government has used in respect of the Swami.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Abdul Majid,
Salik,
editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 23rd September characterises the action of Lord Reading in sanctioning the arrest of so great religious leaders like Swami Shankar Acharya, Hussain Ahmad and Pir Ghulam Mujaddad as highly imprudent. The Muhammadans hold their religion dearest of all things. If Lord Reading is determined to humiliate Islam and if the forfeiture of the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the arrest of Muslim divines are intended to insult the sacred religion of Islam, His Lordship should bear in mind that the Muhammadans will sacrifice their all and would even suffer death to protect the honour of their religion, but they would not, under the Indian sky, allow anybody (not even Lord Reading) to muster courage to throw salt on their lacerated hearts by trampling upon the religious traditions of Islam and insulting the *Ulema* and then have a sound sleep. Great claims are laid to non-interference with religious matters. But do not the confiscation of *fatwa* and the arrest of the *Ulema* amount to an interference in religious matters? It now remains to be seen what sacrifice the Muhammadans can make to maintain the honour and dignity of Islam. They should be up and vigorously carry out all the items of the programme of non-coöperation.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(*d*) The *Vakil* of the 24th September is strongly opposed to these arrests and says that in point of fact, the Government of India is merely a puppet in the hands of the Home Government. When the news of the arrests gets abroad in the other Islamic countries, it will create an impression that the Government wishes to crush the Khilafat movement in this manner. The only way to combat the movement is to remove the causes of the present agitation in India.

Political prisoners in India.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

16. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 12th September, a correspondent says that certain political prisoners were transferred from the Andamans to jails in Madras. On board the ship, they were given uncooked rice, gram, etc., to eat. One of them, Kesar Singh, who had been suffering from dysentery was not only supplied with no medicine, but had even to starve like other prisoners. In Madras these political prisoners have no particular facility, as they cannot understand the language of the Madrasis, nor can their relations go such a long distance to see them. Is it too much to expect, asks the *Bande Mataram*, that these political prisoners would be brought back to the province to which they belong and be treated in the way in which political prisoners are treated throughout the civilised world.

Political cases.

BANDE
MATARAM,
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

17. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th September, Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the decision of the Calcutta session of the Congress Working Committee that nationalists should furnish no security in criminal cases. Congress leaders believe that it is useless to expect justice from the British courts in political and *quasi*-political cases. Moreover, we have already stated that we have no confidence in the present Government. The best way to show distrust is to boycott the courts, at least in political and *quasi*-political cases. The statement and the defence of the accused, however, respectable and educated are not trusted. On the other hand, prosecution witnesses, even though they may be mean and wicked, of low position and previous convicts bearing immoral character, are trusted. In these circumstances, it is simply waste of time to try to defend oneself.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

The conditional release of the Sikh prisoners.

18. (*a*) Writing about the recent Government *communiqué* regarding the conditional release of certain Sikh prisoners, the *Sansar* of the 12th September remarks it is worth while considering the fact whether these prisoners are not subject to restrictions after their release from the jail. They cannot speak, cannot interfere with religious affairs and they must maintain silence although they find some persons doing whatever they like in *gurdwaras*. Does it not mean that debaucheries will grow in *gurdwaras*? Indeed, we are of opinion that Sikhs who have come out of jail after giving an undertaking, should not consider themselves alive. Some of them might say that on being released from jail they would do some work. But will they be able to do any work in the face of the undertaking under which they have secured their release? If five thousand Sikhs, for instance, were to take up the work of reforming *gurdwaras*, the bureaucracy might imprison them and then release them on the condition of their renouncing Sikhism! Those Sikh, therefore, who are following the above course and are persuading (Sikh prisoners) to adopt the above course, will be guilty of destroying the work done by the community and will be regarded as traitors to their community.

(*b*) The *Sansar* of the 13th September disapproves of the conditional release of the Sikh prisoners and wishes the Gurdwara Committee to promptly declare that those who secure release by giving the required undertaking will be regarded as the greatest traitors to the Sikh community.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 12th September says that the clemency is a unique one. It is being shown to persons illegally arrested. It is to be hoped that Sardar Kartar Singh Jhabar, Teja Singh Bhuchar, and others will prefer jail troubles to such a clemency purchased by giving an undertaking demanded by the Government.

(*d*) The *Akali* of the 17th September thinks that the conditional release of Kartar Singh Jhabbar, Teja Singh Bhuchar, Lakha Singh and others has given another blow to the Sikh community in regard to the *gurdwara* movement. We have now to make greater sacrifices and to take greater responsibility over our shoulders than before.

KHALSA SAMACHAR (Amritsar); Vir Singh, editor.

(*e*) The *Khalsa Samachar* of the 15th September says that the release of the Sikhs, who were imprisoned in connection with the *gurdwara* movement, has doubtless applied the balm to the wounded hearts of the Sikhs. There is also no doubt that Government has acted very wisely and laid the Sikhs under a debt of deep gratitude. It would have been better if Government had, in accordance with the demand of the Sikhs, passed a suitable law concerning the *gurdwaras*; which would have obviated the necessity of taking forcible possession of Sikh shrines. We think that if the Sikhs try, Government will render due help in formulating a law. We also think that if Government satisfies the demands of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Sikh grievances will be redressed and no wrongdoer will get an opportunity to create feelings of estrangement between the Government and the Sikhs.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*f*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 18th September thinks that Government has acted very wisely and prudently in releasing the Sikhs who were imprisoned in connection with the *gurdwara* movement. We would have been still more pleased if the release had been unconditional. The paper sincerely thanks His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan and requests him to have a Bill introduced into the Council for the improvement of the *gurdwaras* in conformity with wishes of the Sikhs and hold a conference of Sikh leaders to remove the complaints of their co-religionists.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*g*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 23rd September writes:—"We do not incline to think that Government's act of releasing on parole a certain number of their devoted members whom the Sikh community not only considered not guilty of any criminal intent even, what say of an offence, but honoured them as religious martyrs and quite innocent, can be regarded 'as a great concession' to the Sikhs. Still, however, we are grateful to the Government for the consideration which they have shown in doing justice to the Sikhs. Perfect liberty in matter religious is our birth right. It has also been assured to us by the three successive Soveriegns of British Empire. But these solemn assurances are honoured by the officers of Government more in disregard than in translating them into practice. Our religious freedom is also governed by laws, made by legislators, who so cast it either through their ignorance of the codes of religious observances and usages of the various communities inhabiting this vast peninsula or with some concealed political end as to give a graduated but unpercieved shrift to the religious beliefs of the people. It is, therefore, this defect of the law of the land itself that has to be cured first of all and the law so recast as would ensure to the people of this country the unfettered religious freedom. It is wrong to try to govern and crush down religious sentiments of the people with laws which took no account of the same when in the course of making."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

North-West Frontier Province.

19. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 24th September writes :—" In the case of the Frontier Province, one of the foremost of their grievances is that they are not represented on any Legislature, whether local or central. All the more, therefore, was it the duty of the Government, when the question was raised or proposed to be raised in the Legislature, to volunteer to directly ascertain the opinion of the people. This is precisely what D . Sapru did not do Dr. Sapru is the very last person in the official world from whom one would have expected the virtual denial of so elementary a principle. Nor was Dr. Sapru on sounder footing in his reply to the mover on the merits of the question. The mere fact, he said, that the judicial head of the Province happened to be a Judicial Commissioner and not a Judge of the High Court did not by any means diminish the character of the judicial system, but the question was whether the Judicial Commissioner did credit to his office, and whether the subordinate judiciary also gave good account of themselves. But the question that we would seriously put to Dr. Sapru is does he attach no importance to the great difference between the atmosphere of a High Court and the atmoshere of a Judicial Commissioner's court. But Dr. Sapru was out to defend everything in this case, and not merely the Judicial Commissioner. Even the *jirga*, which has been unanimously condemned came in for a word of appreciation. It is perhaps of no account that a substantial proportion of the so-called elders, besides being utterly untrained in the principles and practice of law, enjoy no reputation either for honesty or independence, that one result of the peculiar system has been a large increase at once in crime and in the convictions of innocent persons, that, in fact, the local authorities can obtain the conviction of any one whom they want to get convicted. . . . . Lastly not a word is said in condemnation of even that part of the Frontier Crimes Regulations which empowers the Executive to take securities, to repress independent criticism and stop the ingress and order the egress of people from the Frontier Province. It is a matter of common knowledge that by frequent resort to these sections N.-W. Frontier authorities have created an amount of discon ent and earned for themselves an amount of unpopularity which are without a parallel in any other Province."

Elsewere the paper writes :—" It remains only to add a word about Dr. Sapru's compendious remark that ' there was not a single argument in the elaborate indictment of Sir Sivaswami Iyer to show that with the transfer of the Province to the Punjab the evils which existed there would disappear, either suddenly or within a reasonable distance of time.' We do not know if Sir Sivaswami took up the Law Member's challenge, though we find that he did say that ' every syllable of his condemnation of the Frontier administration was based solely on official reports, and that he could confront the Law Member with them.' In any case, there are plenty of people in the Frontier Province itself, who will be only too glad to take of the challenge if only the Law Member will let them. Two of the greatest evils that beset the people in the Frontier Province are their abnormal and entirely out of-date judicial system, and the complete irresponsibility of the administration. Both these evils would at once disappear if the N-W. F. Province was transferred to the Punjab."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 25th September says :—" It will have been seen that in the course of the discussion on Sir Sivaswami's resolution regarding the North-West Frontier Province, Mr. Townsend, who represented the Punjab Government, empathically declared that they did not want the Frontier districts back. The Punjab Government, said the Hon'ble member, could not bear any further burden on their shoulders. Now the first question which we are entitled to ask is, with what force it can be contended

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ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

"A blood-thirsty Englishman."

20. Writing under the heading "A blood-thirsty Englishman" the *Zamindar* of the 11th September says that at a Congress meeting held at Palkhawa on the 23rd August, the Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Meerut, stated that there lived in Meerut an Englishman who used to murder children and drink their blood. The police challaned him but on the recommendation of the Civil Surgeon, the District Magistrate sent him to Kasauli and stated in his judgment that the accused had gone mad and might be given Rs. 200 per mensem for treatment. It is said that he murdered about fifty children to satisfy his craving and threw away or buried their corpses at some unknown places. In a metaphorical sense it has been repeatedly said that the English are sucking the blood of the subject races, but it is only to-day that we have chanced to hear of it in the literal sense. If the facts as stated, are correct, is it just to send a murderer to Kasauli by granting him an allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem? If this Englishman was mad, why did he murder children only? He would have been rightly served if he had laid his hands on some grown-up person. But even then he would have been declared insane and granted Rs. 200 per mensem. Only a fool can expect good from a Government the officials of which so abuse their powers, give such partial judgments and arrest under section 153 (A) those who criticize these judgments.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Mr. Gandhi and other political leaders.

21. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 18th September says that the present Viceroy and Lord Chelmsford stated that Mahatma Gandhi was not arrested as he was sincerely opposed to violence. But Zafar Ali Khan, Mangal Singh, Sardul Singh, Syed Habib and others never advocated violence. In fact, Gandhi used the same language which was used by Zafar Ali and Laqa Ullah, ; and while the latter have been thrown into jail, the former is criticising the Government as ever. The paper asks why section 124 (A), Indian Penal Code, should not be expunged from the code itself.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Press securities.

22. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 18th September thinks that now that the Press Act is going to be repealed, Government should refund the securities deposited or forfeited under the Act and also hand back the printing machinery forfeited to their original owners.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 25th September also writes to the same effect.

IV—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The *gurdwara* reform movement.

23. Referring to the new programme formulated by the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the *Punjab Darpan* of the 7th September suggests three methods for the reformation of the *gurdwaras*. Some understanding should be arrived at with the *mahants* to meet the national demand. Government should provide legal facilities for the reformation. If this may not be possible, the Mahants should be compelled by the pressure of public opinion, to either submit themselves to the *panth* or to give up serving the *gurdwaras*. The non-coöperation movement started by the Congress has practically proved dangerous in this connection. We trust that the Mahants and the Government will learn a lesson from past experience.

The Khilafat and the Ahmadis.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

24. The *Zamindar* of the 11th and 12th September publishes a letter from Sayd Muhammad Ahsan of Amroha replying to certain questions regarding the Khilafat asked by a correspondent. The writer says that so long as the Islamic Caliphate exists, the Arabian Peninsula will form an integral part of the Caliphate. In the Islamic world, Turkey stands as a symbol of the political power of Islam. For the Muhammadans, the partition of Turkey is the dismemberment of the Caliphate. The Mussalmans of the world cannot recognise the King of the Hedjaz as an independent sovereign of the holy places of Islam. In fact, he is a rebel against the Islamic Caliphate. The Mussalmans should resort to all means except the sword to avert the dangers confronting the Caliphate. It behoves the Ahmadia Community to join hands with the other sects of Islam. The writer further agrees with the *Ulema* and the politicians of India that to make efforts for the attainment of *Swaraj* is to support the cause of the Caliphate. In conclusion, he says that according to the *Shariat*, it is unlawful to let that enemy of religion who injures the cause of the Caliphate derive any benefit. In these circumstances, the use of *Khaddar* should be encouraged in place of the British cloth.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Corruption.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

25. The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th September says that it appears from the press *communiqué* recently issued by the Punjab Government on corruption that those who give bribes are guilty more than those who take it. Do not the responsible Government officers know that every Sub-Inspector of Police lives in a princely style and acquires property worth lakhs of rupees during his service? The same is the case with Tahsildars. Do not the authorities know that Sub-Inspectors have to spend hundreds of rupees on the entertainment of Superintendents of Police and their staff while on tour? In Ludhiana, Lala Maghi Ram openly brought an accusation against a Sub-Inspector of Police. But the case against him has not yet been enquired into. On the other hand, several cases have been instituted against Lala Maghi Ram which are being heard. This is the way in which the bureaucracy wishes to stop corruption! The question is whether the Government is going to punish those officers who have not the least hesitation in accepting bribes.

Postal Cash Certificates.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

26. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 24th September, a correspondent from Alipur (Muzaffargarh District), complains that the holders of postal cash certificates of small value have been ordered to go to Muzaffargarh to receive payment. But in going there, they will have to travel long distances, in certain cases 51 miles and in others even 100 miles. Thus the holders of cash certificates of the value of Rs. 7-12-0 who will perhaps get Rs. 9-8-0 will have to incur Rs. 6 or 7 as travelling expenses. Besides their work will suffer. Cannot arrangements be made to make payment at their own houses or at least at the Tahsil treasury.

High prices.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

27. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 18th September pleads for the stoppage, by means of legislation, of speculation and the practice of artificially increasing the price of foodstuffs. It also suggests that the sum of five crore of rupees realized as wheat profits by Government, be utilized in affording relief to the poor in these days of famine.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand Mohan, editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 23rd of September suggests that the sum of five crores earned by Government as profits over the export of wheat should be utilised in providing food to the famine-stricken people.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 25th September writes to the same effect.

New Government loan and the Punjab.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

28. Referring to Lord Reading's statement that the Punjab which has recently advanced a loan of Rs. 1,29,40,000 to Government cannot be in a bad condition, the *Sansar* of the 15th September remarks that this is attributable to the zeal of those traitors and selfish-persons, who would, without caring for their country, please the existing bureaucracy by sucking the life-blood of their countrymen and would thereby place the collar of slavery, nay of curse, round

their necks. Will not the toadies realise even now that while they are displaying sympathy and love for the bureaucracy and are raising a loan for purposes of their own by torturing (*lit.* roasting) and harassing their countrymen, the latter have accepted the loan and are declaring at the same time, that the condition of the country is not bad ?

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Native States and newspaper attacks.

29. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 20th September publishes a communication from Khan Bahadur Qazi Aziz-ud-Din Ahmad, Minister, Dholpur State, who complains that there are some newspapers which make it their duty to attack the States and their rulers and try to create feelings of dissatisfaction in the public minds against the Chiefs by groundless criticism. No Chief of an Indian State will like to go to a British court to vindicate his position as his dignity will not allow him to do so. It is necessary for the Government of India to protect the rulers of the States from improper newspaper attacks. The rulers of the States and the public are grateful to the Viceroy who has shown great foresight in not accepting this portion of the opinion of the Press Act Committee.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

The Tonk affairs.

30. The *Siyasat* of the 17th September remarks that after a short lull, oppression and autocratic acts have again become rife in the Tonk State. The Nawab is an old and experienced ruler, but it is a pity that his latter day rule is proving gloomy. If he has become too old and imbecile he should make some other arrangements for the administration of his state, so that his poor subjects may be protected from every day oppression and tyranny.

BHARAT (Amritsar); Rallia Ram, editor.

A poem.

31. The *Bharat* of the 17th September publishes a poem from one Abdul Wahid of Akbarabad who appeals to the heroes of his community to be up and display their power. If behoves them to maintain the honour of their ancestors by firmly sticking to the cause they have once taken up. They should have some sense of shame and realize the disgraceful condition to which they have been reduced. They have had enough of sweet slumber and should now enjoy the benefits of an awakening. Let them take a heroic stand in the arena of action. They should do all that is enjoined upon them by their religion without the least demur.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain editor,

The *Muslim Standard*.

32. The *Siyasat* of the 22nd September speaks of the action of the Government of India in stopping the entry of the *Muslim Standard* into India as being extremely despotic and high-handed.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

BHAGAT RAM,
for *Superintendent, Press Branch,*
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 1st October 1921.

102 SB—189—1-10-21—SGPP Lahore.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1921.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette.**	Lahore	E. H. Hardy	*Pioneer* and *Civil & Military Gazette*, Limited, Lahore; 3,322.
2	**Tribune**	Do.	K. N. Roy	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 6,290.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
3	**Sikh**	Lahore	Sohan Singh	Caxton Printing Works, Lahore; 756.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh, B.A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 804.
5	**Liberal**	Lahore	Jai Gopal Tandan	*Liberal* Press, Lahore; 756.
6	Liddell's Weekly	Simla	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Printing Works, Simla; 800.
7	Punjab Times and Frontier News.*	Rawalpindi	Jiwa Ram, Thapar	Egerton Press, Rawalpindi; 250.
8	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	Simla *Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
9	Cantonment Advocate	Ambala	U. N. Zutshi	Model Press, Ambala Cantonment.
	MONTHLY.			
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine	Lahore	A. R. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,270.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do.	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 550.
12	Review of Religions	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sher Ali, B.A.	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 514.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 300.
14	**Vedic Magazine**	Do.	Ram Dev, B.A.	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 702.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Bande Mataram**	Lahore	Lajpat Rai	*Bande Mataram* Press, Lahore; 5,818.
17	**Desh**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,157.
18	**Kesari**	Do.	Sham Lal, Kapur	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
19	**Paisa Akhbar**	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,300.
20	**Pratap**	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,687.
21	**Public**	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
22	**Shanti**	Rawalpindi	Kishen Chand, Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 1,421.
23	**Siyasat**	Lahore	Wajahat Hussain	*Siyasat* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,355.
24	**Swaraj**	Do.	Badri Nath	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore.
25	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 2,009.
26	**Zamindar**	Lahore	Abdul Majid *Salik*	Hindustani Press, Lahore; 6,145.
	TRI-WEEKLY.			
27	Bharat	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar;
	BI-WEEKLY.			
28	**Akhbar-i-Am**	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
29	Al-Fazal	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 1,359.
30	Paigham-i-Sulah*	Lahore	Muhammad Yusaf Khan	Muslim Ahmadia Printing Press, Lahore; 347.
31	**Vakil**	Amritsar	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 2,020.
	WEEKLY.			
32	Ahl-i-Hadis	Amritsar	Sana Ulla	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,265.

*Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing ; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONTINUED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
33	Akhbar-i-'Am	Lahore	Gopi Nath	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,523.
34	Al-Hakam	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	S. Yakub Ali	Anwar Ahmadia Press, Qadian ; 350.
35	Al-Islam	Lahore	Muhammad Alam	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
36	Al-Munir	Lyallpur	Ghulam Hussain	*Al-Munir* Press, Lyallpur ; 1,582.
37	Ar-Rai	Lahore	Fateh Muhammad	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 310.
38	Arorbans Sudharak	Do.	Salig Ram	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 832.
39	Arya Gazette	Do.	Khushal Chand	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,350.
40	Brahman Samachar*	Do.	Vidya Rattan	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,020.
41	Daulat-i-Hind*	Do.	Tehlram Gangaram	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore ; 500.
42	Desh Upkarak	Do.	Thakar Dat Sharma	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,200.
43	Faruq	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Qasim Ali	*Faruq* Press, Qadian ; 450
44	Gulzar-i-Hind	Lahore	Ahmad Ali, Chishti	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore ; 600.
45	Hamdard	Do.	Hakim Azhar, Dehlvi	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ;
46	Himala	Do.	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 7,250.
47	Intikhab-i-Lajawab	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,500,
48	Islah	Ludhiana	Sayad Yaseen	*Islah* Press, Ludhiana ;
49	Ittihad	Amritsar	Maula Bakhsh, Kushta	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar ; 300.
50	Jat Gazette	Rohtak	Molar Singh	Hariana Press, Rohtak ; 548.
51	Jiwan Tat	Lahore	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore ; 335.
52	Kapurthala Akhbar	Kapurthala	Zahid Hussain	Jagatjit Press, Kapurthala ; 300.
53	Kashmiri	Lahore	Muhammad Din, Fauq	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 833.
54	Khalsa Akhbar	Do.	Sardar Singh	Hindustani Press, Lahore ; 1,300.
55	Loyal Gazette	Do.	Amar Singh	*Parkash* Press, Lahore ; 3,000.
56	Municipal Gazette	Do.	Din Muhammad	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 700.
57	Nur Afshan	Do.	Professor Muhammad Ismail	Panjabee Steam Press, Lahore ; 472.
58	Paigham-i-Sulah	Do.	Muhammad Yusaf Khan	Muslim Ahmadiya Printing Press, Lahore ; 347.
59	Paisa Akhbar	Do.	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 3,100.
60	Parkash	Do.	Radha Krishna, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,500.
61	Phul	Do.	Mumtaz Ali	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
62	Railway Union News	Do.	Shamas-ud-Din Hussain	Rifa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
63	Rajput Gazette	Do.	Sukhram Das	George Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,470.
64	Sadiq-ul-Akhbar	Bahawalpur	Muhammad Bashir	Sadiq-ul-Anwar Steam Press, Bahawalpur ; 440.
65	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar	Ralia Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar ; 1,000.
66	Sanatan Dharm Patrika	Lahore	Diwan Chand	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore ; 600.
67	Sharif Bibi*	Do.	Fatima	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000,
68	Tahzib-i-Niswan	Lahore	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,400.
69	Union Gazette*	Do.	Shamas-ud-Din	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore ; 2,000.
70	Victoria Paper	Sialkot	Brij Lal	*Victoria* Press, Sialkot ; 1,075.
71	Virat	Gujranwala	Banke Dial	*Virat* Press, Gujranwala ; 1,000.
72	Watan	Lahore	Akbar Shah Khan	Rafa-i-'Am Press, Lahore ; 1,100,
73	Zulfiqar	Do.	Ahmad Shah Shamshi	Shamshi Steam Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
74	Zamindar†	Do.	Abdul Majid *Salik*	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore ; 1,000.
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
75	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat	Amritsar	Muhammad Abdul Haq	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar ; 624.

*Ceased.
†Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	TRI-MONTHLY—*concluded.*			
76	Mukhbir	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar; 245.
77	Punjab*	Lahore	Raza Ali Shah Naji	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
78	Al-Faqih	Amritsar	Hakim Miraj Din	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 300.
79	Al-Quraish	Do.	Muhammad Ali, Raunaq	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 350.
80	Brahman Samachar	Lahore	Vidya Rattan	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,020.
81	Mister Gazette	Do.	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 160.
82	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Sh. Muhammad Yusaf	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 490.
83	Rajput Hitkari	Do.	Dasaundhi Ram	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 604.
	MONTHLY.			
84	Akhlaqi Gazette Mehra	Amritsar	Moti Ram	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 200.
85	Al Aziz†	Batala	Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Anwar-ul-Quraish Printing Press, Amritsar; 500.
86	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	Rafa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore; 325.
87	Al Hasan	Batala	Abdur Rahman, B.A. (Alig)	Sahibzada Printing Press, Batala.
88	Anwar-us-Sufia	Lahore	Hafiz Zafar Ali	*Gulsar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 800.
89	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Mukand Lal	Khadim-ul-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 550.
90	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai, Bishwasi	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
91	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
92	Masihi	Do.	Mrs. B. L. Rallia Ram	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore; 390.
93	Mehra Sudhar	Do.	Bal Kishen, Mehra, B.A.	*Gulsar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
94	Makhzan	Do.	Ahsan Ullah, Tajwar	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 486.
95	Martand	Do.	Ram Lal	Lal Steam Press, Lahore; 914.
96	Mastana Jogi	Do.	Rai Sahib Sufi Lachhman Parshad.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
97	Oruj*	Do.	Gian Singh	Shauq Electric Press, Lahore.
98	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mitter Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala; 500.
99	Qasid	Lahore	Najam Din	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
100	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Do.	Pir Bakhsh	*Gulsar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 478.
101	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore city	Manohar Lal	Muir Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore Cantonment; 300.
102	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar; 300.
103	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	Gulzar Hind Steam Press, Lahore; 1,131.
104	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din, Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 3,000.
105	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore; 226.
106	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Zahur Din	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 850.
	GURMUKHI.			
	DAILY.			
107	**Akali**	Lahore	Uttam Singh, Giani	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 2,450.
108	**Sansar**	Do.	Thakar Singh	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar.
	BIWEEKLY.			
109	**Punjab Darpan**	Amritsar	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar.

* Ceased.
† Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 30th SEPTEMBER 1921—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY.			
110	**Bir***	Amritsar	Mehtab Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 450.
111	**Khalsa Samachar**	Do.	Vir Singh	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,215.
112	Nayak	Do.	Sowaran Singh	City Press, Amritsar; 750.
113	**Panch***	Lahore	Ram Singh	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 2,150.
114	**Panth Sewak**	Amritsar	Chanda Singh	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,040.
115	**Punjab Darpan†**	Do.	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,356.
116	**Ramgarhia Gazette**	Simla		Army Press, Simla.
117	**Satjug**	Do.	Nidhan Singh	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 776.
118	**Sri Guru Nanak Darshan.***	Amritsar	Sant Sumer Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 500.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
119	Nirguniara	Amritsar	Khalsa Tract Society	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 1,250.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
120	Jat Sepoy	Rohtak	Kesara Devi, B.A. (Hindi)	Star Press, Delhi; 194.
121	Jyoti	Lahore	Vidyavati Seth, B.A.	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore; 408.
122	Sewak	Do.	Amar Singh	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 250.

* Ceased.
† Temporarily ceased.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Indians in East Africa.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

1. The *Tribune* of the 2nd October writes:—"In the Colony of Kenya the European agitation against Indians is already assuming a very unpleasant aspect. According to an account published in the *Daily Leader* of British East Africa, the white women of Ruiru passed the following resolution:—"We the white women of Ruiru whole-heartedly support the resolution passed by the women in Nairobi. Furthermore we protest against the crime of giving to Indians any share of Government of native races who urgently need and are now appreciating Western skill and humanity in the treatment of the sick. India itself is now only emerging from barbarism in the essentials of civilization." Such calumnious misrepresentation of Indians cannot but prejudice ignorant people and stir them up against Indians. Efforts of this kind should be put down with a firm hand and the just claims of Indians for equal status should be recognised as early as possible."

The India Council.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

2. The *Partap* of the 25th September says that with the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair and Mr. Basu and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan taking some other duties, the India Council will be deprived of all Indian element. In view of the present movement in the country no capable Indian is likely to aspire for a seat in the Council. Would it not be better in this case that the Council should be abolished?

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Prince of Wales.

SAT YUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Sat Yug* of the 14th September publishes a poem on the visit of the Prince of Wales. The visit, it says, is a calamity for the Indians and the Prince should not place his feet on the Indian soil. He should not wound the feelings of a people already afflicted but should sit quietly in England.

AKALI, (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Giani, editor.

(b) The *Akali* of the 30th September thinks that it will be better if twenty lakhs of rupees, sanctioned for the reception of the Prince of Wales, are used in filling up the stomachs of famished people. His Royal Highness should make the tour at his own expense.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

Self-Government for India.

4. (a) The *Partap* of the 2nd October says that Mahatma Gandhi wants Dominion Home Rule for India. It now behoves Lord Reading, if he thinks India's demand to be reasonable, to make an announcement in this behalf with the consultation of the British Cabinet. If His Excellency fails to do this, his *regimé* will be a failure.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) Writing about the debate on Mr. Majumdar's resolution on constitutional reforms, the *Tribune* of the 2nd October says:—"But while there is no doubt as to the advance in the position of Government marked by Sir William Vincent's speech, we are constrained to add that the advance is far from being either adequate or substantial..... It is clear that the wording of the offer was deliberately left vague and indefinite in the search for a common formula on which all could agree..... Sir William Vincent while telling the House in one part of the speech that 'the stage of transition could not last long' told it in another that 'the British power was necessary for many years to come.' The two statements may be equally 'convincing' and 'effective' to an Anglo-Indian news agency, but to unsophisticated minds they are only mutually destructive."

(c) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"Another argument employed by Sir William Vincent really cut the ground from under his feet. 'Supposing,' he said, 'momentous changes were carried out, what guarantee was there that non-coöperators would not come into the Assembly and use their power against the Government? Sir William had better make sure of his first principles. He is thinking of momentous changes (which can only mean changes involving responsible government in the central sphere) and still asks what guarantee there is that the non-coöperators would not come in a majority and having come would not use their power against the Government. As regards the second part of the question, surely Sir William cannot be ignorant of the elementary fact that under responsible Government, there would be no question of the majority in the Assembly using their power against the Government, for the simple reason that the Government would be their own. And as regards the first, how, pray, are we to reconcile the Home Member's opposition to the establishment of democratic rule, because the electorate is not large enough, with his fear that when the electorate is enlarged the non-coöperators would come into the Assembly in a majority? What if they do? And why should they not, if they are really in a majority in the country? 'Could there be any guarantee,' Sir William added, 'that nonco-öperators would, when in power, exercise the same sanity and the same responsibility and the same desire to help the Government in its difficulties' as the majority in the present Assembly? The reply is that non-coöperators would have no interest in being otherwise then helpful to the Government when the Government would be their own, and if you want guarantees, what better or surer guarantee could you desire than the natural one, that no society is without its self-protecting elements, that if non-coöperators are really insane they will before long have in the natural course of things to make room for others? And may we enquire if this talk of guarantees does not remind Sir William, with his reactionary antecedents, that only five years ago he would have asked for the same guarantees from the Moderates, to whom he is now profuse in the expression of his indebtedness? Well, if only partial power and responsibility has converted the irreconciliables of five years ago into the willing allies of to-day surely it is not unreasonable to think that you have only to confer full power and responsibility on the country for the irreconciliables of to-day to become the allies of to-morrow."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) The *Tribune* of the 4th October writes:—"Some non-official members had said in the course of their speeches that if the reforms asked for were not granted, India would become another Ireland and an attempt might even be made to sever her connection with the Empire. Both Sir William Vincent and Mr. Hailey tried to meet this argument, each in his own way. Both speakers seemed entirely to miss the point of the argument they tried to meet. We suppose those members of the Legislative Assembly whom the two official members sought to answer knew just as well as themselves what risks India would run at this stage either by becoming another Ireland or by seceding from the Empire. In reality this talk of 'threat' was due to a complete misapprehension of the non-official members' position. It was not a threat in which they indulged, but only an apprehension which they expressed. But the lesson for the Government is even more important. After all, the crimes and outrages of Irish history were never countenanced by the best of Irishmen. Yet they found themselves powerless to prevent the worse part of human nature in Ireland from working that havoc in Irish affairs which every right-thinking person must deplore equally with the havoc caused by the other side. Not to speak of the bomb outrages, the assassinations and so-called political dacoities of a decade ago even the unparalleled influence and authority of Mahatma Gandhi has not been able to prevent several exceedingly regrettable outbreaks of violence during the last year or so. It is here that the Government has in a nutshell the position that should cause it seriously to reflect. Mr. Hailey must have a very poor knowledge of the British Parliament if he really imagines that it will persist in the present policy for one single moment when it will find, as it does in the case of Ireland to-day, that the vast majority of the people are resolutely arrayed against it."

The struggle of India for liberty.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

5. (*a*) Writing in connection with the fate of the Anglo-Persian agreement the *Swaraj* of the 1st October remarks that the Eastern countries which have hitherto escaped the clutches of Great Britain were indirectly under the British Government. India too, which has become a part of the British Empire, has started a struggle for liberty. It is needless to say how splendid a success Indians have gained in the present struggle. We have not the least doubt that India will soon be liberated and the influence which the West is now exerting over the East will vanish.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd October says that the history of nations shows that the countries which obtained liberty did so either by non-violence or by open fight. The former method is most powerful and this is being pursued now-a-days in India for the attainment of *Swaraj* and this is called non-coöperation. Hungary, Rome and Egypt also have adopted the same policy. Nothing can be gained without agitation. But our benign Government calls agitators wicked and insane. Whatever England gained in 1782 was gained by agitation. It follows therefore that liberty does not come of itself from the heaven but on the other hand it is to be had by struggle.

Sikhs and non-coöperation.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

6. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 30th September urges the Sikhs to support and ratify at the next sessions of the Sikh League the resolution of non-coöperation unanimously adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Nagpur sessions.

Repression.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

7. According to the *Zamindar* of the 24th September, the recent arrests of the religious leaders and proscription of *fatwas* shows that the Government of India wants to crush with severity the liberty movement among the Muhammadans. This vindictive repression demands that the Muhammadans should give a crushing reply to the Government so that the authorities might come to their senses and realise that it is no easy thing to insult their religious feelings. The paper suggests that the Muhammadans should rigidly follow the principle of non-violence and promote Hindu-Muslim unity. The Khilafat Committee of each province should rigorously carry on propaganda work and raise the cry for which our leaders have been arrested. All those who have not so far acted upon all the items in the non-coöperation programme should now do so. The Indians and especially the Muhammadans should boycott all foreign articles and use *khaddar*. We are on our trial and let us see how many among the Muhammadans are such *Mujahidin* as carry their lives on the palm of their hands and are prepared to manly suffer all the hardships of jail life.

Dr. Gour's Bill for the registration of adoptions.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. The *Tribune* of the 28th September says:—" As, however, adoption is a social event and religious ceremony, it is a matter to be considered whether compulsory registration of such an event will not be resented by the people."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The report of the Repressive Laws Committee.

9. (*a*) The following is extracted from an article contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai to the *Tribune* of the 28th September:—"The only basis on which we can appreciate the document is that the members care more for reforms than for the liberty of the subjects or for the attainment of *Swaraj*. The clue to the motive behind the report is furnished by the remark that "substantial support is necessary for Government to meet the non-coöperation movement, *which is the great obstacle* to the successful working of the reforms recently introduced. What they require is repression and repressive laws. Looked at from that point of view the reasons and the recommendations of the Committee are perfectly intelligible, though in places they are hopelessly contradictory and fallacious. The latter characteristics are due to the anxiety of the Indian members to keep up appearances of liberalism. Subject to that observation, the document is almost at par with the report of the Rowlatt Committee. The Committee do not recommend the entire repeal of Regulation III of 1818. The spirit of the whole statute is against the very principles of English jurisprudence and it is opposed to all the traditions of English constitution. I would go further and say that it constitutes a very great menace to our liberty. It stands hanging over our heads like the sword of Damocles."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 1st October writes:—"It was a mixed feeling of gratification and regret, gratification at the recommendation of the Committee that most of the measures should go, and regret at the reservation made in respect of three of the measures whose general repeals was recommended, and at the failure to recommend the immediate repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, the former feeling on the whole preponderating over the latter. For all practical purposes it is a report upon the sinfulness of non-coöperation and not upon the inexpediency and unjustifiability of repression, a severe one-sided and very largely undeserved indictment of Mahatma Gandhi's movement, instead of being what it ought to have been and what every one had expected it to be, a justly severe indictment of the repressive laws. For some at any rate of the seven non-officials and Indians to accept the new position defined for them by the report is literally tantamount to eating their words. Left to himself we do not think even Sir William Vincent would have dared to keep more of the repressive measures than the two, whose temporary retention is recommended by the Committee, or made a less liberal recommendation than the Committee have done in respect of the three deportation regulations In any case it would have been far better to have run the risk than to have been a party to the authoritative dissemination of views which the whole country has again and again indignantly repudiated."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 25th September thinks that the repeal of the repressive laws can be of no good unless there is a change in the motives and intentions of the authorities.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 29th September cannot view with satisfaction the report of the Repressive Laws Committee. It is advisable to repeal by the end of this year all the repressive laws, even including those whose repeal has not been recommended by the Committee.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*e*) According to the *Partap* of the 29th September the report of the Repressive Laws Committee is very disappointing.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Appointments for Indians.

10. The *Tribune* of the 1st October says:—"To-day the cry is not for more high posts for Indians, but for India being governed by herself. The country which was compelled by necessity to import half the occupants of its highest posts from abroad would thereby be proclaiming from the house tops its unfitness for self-government. The most astonishing part of the debate on the resolution was the position taken up by Sir William Vincent. In the case of the appointment of Indians it would be absurd to ask us to believe that the Secretary of State does not consult any one in India. Whether he consults the Government of India or merely the Viceroy in some cases, and the local Governments in others is absolutely immaterial. Whoever may be consulted, the Legislature certainly has and ought to have the right to tell them as well as the Secretary of State what the country wants. It has also the right to humbly

put its views and its wishes before His Majesty himself. In the circumstances it was a sheer waste of time of the Council not only to put forward but to actually press, as Sir William did, the plea that the Assembly should not interfere with the prerogative of the Crown. Sir Willam Vincent was the very last person not to know that there was no question of such interference in this case."

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The proscription of the *fatwa*.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 25th September remarks that the laws of a non-Muslim State require that we should not hesitate in the least to put an end with our own hands to the lives of our brethren in accordance with its needs and directions. But the laws of God and His Prophet declare such murderers to be accursed and hellish. Sir William Vincent is ignorant of this law. If, however, he is determined to remain ignorant and pay no heed to the cries of the Muhammadans it will have to be said that the Government intentionally desires to insult the religion of the Muhammadans and offend their feelings. Can Sir William Vincent say that before proscribing the *fatwa*, the Government obtained the views of the *Ulema*? Did he consult the Mussalman members of the Imperial Council before taking the step? If not, is not then Lord Reading's Government responsible for treating with contempt the feelings of crores of Mussalmans in such a delicate matter as religion? We would tell the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Shafi and other Muslim members of the Council that it was the Muhammadan friends of Sir William Vincent who took the most conspicuous part in confiscating the verses of the *Quran* and in insulting Islam. They should have clearly told the Home Member that the step was a clear interference with the religious liberty of Muhammadans and that no Muhammadan with a sense of shame could tolerate it. The *Ulema* must decide whether the members of the Council who joined Sir William Vincent in securing the proscription of the verses of the *Quran* are not the enemies of Islam.

Ar-Rai (Lahore); Fateh Muhammad, editor.

(*b*) *Ar-Rai* of the 27th September thinks that the proscription of the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind can serve no purpose when it has already been distributed broadcast. So long as the *Quran* exists, the proscription of the *fatwa* will be a foolish act which Muhammadans regard as a great insult to their religion.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th September says that the decision of the Executive Committee of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi, on the question of the proscription of the *fatwa* shows that most people in this country are bent upon taking the extreme step.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid *Salik*, editor.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 28th September already anticipated the decision arrived at by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi. The suitable reply to the insult offered by the Government of India to the *Ulema* is simply to disobey the orders of the proscription of the *fatwa*. The effect of the re-publication of the *fatwa* will be felt by Muhammadans alone, because it is a purely religious matter and non-Muhammadans have nothing to do with it. Every Indian Muhammadan should now be prepared to go to jail and suffer the hardships of imprisonment. Government should also note that it will be quite useless to practice further repression. The result of the proscription is that the *Ulema* have decided upon civil disobedience. The Government wishes to provoke the Muhammadans who should stick to the principle of non-violence. They should act with the utmost patience. The proposed civil disobedience should be started in a most orderly way and should be regulated by the *Jamit-ul-Ulema*. Besides the *fatwa* should be circulated broadcast so that every literate Muhammadan might get at least a copy of it.

Swaraj (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(*e*) The *Swaraj* of the 30th September refers to the decision of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* and says that the passing of the resolution of civil disobedience is not a surprising thing because the *fatwa* simply contained the teachings of the *Quran*. A sense of self-respect still exists among the Muhammadans and they can under no circumstances tolerate interference with their religion. The paper congratulates Muhammadans on their present decision and warns Government not to add to its difficulties by interfering with the religions of the Indians.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*f*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 30th September writes :—" The news will be read with a feeling of great concern and anxiety that the Executive Committee of Jamait-ul-Ulema, which was attended by as many as sixty of them, after a stormy debate resolved in favour of civil disobedience on account of the confiscation of the *fatwa* and to reprint copies of the *fatwa* for distribution broadcast .... We are sorry the Bombay Government's hasty and injudicious step has only precipitated a step on the part of the Mussalmans which we cannot look but with a growing sense of alarm and anxiety."

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Watan* of the 30th September cannot congratulate the Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind on their resolution on civil disobedience. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abdul Bari and others have committed the greatest mistake in passing the resolution. In fact, they have done what is not at all permitted by our sacred religion. From the secular standpoint also, this act on the part of the *Ulema* shows their ignorance. So far as the practical side of the resolution is concerned, very few men have joined the *Ulema* in building castles in the air.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

The recent arrests.

12. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 25th September refers to the arrest of the Ali Brothers and others and says that Government has adopted a new policy and has resorted to a new method for combating the present movement. It refers to the first press *communiqué* issued by the Bombay Government and says that the concurrence of the Government of India was hardly needed in the matter. If it was thought essential to obtain the sanction of the Government of India, it was unnecessary to mention this matter in the press *communiqué*. In its second *communiqué* the Bombay Government stated that the Ali Brothers were being arrested in connection with some of their speeches in Sindh. This statement is opposed to the declaration made by His Excellency the Viceroy that so long as the Ali Brothers adhere to the pledge of non-violence no action would be taken against them. This point is worthy of full attention by Government. The paper takes exception to the language of the Government of Bombay press *communiqué* expressing confidence that all loyal citizens would unite in condemning and combating the attempts upon the allegiance of the army, and thinks that these words should have been embodied in a separate note. These words are likely to create an impression on the public mind that Government has already formed an opinion about the accused, and it is evident what impression it would make on the decision of the court. In our opinion the action of the Bombay Government is wholly wrong and establishes a bad precedent. In conclusion, the paper says that these arrests show a change in the policy of the Government of India. If this view is correct, we shall say emphatically that Government is committing a very serious mistake. The Home Government thought it necessary to release the Irish prisoners who had committed very serious offences. We wish the Government of India had profited by the experience of the Home Government. We hope even now that Government would reconsider its policy.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 2nd October says that Mahatma Gandhi has clearly pointed out that if the expression of the views for which the Ali Brothers have been arrested is an offence, he has already committed this offence several times before. Mahatma Gandhi would have supported the resolution if he had been at Karachi. In these circumstances, it remains to be seen whether Government arrests Mahatma Gandhi. We should not be misunderstood. We want to see how far Lord Reading meets out even-handed justice to high and low.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dyal, editor.

(*c*) The *Virat* of the 26th September remarks that the arrest of the Ali Brothers, etc., shows that Government is not prepared to solve the political problem with leniency and conciliation. On the other hand, it wishes to impress with force its prestige on the minds of the people. But the history of the world shows that no Government derived benefit by the use of force. If Government wished to remove unrest from India, it should have solved the Punjab and *Khilafat* questions. It has again adopted the same policy which created unrest in the country. India is committing no moral sin, if she has adopted non-coöperation (with Government). The Government has now taken up its cudgels and it will now arrest every Indian leader who is popular with the masses, and will thus force Indians to co-operate with it. But it now behoves the Indians to stand firm in this hour of trial.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 26th September remarks that the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew are accused of tampering with the loyalty of Indian troops. But we do not know that these persons ever entered military barracks and induced sepoys by preaching non-coöperation to them. They, however, supported a resolution at the All-India Khilafat Conference held at Karachi which was to the effect that under the present circumstances no Mussalman was justified in continuing to serve in the army or to get himself enlisted in it or induce others to secure enlistment. This resolution was unanimously adopted and if the adoption of this resolution was an offence, Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali and Dr. Kitchlew alone were not guilty of it. The whole audience was guilty as well. This being so, why have all of them been let alone and why have these three persons been arrested? It is a pity that the pretext employed by the authorities in adopting legal proceedings against our leaders in extremely weak and absurd and Dr. Sapru cannot feel proud of it.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 22nd September remarks that a consideration of the present policy of the bureaucracy shows that our Muslim bretheren are at present under the greatest displeasure of the Government. The *fatwa* of the *Ulema* has been proscribed, and all persons speaking about a particular resolution at the Karachi Khilafat Conference have been arrested. Speaking on the Mopla riots in the Viceregal Council, Sir W. Vincent has attributed the riots not only to the non-coöperation movement but to the Khilafat movement also. If this matter is not carefully considered, Hindu-Muslim unity is likely to be endangered. The Khilafat movement is a joint movement of both Hindus and Mussalmans and the separation of the Khilafat movement from the non-coöperation movement may be in conformity with the views of the bureaucracy, but it is highly injurious from the Indian point of view. If these movements are separated, it will be easy to crush them one after the other. Indians are not responsible for the policy of Government. Whatever the result of non-coöperation may be, no difference should arise in our sacred alliance. The Muhammadans should rest assured that their Hindu brethren will soon follow them to jail. It is the first occasion in the history of British rule in India that a noble Hindu Sanyasi has been arrested in connection with the religious affairs of Muhammadans and this very fact shows that the root of Hindu-Muhammadan unity has gone deep.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(*f*) The *Swaraj* of the 22nd September charactises the recent arrest of religious leaders as an interference with religion.

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

(*g*) The *Watan* of the 23rd September says that it is strange that the founder and the very soul of the present movement (Mr. Gandhi) is not only free but has obtained from the highest to the lowest authorities an unsolicited testimonial of being opposed to violence. Nor is this all. Even his non-Muslim supporters, such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Moti Lal, Pandit Jawahir Lal, Mr. C. R. Das and others, are freely going about in the country. But a section of the Muhammadan community is reaping the fruit of their following the Mahatmas who are past masters in the art of coolly advising others to go to the gallows. If any journalists are going to be prosecuted for reproducing the Karachi speeches, Muslim journalists will suffer most. And thus Muhammadans, as a whole, will receive another blow.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*h*) The *Kesari* of the 29th September remarks that the Indians had reposed high hopes in Lord Reading before his arrival in India. But enforcement of martial law in Malabar and the merciless arrest of leading Indians are things which cannot but lower His Excellency in the estimation of the Indians.

(*i*) Referring to the recent arrest of the political leaders, the *Kesari* of the 2nd October says that public meetings are being held to protest against this attitude of the Government. But it is to be regretted that the Indians and especially the orthodox Hindus have not raised their voices against the arrest of Swami Shankar Acharya. Can we hope that the Hindus will express their views on this point?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Amir Chand's arrest.

13. (*a*) Lala Lajpat Rai writes to the *Tribune* of the 30th September :—"The arrest of Lala Amir Chand, General Secretary of the City Congress Committee, Lahore, under section 353, Indian Penal Code, raises a question of general principle which requires elucidation. The question that arises is: Whether the police has a right to seek and enforce admission into every meeting held in a *private* building admission to which has been made conditional on satisfying certain conditions, and whether if such admission is denied they have a right to arrest and charge the convener for an offence under section 353, Indian Penal Code. I know of no law which gives the police any such right of entry and I am strengthened in that opinion by the observations of the Repressive Laws Committee signed by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir William Vincent. These observations leave no doubt that under the existing law, the police possess no such right. It should be noted.

(1) that the Bradlaugh Hall belongs to the Congress and its administration is vested in 7 Trustees of whom I am one and Lala Duni Chand is another. Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Dhan pat Rai, Pandit Ram Bhaj Datta Chaudhri, Sheikh Umar Bux and Lala Dharam Das were the other trustees of whom the last has resigned.

(2) That the Sub-Inspectors seeking admission did not show any written authority from a Magistrate for admission to enter the building,

(3) That no assault was made or criminal force used.

Under the circumstances how a charge under section 353 can be maintained passes my comprehension but the Police and the Magistracy are supreme in these days and the High Court is mum. It may also be added that the convener offered chairs to the Sub-Inspectors to enable them to sit near the gates and take notes of the speeches or otherwise watch the proceedings."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st October refers to the arrest of Lala Amir Chand and remarks that the meeting was meant for those, who wore *khaddar*. If Sub-Inspectors wished to attend the meeting, they could do so after putting on *khaddar*. So far as we know they had no right to enter in uniform a house which was private property. There was besides no apprehension of a disturbance, which could justify the entrance of police in the Bradlaugh Hall in uniform. This arrest cannot be justified. The arrest at least shows how far the present Government is acting with sound brain and how far it is inclined to politely hear the voice of the public. The higher officers are thinking of safeguarding the imaginary honour of the *Thanedar* but they do not care for the wound which Lala Amir Chand's arrest will inflict on the minds of the citizens of Lahore.

AROR BANS SUDHRAK (Lahore); Salig Ram, Bazaz, editor.

The Katarpur prisoners.

14. (*a*) The *Aror Bans Sudhrak* of the 24th September thinks that Government should release the Katarpur prisoners. Their case is analogous to the Sikhs who were arrested in connection with the *gurdwara* movement and have been recently released.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 28th September writes to the same effect.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

The Manak Gurdwara case.

15. The *Khalsa Advocate* thus comments on the judgment in the Manak Gurdwara Case :—"No grosser calumnies of the Sikhs and baser lies against them could have been indulged in than those done by Mr. Keough, Special Magistrate, in the course of judgment delivered by him in the Manak Gurdwara Case. He starts with absolutely misleading assumption that the Manak Gurdwara was an 'Udasi Dera' meaning thereby that it was not a Sikh Gurdwara and proceeds on highly prejudiced and preconcieved suppositions. .. Mr. Keough has also gone out of his way to trace 'a brief history of the institution which, from evidence on record,' (by which he evidently means the settlement and Revenue records or Patwaris' registers, and not any authentic and faithful religious history) according to him, is undoubtedly an 'Udasi Dera.' It has no connection whatever, concludes he, with the personality and doings of any of the Sikh Gurus. Mr. Keough after tracing the foundation of the *gurdwara* to Prithi Sahib gives the line of succession and concludes from it that because not a single one of the eleven *mahants*, who have succeeded one after the other to the *gaddi* of the Manak Gurdwara, has a Sikh name

ending with 'Singh' and because all the *mahants* have been buried, a feature peculiar and distinguishing of the Udasi sect from the Sikhs, therefore the institution was 'neither a Gurdwara nor a Dharmsala'.... In the case under discussion Mr. Keough has most assuredly betrayed his sad lack of knowledge of even the elementary history of Sikhism... The learned Magistrate has not made any attempt to show who this Prithi Sahib was if not a Sikh and a time descendant of the Gurus.... Look at the highly mischievous attempt of Mr. Keough to act up to the policy of *Divide at empera* by taking the heart to say and say with impunity, that Udasis are not Sikhs.... Throughout the lengthy judgment delivered by him the learned Magistrate has missed not a solitary opportunity to unravel his ingrained hatred and bias against the Akali Sikhs by dubbing their organization as 'self-constituted and irresponsible body posing as religious reformers,' 'actuated by motives of revenge,' etc., etc. Can the learned judge point out a single instance showing that in its inception any reform movement including even the British Kingdom and its Indian mandate and Egyptian Protectorate, was not self-constituted? Under these circumstances one is driven to conclude in the sense of learned Magistrate himself, that it is an insult to common intelligence to ask the people to believe that a Magistrate so overpowered by preconceived notions and gross bias against a body of reformers, whose one fault is that it was 'self-constituted,' can dispense unalloyed justice to them."

The realisation of indemnity.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

16. The *Bande Mataram* of the 28th September complains that indemnity is being realised at several places with great strictness. For example great severity was practised on the residents of Jalalpur Jattan at the time of the realisation of the indemnity. Besides, the indemnity was realised repeatedly, as a result of which people felt much distressed. Moreover, the survivors of those killed at Amritsar (during the martial law days) have been given compensation, but the survivors of those killed at Gujranwala and other places have got no compensation.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Smyrna day.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

17. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd September supports the proposal of celebrating the Smyrna day. After remarking that the European nations are now-a-days trying to bring Eastern nations under their influence the paper says that time has now come when Indian Mussalmans should try to make the Smyrna day a success, collect at least a crore of rupees and thereby give proof of their love for Islam.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The realization of the *haisiyat* tax.

RAMGARHIA GAZETTE (Simla);

18. The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 29th September complains of the way in which the *haisiyat* tax has been realized from the inhabitants of village Kurali, tahsil Kharar (district Ambala). Two of the inhabitants, who were summoned before the Naib-Tahsildar, had nothing in their homes even to eat. They protested against the realization of the tax and became ready to go to the lock-up. But on finding that by remaining in the lock-up for 40 days, all the members of their families will starve, they paid the tax by begging alms. A still more contemptible incident has occurred at Jalalpur, whose inhabitants refused to pay the tax on account of the prevailing famine. Five persons were arrested and put in the lock-up.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Famine in India.

RAMGARHIA GAZETTE (Simla);

19. The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 22nd September publishes a poem headed "Calamity of hunger." The poet says that ever since the advent of British rule in India, famine has been raging in the country. Our grain feeds European countries though our own brethren have to starve.

The export of wheat.

SAT YUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, Alam, editor.

20. (*a*) Commenting on the Press *communiqué* issued by Government prohibiting the export of wheat, flour and maida from India till the end of March 1922, the *Sat Yug* of the 14th September thinks that the prohibition of the export of wheat till the end of March cannot prove beneficial to the Indians because the new harvest will not be ready by that time.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 28th September writes:—"The Punjab Government has issued a press *communiqué* on the subject of the high price of wheat since August last and the various causes that led to it, including export. But it has yet to be ascertained whether there is any large speculative holding of stocks. If there are such stocks steps will be taken to release them; but the real cause is the actual shortage of food grains in the country owing to the bad harvests of 1920 and 1921 and apprehensions for the future. Under these circumstances, it has been considered that the best remedy is to increase the supply in the country by facilitating transport of food from places where it is plentiful to places of scarcity. And the *communiqué* explains the steps already taken by Government in this direction and those proposed to be adopted in future. We do not know what satisfaction it gives to the vast population to read these explanations. The soundness or unsoundness of official measures can only be judged by the results, *i.e.*, a substantial fall in the price, of which however there yet are no signs. All these measures are probably expected to bring down food prices—at any rate, to prevent a further rise. But one question remains unanswered—whether Government cannot so regulate production and supply of food grains in the country in any particular year as to secure their supply to the people at rates entirely within their purchasing power. India being an agricultural country, and producing more food than it requires on an average, it is not unreasonable for people to demand such an arrangement from the Government. The Government, however, does not discuss any such proposition. It does not promise that prices will be reduced to its normal level. It only tries to prove that some of the popular ideas about wheat prices are misconceived and the measures suggested by the people themselves are impracticable and useless. These explanations lead the people to nowhere. They have a right to expect the Government to conserve food supplies in the country, which is normally more than the country requires for itself, and make food available to the people at reasonable prices. The spectable of India going abroad in search of food after mishandling its own stock is simply disgraceful to a reputed agricultural country—the granary of Asia. Under existing economic and trade conditions, India's food stocks are not properly conserved and Government should seriously tackle this problem."

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Pandit Gopi Nath, editor.

The suppression of bribery.

21. (*a*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 21st September is gratified to see that the Punjab Government is now ready to suppress corruption in the Punjab. Indeed, it is owing to bribery that the people have lost all faith in the British courts. It is a pity that the Government does not possess honest informers who are the well-wishers of both the Government and the public and who can inform Government of all matters respecting bribery. The Government should bear in mind that if the public are endowed with so much moral courage as to refuse to pay bribes to officers, why should Government be in need of making enquiries? It is true that a person offering a bribe is guilty, but the person accepting it is still more guilty. While the Government has warned the people not to pay bribes, it should also warn the corrupt officials that they would be adequately punished if complaints are received against them.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 27th September writes:—"We have not the slightest hope that a chronic evil of this kind can be prevented by paper orders or pious hopes. Drastic action is necessary before any good result can be expected and such action can only be taken upon definite knowledge as to the real extent of corruption that prevails in the various services and the influences that tend to encourge bribe giving and bribe taking. . . . . It is true that the real remedy is the force of chastening public opinion, which is undoubtedly growing stronger and stronger every year, but in the meantime Government ought to amend the law on the subject, if necessary, and show its determination to suppress the evil by adopting all possible means likely to end it. In this connection we may draw the attention of the Government to the work done in England by the Bribery Prevention Leagues. What is wanted is continuous and determined action by the Government on reliable evidence which ought to be invited freely and acted upon with great care and tact by a special agency."

The Viceroy's visit to the Kashmir State.

Bande Mataram (Lahore): Lajpat Rai, editor.

22. The *Bande Mataram* of the 29th September publishes an open letter to His Excellency Lord Reading from "an inhabitant of Kashmir State." The writer dwells upon the prevailing scarcity of food-grains in the Kashmir State and requests His Excellency to postpone his visit to a future date.

Jan Muhammad of North-West Frontier Province.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid, Salik, editor.

23. The *Zamindar* of the 25th September complains that Haji Jan Muhammad of North-West Frontier Province is being badly treated in the Montgomery Jail. His sister's son with other persons saw him in jail and learnt that he was supplied food meant for ordinary prisoners. There is no reason for a differential treatment in his case and he ought to be treated as a political prisoner. Why is Sir John Maffey subjecting him to so much hardship and why is he not kept in the European Ward?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

Lahore:
The 8th October 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Afghanistan.

1. The *Zamindar* of the 2nd October refers to a Reuter's telegram that on being handed over a letter from the Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs appointing Sardar Wali Khan, Afghan Ambassador in London, Lord Curzon remarked that all political questions between England and Afghanistan should be settled through the Secretary of State for India. The paper wonders why Lord Curzon adopted this attitude. The Afghanistan Government has no longer any connection with the Government of India and it has risen to a footing of equality with the British Government. How can self-respecting Afghans tolerate that instead of negotiating direct with the Central Government they should negotiate through a subordinate Government?

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid *Salik*, editor.

Turkey.

2. The *Siyasat* of the 2nd October says that if Greece had gained a victory over Turkey, the Allies would not have interfered. But now the European Powers want to interfere and thus save Greece from ruin. This is highly unjust, seeing that they remained neutral so long as they were confident of the success of the Greeks.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

The Spaniards and Morocco.

3. It is reported that people in London are enlisting in the Spanish army to fight against the Muhammadans of Morocco. The question now arises, asks the *Paisa Akhtar* of the 1st October, why Great Britain allows recruits to enlist in the Spanish army. An idea will thus gain strength among the Muhammadans that the British Government is their enemy.

PAISA AKBBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Prince of Wales.

4. (*a*) The *Science Grounded Religion* for the month of October says:— "It is but meet and proper that we should feel a thrill of joy, respect and gratefulness at the coming happy visit of the Prince of Wales and accord him a warm welcome as soon as he lands on our shores. We heartily approve of and support the action of all those assemblies and municipalities that have resolved to present an address

SCIENCE GROUNDED RELIGION (Lahore); Har Narain, editor.

of welcome and to give a befitting reception to His Royal Highness. But we greatly regret to see that attempts are made by the leaders of the non-cooperation movement to boycott the visit of the Prince, who comes not on behalf of any political party but as the representative of the Royal House from which India has always and unfailingly received consideration, sympathy and nothing but kindness. We, therefore, consider this boycotting agitation by the non-cooperators as not only a grievous political blunder but an act unworthy of the good traditions of Indians, who have been known to be never rude but always kind to a common guest, far more, to the Royal guest, who is to be our future sovereign ! "

SHANTI
(Rawalpindi) ;
Kishen Chand
Mohan,
editor.

(*b*) The *Shanti* of the 1st October learns from a London telegram that the Prince of Wales will bring fifteen thousand pounds of beef in the warship by which he will come to India. It was only the other day that a resolution on kine-protection was passed at a Delhi meeting held under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who is a true Brahman and a member of the Prince of Wales' Reception Committee. Is it not his duty to urge Government to request the Prince of Wales and his colleagues not to use beef so long as they are in India ?

LIBERAL
(Lahore) ;
Jai Gopal
Tandan,
editor.

Self-Government for India.

5. Writing in connection with the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given by the Punjab Ministers, the *Liberal* of the 3rd October says:—"Mr. Gandhi has by no means an easy task before him, for while on the one hand he has to put up with the callousness of the people in regard to his non-cooperation programme, on the other, he is face to face with a determination on the part of those in authority to continue the existing state of things for as long as it would be possible for them to do so. However one may wish to achieve the national goal at as early a date as possible, one cannot help thinking that the wish is not yet to be realised and that even if it were to be realised, the prospect is made less hopeful by the policy in the pursuance of which the country is at present engaged. Our hope under the circumstances can only be that His Excellency the Viceroy will set himself in all earnestness to making the lives of the people here more easy, both economically as well as politically, and raising their status as free and equal partners in the scheme of the British Empire. It would be sinful to subject the Indian nation with a past behind it of which any nation may feel proud to a state of permanent subjection. India has been under British rule for a pretty long time now, and it is up to Great Britain to redeem the pledge that has so often been repeated from the Imperial throne. India has grown into full manhood and it would be wrong to presume that she can be kept under eternal tutelage. What she wants is the recognition of that manhood and her being placed on a footing of equality with other members of the Empire. The sooner this is done, the better for all concerned."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore) ;
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The Viceroy's speech.

6. The *Tribune* of the 5th October writes :—"The feature of the Viceroy's speech in reply to the address of the Punjab Muhammadan Association is that His Excellency has now more or less completely identified himself with the system of which he is the head. 'Where in the history of freedom,' said His Excellency, 'has greater liberty been permitted than here in India to those Muhammadans who, basing their exhortation upon the religion of Islam, have nevertheless preached extreme political opinions? The Muslim public, especially in this Province, will probably rub its eyes in wonder as it reads these eloquent words, for it will find it pretty hard to reconcile this picture of the lion painted by himself with known facts. Not to speak of the only English organ of Muslim opinion in the Punjab, which ceased publication sometime ago in consequence of the policy of the Government, the most widely read of all Muslim papers in the Punjab has suffered again and again at the hands of the bureaucracy, both financially and otherwise, while the editor of another important Muslim paper has also been sent to jail. Again, some of the most independent Musilm public men in this province have been subjected, to restraints under an admittedly repressive measure, while one of them is at the present moment undergoing his trial under the ordinary law. In none of these cases, except the last, has the action taken been based on any other ground except 'extreme political opinions.' His Excellency, if he will permit us to say so, is confounding two things that are very different. Undoubtedly the British Government has on the whole been true to its pledge of toleration and of religious

neutrality, but it is an entirely indefensible claim that it has been tolerant towards extreme political opinions, whether professedly based upon religious injunctions or not. His Excellency has only to study the political history of India since the first prosecution for sedition of Mr. Tilak to realise the truth of our statement. It is only in the concluding lines of the speech that a somewhat modified note was sounded. . . . After all, Indians can join with the British and *vice versa* in work for India's good only if their conception of what is good for India in the present circumstances and at the present time is the same. Here is the crux of the problem, and it is no use shutting one's eyes to it. The same is the case with His Excellency's invitation to Indians to work with the British for the redress of grievances. What precise share are the Indians to have in this work ? Are they merely to be the petitioning party, all real power and authority being centralised in the hands of a permanent and unimaginative service responsible only to the British Parliament ? Or is their voice to have a determining weight and authority ? If His Excellency wishes the present movement to die he will doubtless see that there must first be a complete change of heart on the official side and secondly this change must be translated into policy."

Muhammadans and the non-coöperation movement.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

7. The *Zamindar* of the 1st October says that Government wants to check the excitement in the public. But this cannot be done without the promulgation of martial law. It is for this reason that certain dishonest and irresponsible individuals are trying to create a situation that might give an excuse to the Government to enforce martial law. But we have taken a vow of non-violent non-coöperation and should stick to it, thereby affording no chance to the Government to have recourse to repression. While the British Government wishes to rend the Khilafat into pieces we desire its maintenance and stability. Government wishes to keep its control over the Arabian Peninsula, but we are not prepared to help it with a single soldier or a farthing. We consider such help to be forbidden under the Muhammadan law.

The Alienation of Land Act.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

8. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd October, Lala Lajpat thinks that Dr. Nand Lal has committed a mistake in raising the question of the repeal of the Alienation of Land Act, which is likely to create disunion among different classes. Although the writer is opposed to some provisins of the Act, still he has after a careful consideration come to the conclusion that as God has created land for cultivation, it should remain in the possession of the agriculturists only. It is against the laws of nature that land should be alienated to money lenders, who are given to usury. It is extremely dangerous for society if big plots of land are alienated to men who actually do no work but who live upon rent or interest. One great defect in the existing law is that on the one hand it saves the small land-owners from *Banya*, *Khatri*, *Sud* and *Arora Sahukars*, but on the other it does not protect them from *Jat*, *Rajput* and *Arain Sahukars*. It is utterly foolish to renew this beaten subject at this time. The present is no time for such discussions. Dr. Nand Lal's movement has gone the length of making the *zamindars* and *mahajans* hold meetings at different places. The writer would request his *mahajan* brethern to stop the movement at once and inform the Doctor that they do not want to raise the question at the present moment.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The political situation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 5th October says :—" The decision to repeat the Karcahi resolution from every Khilafat platform has placed the Government on the horns of a dilemma. There are two and only two courses which can be said to be ordinarily open to it. It can either prosecute all those who are taking or may take an active part in these meetings, or it can content itself with the action already taken and refrain from going farther. In the latter case, the whole object of prosecuting those who have already been prosecuted will be defeated, because that object could only have been to prevent the views expressed in the resolution from being disseminated. In the first case, the Government would be literally playing into the hands of those who have long been anxious to make it embark upon a campaign of wholesale prosecutions, so that by passive resistance, by sacrifice and suffering they may gain

the end which ordinary constitutional agitation has failed to achieve. It remains to be seen how far the Government will be able to steer clear of both Scylla and Charybdis in this case."

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur editor.

(b) The *Kesari* of the 3rd October says that Government proscribed the *fatwa* to stop its publication, but news received from all parts of India shows that people are insisting on republishing it, and resolutions to this effect have been enthusiastically passed at meetings held at various places. The policy of Government will increase its troubles, instead of decreasing them, and we are afraid this struggle will make the Government so unpopular that it will be left without friends. Government should give up the idea of relying on the Indian Penal Code, the police, the army and the jails for maintaining peace in India or making people feel happy. On the contrary, it should try to create friendly relations with the people by respecting their feelings. The policy of repression failed in America and it is failing in Egypt. In Ireland, it has brought about a havoc. Government should learn a lesson from these experiences and not commit the same mistake in India.

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dial, editor.

The recent arrests.

10. The *Virat* of the 3rd October thinks it extremely regrettable that the Government of India have arrested the Indian leaders without considering the importance of the matter. Government will have to repent of the attitude adopted. The Karachi resolution which formed the basis of the prosecution is being repeated from every platform and Government has been challenged to prosecute the people. A *fatwa* on the same subject was also proscribed by the Government, but the result is that it is being republished freely. If Government now holds the dissemination of these views to be an offence, justice demands that all Muhammadans, Mahatma Gandhi, etc., should be prosecuted. But if it takes such a step against Maulana Muhammad Ali and his co-accused only, no one can call it a just Government.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

Gandhi's rumoured arrest.

11. The *Tribune* of the 7th October says :—"To a Government in the position of ours a physical trouble is not the worst evil to be feared The thing that does matter a vast deal more to it is the growing alienation from it of the popular mind, an attitude of sullen resentment on the part of large numbers of people, a calm determination not to render unto it the moral support on which all Governments must in the last resort rest and on which a Government like ours is peculiarly dependent not only for its success but for its very existence. . . . Let it be said at once that if the rumour [of Ghandi's arrest] turns out to be well-founded, it will mean nothing more than that the non-co-öperation movement has reached exactly the stage which its leading advocates have been anticipating all these months. The only question is whether Government has chosen the right moment for taking 'the logical step.' It is on that point that the vast majority of politically-minded Indians will radically differ from the Government.... The plain fact is that the action of Government, if taken now, would be both too late and too early.... Having waited so long, it was the clear duty of the Government to have waited longer, and to move unless and until the movement had actually led to consequences which no Government could ignore. No one can honestly say that this stage has already been reached. Let us consider for a moment what the inevitable effect of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi at this time would be.... The moment the Government lays its hand on Mahatma Gandhi, it will find a startling change in the situation. ... The plain fact is that in the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi the country will read at once an attack upon the greatest living Indian, the idol of his people and one who has been acclaimed a saint even by his enemies, and an attack upon the country's cherished birthright of freedom.... Before the Government of Lord Reading embark upon a new and aggressive policy against non-coöperation, let them carefully consider this aspect of the matter. If they look upon the approaching collision with the non-coöperation movement as a test, a trial of strength, as Lord Morley looked upon the maintenance of the partition in the face of popular opposition, let them profit by Lord Morley's experience."

SIYASAT (Labor ; Wajahat Hussain, editors.

The proscription of the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind.

12. (a) The *Siyasat* of the 1st October refers to the reply given by the official member to the question asked by Syed Raza Ali in the Council regarding the proscription of the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind

and says that the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i Hind has published a rejoinder to the official member's reply, in which it is asked why if the order of proscription did not relate to the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the Delhi Government searched the offices of the Jamiat and the Khilafat Committee and why the police took away 812 copies of the *fatwa*. The official member has clearly stated that the proscribed *fatwa* is not in reality the one which was prepared and published by the Conference of *Ulema* in November last. In other words, this means that Government has not proscribed the *fatwa* which bore the signatures of 500 *Ulema*. When Government has not confiscated, the original *fatwa* but has issued orders proscribing another document, why is the police confiscating the orginal *fatwa* at different places? Government should announce in clear terms that it has not confiscated the unanimous *fatwa* of the *Ulema*.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid *Salik*, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 2nd October apprehends that the arrest of great Muslim leaders and the proscription of the sacred *fatwa* of the *Ulema* will not create a favourable impression on Indian troops. Even those sepoys who have not yet seen the *fatwa* will now long to see its contents. At any rate, by unnecessarily raising the question of the loyalty of troops, Government has created a situation which is a source of danger not only to the Government but even to the Congress and the Khilafat Committee. Government is confronted with a dangerous situation and it is to be feared that the troops might be infected by disloyal feelings and their sense of honour might be stirred owing to the insult offered to their religion and the arrest of their national leaders. The aims and objects of the Congress and the Khliafat are in danger and disturbance and bloodshed might ensue. But we believe that such a thing will never happen, as the country has adopted the creed of non-violence after a careful consideration. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind has decided that order of confiscation should be disobeyed and the *fatwa* will be now republished and distributed among the troops and the police. Government will, however, resort to repression and try to throttle those who disobey its orders. In short the army will become a source of dispute between the *Ulema* and Islam on the one hand and the Government on the other. How dangerous this state of affairs will be to the peace of the country is obvious. Nevertheless, Government does not hesitate to adopt provocative measures and is unintentionally trying to bring about confusion in the army. Most Muslim soldiers are self-respecting and are very soon get excited over religious matters. They fought against their own co-religionists in Arabia and Turkey and trampled upon their choicest religious traditions because the injunctions of their religion were not clearly explained to them. One can conjecture how their minds will be affected when they come to know the injunctions of their religion and at the same time learn that the *fatwa* of their *Ulema* has been confiscated and most of their religious leaders have been arrested because they acquainted them with the orders of the Prophet.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

Prosecution of non-coöperators.

13. When according to the Indian nationalists and non-cooperators jails are the gateways to freedom and the prosecution of national leaders serves as a fore-runner to *Swaraj*, why, asks the *Akhbar-i-Am* of the 1st October, are protests being made against these prosecutions. In the circumstances, there is no ground for the people of the country to complain against the Government. On the other hand, they should feel grateful to it.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

A contrast.

14. The *Zamindar* of the 30th September remarks that there are three Indian Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council who belong to the moderate party. When the question of the arrest of the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew was laid before the Council, these gentlemen, as well as the five Englishmen who are members of the Council, supported a policy of repression. When repression was being practised in the Punjab and the wounded were writhing in agony on the soil of the Jallianwala Bagh, covered with dust and blood, the self-respecting moderate, *viz.*, Sir Sarkaran Nair, was so goaded by his sense of honour that he at once resigned his post. But to-day Dr. Sapru, Mian Muhammad Shafi and Mr. Sharma are very indifferently and shamelessly occupying their seats on the Council, although they know well that the present policy of the Government will never prove a success and will lead to dangerous results. We ask them whether it is patriotic, wise and prudent to put the

feelings of the people to the severest possible test by throwing their dear political leaders into jail. The fact is that when one is blinded by the sentiments of slavery and sycophancy, patriotism is replaced by prejudice, revenge and enmity. The moderates are not at fault. This is the effect of the salt of the British Government. He who is overpowered by these sentiments ceases to be an Indian and is Anglicized. He begins to think and interpret things like the English. Whatever he utters and writes is tinged with English sentiments.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The North-West Frontior Province.

15. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 1st October, says that in defending the administration of the Frontier Provincein the Legislative Assembly the Military Member said that while before the new arrangements the frontier tribes were not armed 20 per cent., they were now armed 80 per cent. Does not the statement itself prove that Lord Curzon's policy has been an utter failure? The administration of the Frontier Province was directly brought under the Government of India so that there might be facilities in punishing the war-like tribes and Government be enabled to make them more peaceful in its own way. But the result has been quite the reverse. The tribes have acquired more arms. Why did the Government allow them to do so? And if they had become armed why did not the Government arm its own subjects? Ever since the separation of the Frontier Province from the Punjab 'failure' has been writ large on its administration. Every one is complaining against the high-handed treatment accorded to the people. Expenditure has abnormally risen. Dr. Sapru, instead of honestly admitting this failure, very shamefacedly defended Government. The Frontier Government is a government, that rules with the aid of canon and guns. It is an unconstitutional administration and has failed to command the confidence of the people. The writer doubts whether the amalgamation of the Frontier Province with the Punjab will be of any use. The real remedy he thinks, is *Swaraj.*

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

Amir Chand's arrest.

16. The *Liberal* of the 3rd October says:—"We do not think it was a wise act on the part of the organisers of the meeting to insist on *khaddar* being worn even by police officials who wanted to attend the meeting on behalf of Government. But we also think that the Government had no justification to fix upon a person whose duty was simply to carry out the instructions issued to him by the Committee. . . . We hope wiser counsels will still prevail and both sides will give proof of cool-headed action amidst the excitement that prevails all round."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Swami Shankra Charya.

17. The *Kesari* of the 5th October refers to the *communiqué* issued by the Director of Intelligence, Bombay, in connection with the arrest of Jagat Guru Swami Shankar Acharya and says that the Director has committed a serious mistake which is likely to sprinkle salt on the wounded Hindus who already resented the arrest of their religious leader. Will not the Director and his counsellors feel ashamed on reading the true report of the *Bombay Chronicle*?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Indians in East Africa.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. The *Vakil* of the 6th October affirms that ever since the Imperial Conference has, as a matter of principle, recognised the equal status of Indians by means of a resolution, the white colonists of East Africa have been carrying on a strong anti-Indian agitation. The *Nation* states that a deputation of the colonists of Kenya is leaving for Pretoria to discuss the Indian problem with the Premier Smuts. It is a strange thing that instead of referring the matter to the Home Government at White Hall, a British dominion should seek the help of another dominion. At any rate, the Government of India must give its best and careful consideration to the question, even though the British Government take no notice of it.

The resolution of the Government of India on the position of Indians in Colonies.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

2. The *Tribune* of the 13th October says:—"It is only when we come to the remedies prescribed by the Government of India that we find a difference between their view-point and that of India. They still think in terms of the resolution of 1918, and almost unreservedly admit the right of each dominion to impose such restrictions on immigration as may be necessary to secure the composition of its population on its own lines. Theoretically the existence of this right may be admitted. But we entirely deny that the existence of this theoretical right can be said to justify in practice the exclusion of would-be Indian immigrants for no other reason than that they are Indians. The last would be nothing but an instance of racial discrimination, and we do hold that such discrimination is bound to be as disastrous to the solidity of the Empire as the denial of the full rights of citizenship to Indians already domiciled in the Dominions. In reality the two stand or fall together. Admit the principle of differentiation in the case of would-be immigrants and you will be driven by inevitable logic to extend its application, sooner or later

and in one form or another, also to the case of those already domiciled. Let the Dominions, by all means, lay down any reasonable test they like which intending immigrants must satisfy. The one thing which they may not do is to say that race shall be either a qualification or a disqualification. The second proposal is that there should be a meeting at Delhi between the representatives of the Dominions chiefly concerned and those of India. Our objection to this proposal is that India is not a self-governing country yet, and however the fact may be disguised, the Colonial representatives will have a superior status as compared to those of India. India would, indeed, appear almost in the character of a suitor, while the Colonial representatives would be more or less in the position of the dispensers of boons and gifts. In our opinion the conference should be held in London, at the joint instance of the Colonial and the India Office, and the cost should either be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, on the ground that the problem is an imperial one, or should be equally divided between India and the Dominions."

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

India and the League of Nations.

3. The *Swaraj* of the 15th October is opposed to India being made a member of the League of Nations, as this would bring her no advantage but only prove a burden on her exchequer.

TRIBUNE (Lahore), K. N. Roy, editor.

Ireland and India.

4. The *Tribune* of the 8th October writes:—"We know nothing about the antecedents of Mr. Basanta Kumar Ray who is described in a special cable to the *Civil and Military Gazette* as Mr. De Valera's emissary to India, but we can safely say that he could not have been guilty of more irresponsible language than when he said in a speech at New York, as reported in the cablegram, that India was ready to support Ireland in the fight against the Crown. That India profoundly sympathises with Ireland in her struggle for freedom is perfectly true, and she has never made any secret of it, but the fight against the Crown is a very different thing and we are not aware that any responsible public body in India had said a word so far which could by any stretch of imagination be construed as support of this fight. The plain fact is that not only has India enough troubles of her own, but committed to non-violence in her own struggle for liberty, she could not possibly sympathise with, far less actively support, a campaign of violence abroad for an identical purpose."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

The Aden seaport.

5. The *Desh* of the 10th October is unable to understand why the Aden seaport is being transferred to the Colonial Office, although a large amount of Indian money has been spent on its improvement. An Indian and a British regiment always remain in the fort at Aden to protect the seaport and poor India has had to bear their expenditure also. Why should the fort be made over to Mr. Churchill and without any reduction in the military expenditure of this country?

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain editor.

The British Mission to Kabul.

6. The *Siyasat* of the 14th October remarks that it is marvellous that Great Britain, which at one time had complete mastery over the political affairs of the East, is now reduced to such straits that its mission has been sitting idle in Afghanistan for ten months and no settlement has been yet effected with Kabul. It behoves British statesmen to consider the world situation and change their policy in accordance with recent events. Otherwise, their influence and prestige in the East will vanish altogether.

II -LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore): Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

7. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th October objects to any pressure being brought to bear upon students to welcome the Prince of Wales. Students should be left to their own free will in the matter.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th October questions the right of the Legislative Council to spend public money on the reception of the Prince of Wales against the wishes of the people,

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 14th October says:—"While we are in favour of according a right royal reception to His Royal Highness befitting the dignity and the position of the would-be King-Emperor of India, we fail to understand how the same could be arranged at a time when the seething millions of India are being ground down under the crushing weight of poverty and political repression.... How the right royal receptions can afford the Prince of Wales an opportunity to have an insight or even a peep into the real feelings, aspirations and the conditions of the people of India? An organised effort will be made by the officers of the Government to keep His Royal Highness as much out of touch with the real sentiments, feelings and aspirations of people as would be possible under the circumstances and to create an impression that India is prosperous under, and contented with, the present system of the administration in India. Thus instead of carrying a true impression, it is feared the Prince of Wales will carry an impression which will be at once at variance with or rather reverse of the true state of things. We think it would be much better to leave the Prince free to mix with the people, to open his mind to the people and allow the people to open theirs to him, to study their true condition and real aspirations, unfettered by the rigidities of any hard and fast conventionalities and set programme of his visit. But we dare say no such opportunity will be afforded to the Royal guest."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(d) The *Kesari* of the 15th October says that the London telegram that the Prince of Wales will bring fifteen thousand pounds of beef to India has shocked the Indians who want His Royal Highness to refrain from beef during his stay in India. Hindus cannot tolerate that a guest should use beef in their house.

Mr. Gour's Marriage Law.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

8. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th October, remarks that all efforts to secure the passage of Mr. Gour's Marriage Law are as untimely and useless as those for securing the repeal of the Alienation of Land Act. The question of the reform or amendment of Hindu law is a very complicated question and it is inopportune to raise it. Indeed, the most important problem before the country is of national existence, liberty and means of subsistence for the Indians. So long as Indians are burdened with military expenses, which have crushed them, and so long as they have to bear the heavy expenses of an extravagant Government, which have been increased by the Reform Scheme, it is premature to raise the question.

The Gurdwara Bill.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore) Amar Singh, editor.

9. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 9th October approves of the action of Government in releasing the accused in the *Gurdwara* cases. It now wants Government to frame a law in conformity with their wishes, transferring the management of the *Gurdwaras* to representative Sikh bodies. If the Gurdwara Bill had been amended and passed as the Sikhs wanted, and the accused in the *Gurdwara* cases released, Government would have relieved itself of all responsibilities so far as the *Gurdwara* movement was concerned. The Gurdwara Bill should be passed as soon as possible.

Self-government for India.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

10. (a) The *Partap* of the 5th October thinks that the greatest service which the Viceroy and other officers can render to the British Government is to inform it of the true state of affairs in India. In view of the wonderful change that has already taken place in the aspirations of the people, how can the decision of Parliament that the next step towards self-government would be considered after ten years remain intact? If Lord Reading thinks that it is unnecessary to pay attention to the Indian demands, he may submit a report to that effect. But within the next few months he will come to realise his mistake. But if he has arrived at the conclusion that the Indians should be granted their rights, he should tell the Parliament that India cannot wait for ten years.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

(b) In the course of a leading article, the *Akali* of the 5th October asks whether the Government, which drew the sword to rescue weak and poor Belgium from the clutches of Germany, administers justice in Europe alone and whether human beings do not live outside Europe. Is not the cup of the patience of Indians full to overflowing? If so, why does not the Government administer justice in India in the way in which it did for Belgium? Does it think that by the oppression it practises, the fire of liberty which has now spread all over India will be extinguished? Such an expectation is a vain one. Indians are now absorbed in a peaceful struggle for liberty; and they will be never satisfied without attaining *Swaraj.* Government will, therefore, do well to satisfy Indian ambition, which alone can bring about cordial relations between England and India. We bear enmity to no human being and our religion forbids us to do so. We only want Englishmen to be just and grant us what is ours.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th and 7th October refers to Sir William Vincent's speech on Mr. Majumdar's resolution on self-government and remarks that if a period of ten years has been fixed for the revision of the constitutional reforms it has been fixed by the Parliament against the will of the people. The Parliament can reconsider the matter. Sir William should consider the changes that have been effected in the course of the last nine months. Did the authorities ever imagine that India would be so much changed in this period? The paper tries to meet some of the Home Member's objections to the grant of immediate autonomy and concludes by observing that Sir William cannot conceive that the reins of administration should ever slip from their hands. The grant of the colonial form of government, however, means that the reins of administration will pass from the hands of Sir William into those of Indians.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

Shias and the Government.

11. Writing to the *Vakil* of the 8th October, Syed Ahmad says that in the Shia religion government is the right of the *Imam.* It is, therefore, neither lawful for the Shias to rule over others nor to be ruled by anyone in the matter of religion, except that they must follow the injunctions of the *Shariat.* It behoves every individual to keep Islamic countries (Persia, Kabul and Turkey) and especially the Arabian Peninsula immune from the influence of infidels so far as possible. At the present moment the preservation of Islamic countries depends upon the independence of India and it is, therefore, the duty of every Indian Mussalman to make strenuous efforts to keep himself practically free without resorting to violence. Commenting, the paper says that a concrete example of this state of things is to be found in the trans-frontier independent tribes.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore; Lajpat Rai, editor.

The non-coöperation movement and the present situation.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd, 5th-10th, 12th, and 14th October publishes a series of articles headed "God Indra" (the God of clouds in Hindu mythology, who afforded shelter to a snake which had bitten the King Parikhshat whose grandson performed severe austerities and brought Indra to his knees.) The writer, Lala Mohan Lal, Pleader of Ferozepore, compares with each other the agriculturist and the trader and affirms that while the former is simple-minded, the latter is shrewd and cunning. India is an agricultural country and four-fifths of its population live on agriculture, so that Indians are naturally simple minded. On the other hand, the English are a mercantile nation and therefore shrewd. When India came under British rule, simple-minded Indian agriculturists were pleased at the sight of the brilliant sun of European commerce. But this sun absorbed the prosperity of India and when the crops began to wither, poor agriculturists were nonplussed and turned their eyes to the English, beseeching them for rulers who would ameliorate their condition. When Indians were disappointed with the Viceroy of the time, they expected something better from his successor and when still disappointed they looked to God Indra, *i.e.*, the British Premier. This too proved of no avail. When the Indians lose confidence in the English gods and there is much agitation, God Indra tries to allay the excitement, he appoints a Royal Commission and thus agitation is stopped. But the Commission takes several years to submit its report and it rests with the gods to accept its recommendations. This move too does not bring in the desired result and then the Minister resorts to another stratagem. Like a chess player, he summons the king to his help. His Majesty the King-Emperor was brought to India to annul the partition of Bengal and the Duke of Connaught was sent to checkmate agitation against the Rowlatt Bill This charm, however, proved ineffective against the non-coöperation propaganda and now the Prince of Wales is coming to India. The poor Indians do not know that the king of England is a mere figurehead like the king of chess. In a recent speech Lord Reading said that the Prince was coming as a guest. But he is an uninvited guest, coming at the expense of the hosts who are in mourning and suffering from starvation. Con-

tinuing, the writer examines the present system of administration, which he condemns. The British Government is run on the lines of a firm in which every Englishman is a shareholder from his very birth. The members of Parliament are the shareholders who supervise the affairs of the concern, while the Cabinet constitutes the Board of Directors and the Prime Minister is Managing Director. Englishmen sent to govern India come as partner-agents and the Viceroy is the chief agent; so that an agent who oppresses the people and increases the income of his Government is praised and no heed is paid to any complaint against his highhanded acts. This remark applies to the cases of Dyer and O'Dwyer. A liberal in England can serve his nation in India by becoming an autocrat and this is called the policy of the Government of India. The moderates cannot help identifying themselves with the policy of the Government. The Viceroy, the Cabinet and the members of Parliament have to account for their conduct to the English nation and any one of them failing in his duty is censured. This is proving ruinous to India. It is to the interest of the English people that they should continue to rule this country for ever, and racial distinction has become a fundamental principle of Government policy in India, a distinction that affords them many facilities and advantages. It is also in the interest of the English nation that British industries should flourish and English manufacturers obtain large profits. The industrial policy of the Government of India points to the same end. It destroyed Indian industries, brought in free trade, and forced English goods on India, though England still needs protection. It is further in the interests of the English nation that British prestige in India should remain intact. This is called the 'peace and order policy', under which lovers of India's freedom are dubbed as rebels, and traitors granted rewards, *jagirs* and high posts. Again, it is in the interests of England that Indians should always remain weak and unfit and look to Englishmen for their safety. The means adopted to achieve this end are called the public good and big salaries are given to Englishmen on the plea of efficiency. But there is a limit to one's patience. Their daily poverty and humiliation have awakened the agricultural classes of India and they have realised the necessity of getting control over the clouds, in the shape of the rulers. They have started a Congress *Yajna* (sacrifice) to control the clouds. God Indra too is not ignorant of the matter and by dangling before their eyes the prospect of securing Judgeships and seats on Councils he has spoiled the austerities of a good many devotees. Our saint Surendaro Nath Banerjee fell a victim to the nymph of ministership. At the instance of O'Dwyer, that snake Dyer bit the Punjab at the Jallianwala Bagh and the Congress resolved to put an end to the snakes of the bureaucracy. Smaller snakes like Bosworth Smith, O'Brien and Frank Johnson were killed; but the two big snakes, *i.e.*, Dyer and O'Dwyer, took shelter under the throne of God Indra in England. The *Yajna* of non-coöperation was started by Mr. Gandhi to punish Indra for his indifference, and it is to be hoped that this will bring Indra to his knees. If Indians get *Swaraj* that will put an end to all their troubles.

Satyagraha.

13. The *Swaraj* of the 10th October requests the All-India Congress Committee to carry into practice the resolution on civil disobedience. If people are anxious to attain *Swaraj* at an early date they should put themselves into jails in thousands. It especially requests the Panjabis to become prepared to adopt non-violent *Satyagraha*.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

The Swadeshi movement.

14. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd October, Lala Lajpat Rai takes the moderates to task for opposing Mahatma Gandhi's Swadeshi movement. The movement has met with wonderful success and the purchase of foreign cloth has considerably gone down. Although the 30th of September is over, yet our task has not ended. Propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth should be continued with the same zeal with which it has been so far carried on.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

15. The *Bande Mataram* of the 13th October remarks that the Hindus feel anxious that Hindu-Muslim unity is weakening them. There can be no doubt that in the Malabar the Moplahs accorded the most dreadful treatment to the Hindus and forcibly converted them to Islam and looted them.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

But this very fact shows how greatly we stand in need of Hindu-Muslim unity. Indians should fully realise that without Hindu-Muslim unity it is impossible to obtain *Swaraj*. If they quarrel with each other they will not get anything and India will ever remain bound in political slavery. If really we desire political liberty we have no other means than effecting Hindu-Muslim unity.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Railway Committee's report.

16. The *Tribune* of the 16th October says:—"The question of railway finance is independent of the nature of management and control—a proposition which is open to serious question. For the State management of railways affords a larger measure of control by the people of India over the policy and details of railway administration than the Company management, and the Committee's proposal to separate railway finance and create a new and practically independent department of railways and communications, deprives the people of India of their right of control and interference to a large extent. The creation of a separate department with independent financial control and separate railway budget clearly reduces the popular control—a subject which is not dealt with by the Committee in its report. While admitting certain defects in the present system of railway finance and admitting also that commercial principles are not sufficiently followed, it would, we think, be injurious to the larger and wider interests of the people of India to entirely subordinate railway interests to commercialism—or profit earning methods. If the principle of separating railway finance is sound, why should not the public works finance,--especially irrigation—be also separated and run on commercial lines? . . The suggested remedy is to separate the railway budget. One great objection to this course is that borrowing affects the economic condition of the people, which, again, affects the general finance of the State The result will be to subject India to perpetual borrowing and increase its indebtedness and economic subjection, which is a very serious problem for people, especially in the present critical condition of the country when it is struggling to transfer itself from a subject state to a self-governing one. A change of so far-reaching a character as this should never be decided on at a time when the popular voice and control in the Government is inadequate. There is, in our opinion, absolutely no need for the creation of a separate department with a heavy and costly staff of officials. What is more important at present is to spend the large amount of capital raised for railway development in a more economical manner than hitherto. It is equally necessary to decide the question of State *vs.* Company management and to appoint Advisory Councils as suggested."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minlas, editor.

The political situation.

17. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 8th October remarks that the present is a most critical time in the history of India. People and Government stand ranged against each other. The former are determined to have their demands fulfilled and the latter is anxious to maintain its prestige. This has resulted in the arrest of several leaders of the non-coöperation movement and even Mr. Gandhi's arrest is said to be imminent. Almost the whole Indian press, moderate and extremist, has condemned the recent arrests. We too cannot call it a policy of prudence to adopt repression in the teeth of such obvious opposition and in the present situation of the country. We have been pointing out from the very beginning that feelings of estrangement are being intensified from day to day, which will help neither the Government nor the people. The trustworthy representatives of both parties should arrive at some mutual understanding. One may ask what will happen if the present state of things continues and, like the Ali Brothers, Mr. Gandhi and other leaders are also arrested. We think people will get excited still more. In our opinion, a policy of conciliation is far better than a policy of arrests on technical grounds.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*). The *Tribune* of the 9th October writes:—"We believe the alleged offence, in connection with which the Ali Brothers and others are undergoing their trial, has been repeated by a good many others, who have either promoted or taken an active part in public meetings at which the Karachi resolution has been repeated. Judging from the signs before us the example of these meetings is likely to be followed by others. Is the Government going to prosecute all those taking an active part in these meetings? If so what guarantee is there that it will not presently have to find room in jail for a far larger number of persons than all the jails in India can accommodate? Nor is the material aspect of the matter its only important aspect. Morally no Government can indefinitely go on sending thousands of patriotic or public-spirited people to jail for no other offence than that they preach or practise non-co-operation with it, without making things literally impossible for it, for every Government in the long run rests upon the opinion and upon the good will of the people committed to its care. Let the Government carefully consider its position before it takes the next step, for the further it goes along the lines of the policy outlined in the Bombay Government's *communiqué* the more difficult it will be to retrace its steps."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(c) The *Zamindar* of the 13th October says that if the rumours regarding Mr. Gandhi's arrest turn out to be true, it will indeed be a happy thing, for it will solve a good many of the difficulties with which we are confronted. If after his arrest the Indian public adhere to the principle of non-violence, they will get *Swaraj*.

The proscription of the *fatwa*.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

18. (a) In an article headed "The Book of God and a worldly Government, what does the proscription of the *fatwa* signify?", the *Zamindar* of the 7th October reproduces from the confiscated *fatwa* the verses of the Koran on which the *fatwa* of the *Ulema* on non-coöperation is based. It challenges Government to forfeit copies of the Koran also, inasmuch as it contains the verses which form a part of the *fatwa*. The confiscation of the *fatwa* Muhammadans in general have felt as being tantamount to the confiscation of the Koran. This is the reason why that portion of the *fatwa* which relates to military and police employment is being generally republished throughout India where protests are being made against its proscription. It is due to this very insult offered to the holy Koran that the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* at once issued orders for disobedience of Government orders and redistributed in Delhi ten thousand copies of the *fatwa*. Mussalmans could never tolerate such an insult to their religion. They did not think it necessary even to consult the Congress because in a purely religious matter the Congress could not express any opinion. Government should even now realize its mistake and by returning the confiscated copies of the *fatwa* tender an apology, signifying that all that happened was due to a misunderstanding.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(b) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 11th October remarks that now that the Karachi resolution is being repeated at public meetings and from Khilafat and Congress platforms, a manifesto has appeared over the signatures of as many as fifty non-coöperation leaders and the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* has decided to republish the forfeited *fatwa*, Government is confronted with serious difficulties. If Government arrests Mr. Gandhi or other leaders of the non-coöperation movement it will create no small discontent; but if it fails to reply to the challenge, its prestige will be lowered. Government is thus on the horns of a dilemma.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(c) The *Swaraj* of the 15th October asserts that ever since Lord Reading's advent in India, the religions of the Indians—Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs or Parsis—have been confronted with great danger. Several religious pamphlets have been proscribed by the Government, including a *fatwa* bearing the signatures of 500 Muslim theologians. As this *fatwa* contained nothing but extracts from the Koran, the proscription amounts to an open interference with the religion of Islam.

Political prisoners.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

19. The *Tribune* of the 8th October says:—"We frankly confess that in one respect the attitude of both the Indian element in the new Governments and the reformed Legislatures, and especially the latter, has been a grievous disappointment to us. Niether, as far as we are aware, has so far taken any step worth the name to secure a better, more rational or more humane treatment of political prisoners. The Government of India should in our opinion not lose a moment in publicly and courageously announcing a revised policy in this matter and asking the local Governments to scrupulously carry it out. The absurdity of handcuffing political prisoners, making them do hard labour and treating them in other respects, such as food, clothing and the use of utensils, as if they were felons, is self-evident and should be swept into the limbo of

oblivion. Its only effect is to further widen the breach between the Government and the people and make the task of the administration infinitely more difficult."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Under-trial prisoners.

20. The *Tribune* of the 14th October says:—"We do not know whose business it is to see that food and water are provided to under-trial prisoners when they are within the court premises, but we have no hesitation in saying that the frequency of complaints on this score has assumed the proportions of a public scandal, and it is the clear duty of the proper authorities to immediately look into the matter and once for all lay down definite rules which the officers in charge of under-trial prisoners must scrupulously observe. As it is the rules are quite clear that these prisoners are under the jurisdiction of the Court during the hearing and under the jurisdiction of the jail authorities when they are actually within the jail premises. The complaint is about the intervening period when they are neither in jail nor actually before the Court. Technically speaking it is the police in whose custody they are in this interval, and that is the root of the whole trouble. It should be definitely laid down that from the moment that accused persons are brought to the Court lock-up to the moment when they are taken back to jail, they should be supposed to be within the jurisdiction of the trying Magistrate whose duty it should be to see that they are properly treated in all respects during all this time, irrespective of whether they are in the immediate presence of the Magistrate or not. We do hope either the Local Government or the High Court will issue strict injunctions to the subordinate courts in this matter, so that these complaints may cease once for all."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid *Salik*, editor.

The Punjab Muslims' address to the Viceroy.

21. (*a*) Writing to the *Zamindar* of the 6th October, Agha Muhammad Safdar denies the representative character of the deputation of the Punjab Muhammadan Association which recently waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy. The writer reminds the Viceroy that while the existing state of things is agitating the minds of the Muslim public in the Punjab, the alluring promises of Government can give them no satisfaction whatsoever. Like their other countrymen the Mussalmans are not prepared to accord a welcome to the Prince of Wales. The writer exhorts the Mussalmans to be on their guard against the tricks of the henchmen of the Imperialist British nation and appeals to them to unite and make it clear that the so-called Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs are not their true representatives.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishen, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 6th October doubts if the deputation represented the views of the Muslim public in the Punjab. It is to the credit of the Viceroy, however, that he couched his reply in such ambiguous terms as left him free from all responsibility. The assurances which the Viceroy gave for the Indianisation of the services can give no satisfaction to the people. If, asks the paper, the Prince of Wales is not coming to India for some political purpose why was he invited this year when people are hard pressed by starvation?

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Swaraj* of the 9th October wonders how a few title-holders presented an address to Lord Reading as the representatives of the Punjab Muhammadans. We would ask them whether the Punjab Muhammadans ever made them their representatives.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*d*) A correspondent of the *Vakil* of the 10th October questions the representative character of the deputation and says that even the co-operators were kept in the dark as to the contents of the address. It is a pity that the people on whose behalf the address was presented were not consulted up to the last moment.

ZAMINDAR, (Lahore), Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*e*) The *Zamindar* of the 14th October remarks that at present Government stands in need of men, howsoever worthless they may be. Efforts like the above indicate the anxiety that good news should reach England and various devices are being resorted to to deceive the British nation. But this cannot go on indefinitely.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The release of Sikh prisoners.

22. Referring to the recent press *communiqué* regarding the release of Sikh prisoners, the *Loyal Gazette* of the 9th October thinks that Government should not

hesitate to release the accused whom it has already promised to set at liberty. It is rather strange that the accused in the case of the Manak *Gurdwara* should remain in jail because other Sikhs have taken possession of a *Gurdwara* in the Gurdaspur district.

The Ali Brothers.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

23 (*a*). The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th October says that Mahatma Gandhi declares in clear terms that if he had taken part in the Karachi conference, he too would have supported the resolution. Lord Reading has several times announced that he will uphold the cause of justice and impartiality. Let us see what attitude he and his Government now adopt. While seven leaders have been prosecuted, others who have also committed the same offence have not been called to account.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 7th October regrets that the Ali Brothers did not give proof of that patience in the Karachi court which is so essential for non-violent non-coöperation. It was the duty of the brothers not to give up patience in acting on the principle of non-violent non-coöperation.

Arrest of Maulvis Ahmad Said and Abdul Aziz.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

24. The *Partab* of the 6th October is surprised to see that Ahmad Said and Abdul Aziz of Delhi are being prosecuted under sections 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, though they committed the same offence that was committed by the Ali Brothers. The paper does not say that Government should have prosecuted Maulvi Abdul Aziz under the sections which have been applied in the Karachi case but the Executive Government has not acted wisely in starting the first case.

Amir Chand's arrest.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid *Salik* editor.

25 (*a*). The *Zamindar* of the 5th October says that there is no such law as authorises the police to enter a private building. The Bradlaugh Hall being the property of the Congress, it was necessary for the police to obtain orders from a Magistrate before entering it. No criminal force was used against the Sub-Inspectors who wanted to enter the Hall and Amir Chand's arrest cannot be justified on any ground.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th October affirms that the method adopted to arrest Amir Chand and Ajudhia Nath was wholly wrong and illegal. We are told that this is a constitutional Government. The manner in which the law on which this Government is based is being carried through the mire cannot but provoke the cry that if the conduct of a constitutional Government is this what would an unconstitutional Government do?

The police at public meetings.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

26. The *Swaraj* of the 7th October objects to the presence of the police in uniform at meetings held by the Indian nationalists at Lahore, as this tends to provoke the public.

Notice served on Sardar Nadhan Singh and Malik Lal Khan.

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishn, editor.

27. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 9th October is not at all surprised at the order recently issued gagging Sardar Nadhan Singh and Malik Lal Khan. It only wonders why the order was not issued earlier. It is to be hoped that several brave men will come forward to occupy the places vacated by these two gentlemen.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 9th October remarks that when the executive authorities find that a prosecution will not succeed in a court of law they have recourse to section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Defence of India Act. God knows how the speeches of Malik Lal Khan interfered with the public peace and how many incidents of blood-shed and violence have taken place in consequence. The paper condemns the order of the District Magistrate of Lahore and congratulates the Malik on the honour thus bestowed upon him.

The Dusehra in Lahore.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

28. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th October remarks that the Dusehra could not be celebrated this year in Lahore because the Superintendent of Police informed the Managing Committee that no procession could be allowed without a licence from the police. It is to be regretted that Mr. Isemonger has dealt a blow to the tottering prestige of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy

should know that Hindus are ready to abandon their most ancient and important festivals, but they are not prepared to place the management of the festivals in the hands of the toadies or to allow the bureaucracy to interfere.

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 15th October strongly condemns the conduct of the Lahore police. The Hindus are the real inhabitants of India and it is disgraceful that they should not have even so much freedom in their country as to celebrate a religious festival which they have been celebrating for thousands of years past.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Memorial of Sikh *Mahants* to the Punjab Government.

29. The *Kesari* of the 9th October refers to the memorial recently submitted by Sikh *Mahants* to the Punjab Government and can never tolerate that the *Mahants* who live on the charity of the Sikh community should oppose the non-coöperation movement. Although no Akali should practise even the least oppression on any *Mahant*, yet the *Mahants* cannot be permitted to cherish the desire that patriotic Akalis should die rotting in jail. The views expressed in the memorial indicate that the *Mahants* love neither their religion nor their nation and country. They simply think of their own loaves and fishes.

V.—EDUCATION.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Muhammadan candidates in Normal Schools in the Multan Division.

30. The *Desh* of the 9th October takes exception to the letter issued to the Inspector of Schools, Multan Division, by the Under Secretary to Government in the Education Department, asking the former to see that 75 per cent of the Mussalman candidates of the Multan Division possessing the requisite qualifications are admitted to Normal Schools. In plain language it means that of the candidates seeking admission 75 per cent should belong to the Muhammadan community and 25 per cent to all the remaining communities. We would like to know the grounds on which Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain, Minister for Education, has allowed this special concession to the Muhammadan candidates at the cost of the Hindu and other communities.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Lord Lawrence's Status.

31.. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 13th October says :—" We are sincerely pleased to find that the Lahore Municipality has definitely resolved to remove the Lawrence Statue from its present site on the Mall. There is not the smallest doubt that the existence of the statue in its present form at any public place is an insult to India and an affront to Indian self-respect, besides being utterly incompatible with the new ideal of the Government of India itself. Its immediate removal to an obscure and unfrequented place is, therefore, a matter of equal importance and urgency."

(LIBERAL Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

(*b*). The *Liberal* of the 10th October says :—" Its decision to remove the statue of Lord Lawrence from the prominent position it has occupied for a long number of years deserves all praise, for there is no self-respecting Indian who has not felt offended at the sight of this monstrous design of statue.. The statue has certainly a history behind it, the present act not excluded ; and we would suggest that it be confined to the muesum in the exact form in which it now stands, with the additional inscription that it was removed from its original place as a protest against its insulting attitude and inscription. This would have a more educative effect than any other action of the Committee could possibly have without suppressing an historical event. "

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Exodus of the Legislative Assembly to the hills.

32. In an article published over his signature in the ***Bande Mataram*** of the 3rd October, Lala Lajpat Rai takes strong exception to the sitting of the Legislative Assembly at the hills. This involves sheer waste of public money.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Officials' regard for their subordinates.

33. The *Tribune* of the 14th October writes : —" If there is one thing rather than another which marks the attitude of present-day high officials towards their subordinates, it is a too tender regard for the susceptibilities of the latter. We have

already seen that in the opinion of His Excellency the Viceroy no member of the Indian Civil Service can ever be guilty of anything graver than an error of judgment And what is true of the Civil Service is more or less true of all services. Thus in a recent case the Railway Board has found that a travelling ticket examiner, who was, to say the least of it, guilty of most improper conduct, only "showed want of tact and discretion." There is not a word in the Government *communiqué* to show that the account published by us was not substantially correct. And yet the impression which the Railway Board's finding would convey to the unsophisticated public is substantially different from what it must have carried away from a perusal of our report. When will our officials realise the equal necessity and wisdom of calling a spade a spade ?"

Prevention of corruption.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

34. In a communicated article, the *Shanti* of the 4th October suggests that the very sources which afford means of bribery to corrupt officers in the Railway, Police, Canal and Public Works Departments should be stopped. Government should start enquiries into all complaints of corruption and mete out exemplary punishment to corrupt officers. The salaries of subordinate officers should be raised, so that they may be able to support themseleves and their families. But the cases of all officers whose expenses exceed their income should be enquired into to find out the sources of their income.

Report of the tour of the Minister for Agriculture.

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

35. The *Partap* of the 6th October complains that reports of the tour of the Minister for Agriculture are being wired only to those papers with which the Punjab Government is trying to coöperate. No telegram has reached any nationalist newspaper. It is of course necessary for the Minister on account of his being part of the machinery of Government to coöperate with the papers which are placed on the white list by the Government, but through the mistake of his office his reports and *communiqués* are received by the newspapers with which Government does not co-operate.

High prices of foodgrains.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

36. The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th October says that the reasons assigned by Government for the dearness of foodgrains are not satisfactory. There is in fact no stock of grain in the country. The only method of putting an end to high prices is to stop the export of foodstuffs. India should be made an industrial country, so that other sources may become available for increasing the income of the country.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated ; what the true facts are ; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Prince of Wales.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

1. In a communicated article, the *Siyasat* of the 20th October strongly urges Indians to boycott all celebrations held in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. If we have the least regard for our honour we should, it says, take no part in these celebrations, which are being opened with the incarceration of our leaders.

The visit of the Viceroy and the Prince of Wales to Native States.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

2. The *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd October says that the visit of the Viceroy to a Native State has a great importance. Millions of rupees are spent on entertaining him. The Prince of Wales has announced that money should not be spent extravagantly on his visit. But all know what little effect this appeal has had. The rulers of Native States cannot reduce the amount for fear of the Residents.

Swaraj in India.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 17th October remarks that we are determined to obtain *Swaraj* at any cost. This has filled the minds of the rulers with grave anxiety. If martial rule had not been introduced who could have said that India would obtain *Swaraj* so soon? We pray that the bureaucracy should continue to practise rigour, so that we may obtain *Swaraj* in three months and become free.

(*b*) The *Sansar* of the 17th October remarks that the bureaucracy paid no heed to the voice of India and granted a reward, a pension and a title to Dyer. Is this the way to induce the people to co-operate with the authorities? We have now resorted to non-coöperation and we must get *Swaraj*. If the present rulers would remain in subordination to us, they are welcome, as brothers, to enjoy themselves in India. Otherwise, we cannot pull on with each other and they should roll up bag and baggage.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*c*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th October remarks that whatever be the result of the present arrests, one thing is certain. The demand for *Swaraj* can no longer be ignored. No doubt, dissatisfaction, unrest and disturbances will prevail in one form or other until the country is granted *Swaraj*. Government has repeatedly announced that it wishes to confer *Swaraj* on India, and the sooner this is done, the better will it be for all concerned.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The boycott of foreign cloth.

4. The *Bande Mataram* of the 17th October publishes a letter from Pera Khan, who appeals to the people of the Frontier Province to boycott foreign cloth. If they wish to obtain *Swaraj* and secure reparations for the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and the release of their Bannu and Peshawar leaders, who are rotting in jail for their country and nation, they should show a spirit of self-control and self-sacrifice by using *khaddar*.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain editor.

The political situation.

5. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 1 th October writes that people are losing all fear of imprisonment and British law and courts their importance. But Government is pursuing a policy of repression. It issues improper orders which compel people to resort to civil disobedience. When the public is not prepared to obey unjust and repressive orders, there is no reason to issue them. At certain places magistrates issue orders gagging public speakers, but the day is not distant when people will openly disobey such unnatural orders.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 14th October remarks that the policy of arresting people is in full swing in all parts of India. The authorities think that arrests will terrorise the people and succeed in suppressing national movements. But repression has so far proved wholly ineffective. People do not fear to go to jail. The feelings of abhorrence and displeasure against the British Government are now-a-days in evidence everywhere. At fully attended meetings people attack the Government and pass resolutions in strong language about the authorities. How long will this state of affairs continue? How long will the relations between the rulers and the ruled remain strained? When will the country enjoy complete peace? It may be presumed that after suffering various troubles, Indians will, in the end, gain their object. It can be estimated from a review of the history of free countries that without sacrifice no nation can obtain liberty. In some countries murders, devastation and bloodshed raged for a long time. But if God wills, it will be quite a new thing for this country that all its political complications will be satisfactorily solved by non-violent agitation.

RAMGARHIA GAZETTE (Simla); Ishar Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Ramgarhia Gazette* of the 13th October alleges that no foreign Government can tolerate when the sons of Bharat display their love for indigenous articles, when they embrace each other and promote unity and when they help their ladies to protect them from the highhandednesses of European rule. But true love can never be suppressed by repression. Patriots do not care for their lives. They patiently bear the sufferings of the jail and welcome the most rigorous troubles, but they never show their back to indigenous articles and to their own countrymen and countrywomen. Government should bear in mind that a true patriot will pay no heed to its oppression and will never sell its love in return for the flatteries of Government. He cannot relinquish his religion and honour, nor swerve from the path of service to the motherland through fear of the threats, guns and balls of the Government.

LOYAL GAZETTE, (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*d*) A correspondent of the *Loyal Gazette* of the 16th October, in discussing the present situation in India, states that the agitators are openly declaring that it is their duty to spread hatred against the Government. Their efforts are undoubtedly meeting with success and Government cannot prevent this. But did responsible Government officers ever think why the popularity of Government has, in spite of reforms and a lenient policy, suffered and why a Government, which three years ago was so popular that people offered it a million recruits and billions of rupees, has all of a sudden become so unpopular that people oppose everything that it likes? The unpopularity of Government is attributable not only to martial law and the Khilafat question but also to its want of courage. There is another defect in the present Government and that is that its responsible members seek popularity among those who are bent upon harming it. The writer thinks that the only alternative now left to the Government is to make peace with Mr. Gandhi. The great advantage likely to follow from a settlement with Mr. Gandhi will be that the country will be safe against unrest, plunder and anarchy. If Government cannot put down the present fire, it should seek the help of the Indian Ruling Princes and lay the question before their next Conference.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd October says :—"If the Government is patient and will not only avoid even the appearance of repression but do everything in its power to conciliate the people, full responsible government may yet be the outcome of their mutual and conscious co-öperation. On the other hand, if patience is on the side of the non-coöperators and not on the side of the Government, they will gradually draw the bulk of the country into the vortex of their educative and preparatory movement, with the result that the Government will before long have no choice but to capitulate. Impatience on the side of the Government can only mean repression, and repression will lead it from one blunder to another until it has completely played into its adversary's hands."

The Congress on the policy of the Government of India.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

6. The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th October says that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has declared that the present Government is not a representative Government and its policy is based not so much on the protection of the frontiers as on the idea of keeping India under subjection. The Committee has further given expression to the Indian opinion that the object of most agreements made by the British Government with neighbouring States is to derive perpetual benefit from the resources of this country. The Committee has also announced that India has no reason to fear neighbouring countries on gaining independence, because it cherishes no designs against the inhabitants of these countries. The Committee wishes to assure Muslim countries that on its attainment of self-government the foreign policy of India will be to respect the religious duties enjoined by Islam on Muhammadans. This declaration implies that even Indians do not admit the representative character of Government, so that the agreements which the British Government is making with foreign countries are the work of an irresponsible government and if the Government of India remains irresponsible, India will have the right to establish relations with foreign countries with the help of a regularly constituted government.

The Railway Committee's report.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

7. The *Tribune* of the 23rd October thus concludes an article on the examination of the Railway Committee's proposals :—"There is not a word in the report to help the reader to understand how a policy of large borrowings at high rates giving a free hand to the spenders and administrators will keep the country solvent and promote its moral and material prosperity. We urge that the financial issues should be very carefully considered by the Government and the people and, in any case, no radical change should be effected of a nature subjecting India to a foreign economic domination deeper than the political one from which the country is struggling to extricate itself."

The Punjab Legislative Council.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Referring to the resolutions to be moved at the present session of the Punjab Legislative Council, proposing that the daily allowance of its members should be increased from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30, that the members should be permitted to place the word "Hon'ble" before their names and that they should be exempted from the operation of the Arms Act, the *Desh* of the 16th October remarks that it is difficult to see what the people, whose representatives the members of Council are, will gain if the above resolutions are passed. If these resolutions are accepted, the public will not be benefited and if they are rejected nobody will feel the least regret. The Council has already got a bad reputation, and if the representatives of the people desire to make themselves useful they should ascertain the needs of the public and discuss their grievances.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Viceroy and the Malabar disturbances.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

9. The *Siyasat* of the 20th October remarks that, like his predecessor, Lord Reading too has not cared to visit Malabar to see things on the spot. This attitude of the highest authorities in India leads to the conclusion that they do not care for the welfare of Indians.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid Salik, editor.

The North-West Frontier Province.

10. Writing in the *Zamindar* of the 16th October "One in the Know" states that the Frontier Crimes Regulations and other similar laws were framed to check the unlawful activities of the frontier tribes. But it is strange that while a breach of law is committed by armed tribesmen, unarmed subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor are made to suffer the consequences. The Mohmands attempt to entice away a European lady but Khawaja Muhammad Khan is handcuffed. The Waziris commit a dacoity in Bannu and the mosque at Landi Kot is demolished. Malik Musa Khan fires on British troops and Maulvi Muhammad Jan and Malik Khuda Bakhsh are made to grind the mill in jail. Haji Abdul Razaq causes a disturbance at Nekman and Haji Jan Muhammad of Peshawar is arrested. Haji Farauqzai hoists the flag of *Jehad* in the mountains and Lala Lajpat Rai is forbidden to go across the Indus.

SWARAJ, (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Malik Lal Khan and Nadhan Singh.

11. The *Swaraj* of the 14th October writes that a wave of repression is sweeping over the whole country and the hopes of the Punjab associated with Sir Edward Maclagan's personality have been frustrated. While the coöperators are not called to account even for the greatest provocation, non-coöperators are arrested, though they remain within the limits of law. No notice has been taken of the abusive language which Sufi Lachhman Parshad used at the meetings of the Liberal League against the people; but law-abiding and peaceful workers like Malik Lal Khan and Sardar Nadhan Singh have been gagged. We admit that they have committed the fault of exerting themselves to make India free and advising their countrymen to inaugurate a boycott of foreign cloth and wear *khaddar*. But is there any law according to which it is an offence to preach *Swadeshi*? Was there any manifestation of violence in consequence of the speeches of these two gentlemen? What is it then that led the authorities to impose restrictions on their freedom of speech?. The orders of the authorities have afforded another proof of the fact that the Punjab Government is opposed to the wearing of *khaddar* and is anxious to see people wear cloth manufactured in Manchester and Lancashire. From the very beginning Government has carried the wealth of the whole world to its own people. It is our own mistake that we failed to discover the tricks of the Government and ruined ourselves by putting faith in its alluring promises. We should like to assure Government that Indians have grown wiser and discovered the causes of their poverty and starvation.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

The *Zamindar* case.

12. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 20th October affirms that by convicting Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan and Raja Ghulam Kadir, and by demanding securities, Government cannot stop the *Zamindar* from raising its voice of truth. Indeed, after these convictions, the *Zamindar* has been performing its duty with increased energy and zeal. The *Zamindar* possesses great powers of recuperation. The more it is pressed the greater the force with which it rebounds. It will destroy the citadel of the oppressor's wishes with one stroke of the pen. On receiving a copy of the judgment in the case the *Zamindar* will show how justice has been murdered by Government officials and how they subject the servants of the country and community to oppression.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*b*) The ***Partap*** of the 20th October observes that the sentences have proved that the minimum punishment in cases of sedition in the Punjab will be three years, though in other provinces it is ten months. The time has gone by to sympathise with any arrested people, who are now congratulated for their privilege to take part in the struggle for freedem. We congratulate Akhtar Ali Khan and Ghulam Kadir Khan on their good fortune and hope that they will remain firm in their trial.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The ***Kesari*** of the 20th October says that Akhtar Ali Khan has gone further than even his father, seeing that he refused to make any defence. Both son and father are now in jail. The *Zamindar* for which these sacrifices are being made is serving the country and the nation as ever. We offer our sincere congratulations to all the members of this family.

SIYASAT Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*d*) The ***Siyasat*** of the 22nd October says that it is absurd to criticise the high handed proceedings of the Government or the unjust decision of the court. Of all those patriots, who have so far been convicted under sections 124 and 153, Indian Penal Code, Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan is probably the youngest.

Raja Ghulam Kadir Khan is an old person. The cruel British court has sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for three years. His fault was that he was the publisher of the *Zamindar*. And some thought that a higher sentence would be passed against him. The British authorities are prejudiced against the *Zamindar* and they are, therefore, ever ready to ruin it. Surely the public should emulate the example of these patriots.

The Agra rape case.

KESARI (Lahore) Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

13. (*a*) The *Kesri* of the 19th October says that three European soldiers are being prosecuted in Agra on the charge of having outraged a Hindu woman. If the prosecution story is true, will there be any hard-hearted person who will not shed tears of blood over the painful incident? We invite the attention of Lord Reading to this shameful act of high handedness and ask His Excellency whether such incidents do not sprinkle salt on the wounds of Indians. May we hope that Lord Reading will secure the award of deterrent punishment to the accused to prevent the recurrence of such shameful incidents?

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 22nd October draws the attention of Lord Reading to the case and calls upon the Indians to make persistent efforts to put an end to this state of things once for all. The Indians would rather die than continue to be the passive spectators of the violation of the chastity of their mothers, sisters and daughters. Government should take steps to make it impossible for British soldiers to make outrageous attacks on Indian ladies.

A suit filed against a Captain.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

14. The *Zamindar* of the 15th October writes that Mr. B. L. Mozumdar has filed a suit against a British Captain in the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. The prosecution story is that the Captain addressed the complainant as a black swine. We cannot comment upon the case which is *sub-judice*. But we must remark that the foul-mouthedness to which some ill-bred and mean-tempered British soldiers resort in their dealings with Indians has exceeded all limits. Day and night Lord Reading sings the song of racial equality and justice in loud tunes; but the difficulty is that his actions are hardly consistent with his confessions. He would do well to forbid his pets who are getting over-proud of their power from committing such mean acts. The Captain should have imagined what would have been the reflections of a British soldier if an Indian had addressed him as a "white swine." Could he tolerate such offensive words?

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Government and Sikh *Gurdwaras*.

SANSAR, (Amritsar); Sakhur Singh, editor.

15. The bureaucracy hitherto declared that they never interfered with the religious affairs of any body. But now when they attacked Kuma Singh's *gurdwara*, locked it up and ordered the *Akalis* not to enter it, how will they, asks the *Sansar* of the 21st October, explain their conduct? It is clear that it is the bureaucracy and not the *Mahants* who have taken possession of *gurdwaras*.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lawrence statue.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid *Salik*, editor.

16. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 16th October congratulates the Lahore Municipal Committee on its decision to remove the Lawrence statue and suggests that the best way to do so would be to convert the statue into a fountain to be fixed at the Jallianwala Bagh with the following inscription carved thereon:—"With the soil of this place is mixed the blood of those self-respecting patriots who preferred death (to subjection), considering it opposed to their national honour to allow themselves to be governed by pen or sword."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 19th October refers to the resolution and thinks that in deference to public opinion it would be advisable to locate the statue at a place away from the gaze of Indians. The Lawrence Gardens would be a proper place.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 20th October, says that the step taken by the Deputy Commissioner in sending the police affords a further proof of his haughtiness. It remains to be seen in what capacity the Deputy Commissioner acted as he did.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand editor.

(*d*) The *Arya Gazette* of the 20th October deplores the order of the Commissioner suspending the resolution of the Lahore Municipal Committee.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(e) The *Partap* of the 21st October refuses to admit that the removal of the statue will injure the feelings of the European community. With what face does Government put in this plea since for years together it has had no regard for the sentiments of the Indians? It further deplores the action of the Deputy Commissioner in putting obstacles in the removal of the statue and says that it remains to the seen how the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Husain respects the feelings of his countrymen when the question goes up before him for final decision. It would be a most undesirable and unstatesman like act on the part of Government to allow the statue to remain at its present site.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(f) The *Vakil* of the 22nd October remarks that it would have been much better if the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner of Lahore had set things right by addressing the Municipal Commissioners on the subject. There is no justification for the suspension of the resolution.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(g) The *Tribune* of the 21st October writes.—"We have already said that public opinion will stongly condemn the Commissioner's action in suspending the resolution regarding the Lawrence statue passed at a recent meeting of the Lahore Municipal Committee. . . . . If the Commissioner's action is allowed to stand, it will mean that the officials have still the arbitrary and supreme control over the local bodies that they had before the Reforms Act was enacted. . . . We are quite clear in our mind that the Commissioner's action should be immediately cancelled by the Local Government, which in this case only means the Minister."

KESARI, (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur editor.

(h) The *Kesari* of the 23rd October thinks it needless to make any comment upon the letter recently sent by the Commissioner, Lahore, to the Lahore Municipal Committee, forbidding the Committee to remove the Lawrence statue from its present position. On the one hand, it is being loudly said that Indians have been granted sufficient freedom under the reform scheme, while on the other, their rights are being so interfered with that no one having the least sense of shame can tolerate it. The Commissioner had no right to interfere in the legitimate rights of the Lahore Municipality.

ZAMINDAR, (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

(i) The *Zamindar* of the 22nd October says that the statue and the land on which it stands belong to the Lahore Municipality, which has the sole right to keep or demolish it. We fail to understand the meaning of this usurping encroachment on the part of Government.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Communal representations on municipalities.

17. The *Vakil* of the 17th October writes that the question of communal representation on Municipalities is daily assuming an important aspect and without its solution existing conditions cannot improve. In the light of the Congress-League understanding, the number of Hindu and Musalman members should be equal and no regard should be paid to the numerical strength of a community. The Amritsar Municipality stands badly in need of the equalisation of the proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Jagraon Municipality.

18. In commenting upon the resolution of the Jagraon Municipality regarding the Municipal Board School and the enhancement of the terminal tax, the *Tribune* of the 23rd October writes:—"The Municipality, instead of opening cheap grain shops and resorting to other measures with a view to relieving distress, has actually resorted to increased taxation, the incidence of which would eventually fall upon the very classes who have been hardest hit by the prevailing scarcity. We earnestly hope the Commissioner, or failing him, the Minister in charge of local self-government will veto both proposals. There is no doubt that they are exceedingly unpopular and we have been assured that they would be condemned by a large majority of the people, if a plebiscite were taken. This ought to be a decisive argument with the Minister, even if it does not carry proper weight with the Commissioner."

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, Salik, editor.

The resignations by 56 constables.

19. A correspondent of the *Zamindar* of the 17th October reports from Saharanpur that in pursuance of the *fatwa* of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* and as a protest against the arrest of the national leaders, 56 police constables have resigned their posts. The *Zamindar* remarks that if the news is correct, it shows that

India's struggle for freedom is beginning to affect the police and the military.

The Extra Assistant Commissioners' Examination.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

20. Writing to the *Tribune* of the 21st October, a correspondent complains that this year the Committee for the Extra Assistant Commissioners' Examination has fixed the dates in haste. The *Diwali* comes on the 30th October and *Bhai Duj* on the 1st November. How can a Hindu candidate, who has to be at his home in these days, possibly join the examination? It is to be hoped that those in charge will mend what they should not have done.

Corruption in the Punjab.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

21. (*a*) A correspondent of the *Bande Mataram*, of the 19th October dwells on the question of corruption and thinks the suggestion that people should cease giving bribes is impracticable. To eradicate the evil, it is necessary for Government to be prompt in taking steps against even the highest officials. Corruption is rife in the Irrigation Department. Zamindars must give bribes to get a supply of water in time. It has been noticed that in this Department all officers, from the highest to the lowest, are corrupt. It is very difficult for an honest man to please his officers. The way to stop corruption is to increase the salaries of low-paid officials and promote honest officials. The secret police should enquire into the cases of bribery and Government should prosecute all corrupt officers without distinction of position or colour.

Vakil, (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 19th October publishes a communicated article, the writer of which asks how the public can give up bribery when officials demand bribes in different ways. Instead of asking people not to give bribes Government should prosecute all officers found to be corrupt. Those who give bribes will never have access to the Enquiry Committee, seeing that they will not go to a distant place like Simla to lay their grievances before the Committee. The employees in the Irrigation and Police Departments exact bribes and "white angles" take nothing in courts but their bargains are struck in private rooms and bath-rooms.

Colonel O'Brien.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

22. A correspondent writes to the *Tribune* of the 23rd October:—"A report that Colonel O'Brien of Gujranwala notoriety is going to be appointed to a very responsible post in the State on a high salary is agitating the minds of Bhawalpur people. They are shocked that the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan should appoint this officer with inglorious antecedents in a first class State in the Punjab. They desire the immediate succession of Nawab Bhawakhan, 5th on the *gadi*, who should be advised to form a new Representative Council for the administration of the State."

Chamba affairs.

Bande Mataram (Lahore) Lajpat Rai, editor.

23. A correspondent, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 20th October, alleges that in the courts of the Chamba State sentence is pronounced before the charge against the accused is proved. It is openly declared in the courts that the accused should be sentenced to so much imprisonment and fine. The backbiters are carrying on a brisk business. It is considered to be a religious duty to get village shop-keepers entangled in false and imaginary charges by backbiting. Traffic in women is in full swing in the State. Not only virgins and widows but even married women are sold. Regular sale deeds are drawn up and registered. Bad characters entice away women from the State and sell them in the Punjab. Drinking has considerably increased in the State. Consumption is, therefore, growing and 99 out of 100 persons are suffering from gonorrhoea and syphilis. As a consequence, leprosy is increasing. This compels people to sell their wives and daughters. Gambling too is rife and no legal steps are taken to put an end to this evil. All petitions to the Raja are torn up and this is done under the direction of Colonel Powney Thompson.

Government officials.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

24. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 21st October, says that in all independent countries in the world, Government servants display haughtiness only when they perform their official duty, but when off their duty they live and mix with other people like ordinary men. In India, however, Government officials are always showing their authority, and being inebriated

with the wine of authority they commit many objectionable acts. Sub-Inspectors, Tahsildars and Munsiffs expect everybody to salute them. The writer quotes the instances of two Indians who while recently travelling in a compartment with him abused coolies and their servants.

ZAMINDAR, (Lahore), Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

A poem.

25. The *Zamindar* of the 22nd October publishes a poem by "Muslim." It says:—

"When a crazy Englishman in open court had the aggrieved Mahabir slapped,

"Butler's Government could not even rebuke this representative of its justice.

"Thorns were sown in the path of Britain on the day these flowers of justice were scattered.

"If in face of this tyranny and oppression the personification of injustice* were still to speak of justice and equality,

"That blind man of London who repeatedly distributes mutton and chop to his kith and kin is far better than him."

*This probably refers to His Excellency Lord Reading.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turkey.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) In a recent issue the *Nation* writes that British policy in the East was based on enmity towards Islam and the treaty of Sevres should be revised and the war between the Turks and the Greeks stopped. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th October endorses the view and says that the British cabinet has done a clear injustice to Turkey and encouraged the Greeks, a point which counts much for the ill-will of the Muhammadans of India and other countries towards Britain. It is impossible for England to restore the confidence of the Muhammadans in the British Government without changing her present policy towards Turkey and returning Thrace and Smyrna to the Turks.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Miuhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 29th October remarks that an agreement between France and Turkey is now complete and France has undertaken to support the demand of Turkey for the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna. Great Britain should not oppose this restoration.

British influence in Persia.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 28th October tries to controvert the view of the *Morning Post* of London, which ascribes the decline of British influence in Persia to the Bolshevik propaganda. As a matter of fact, British Imperialists ascribe the responsibility for a struggle for freedom by a subject nation to the Bolsheviks, though they themselves are to blame for this.

India and Afghanistan.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

3. The *Zamindar* of the 27th October complains that the Indian public is being kept in the dark as to the fate of the negotiations with Afghanistan. The alliance between the Powers of Central Asia is certainly ominous. If

anything untoward happens on the Indian frontier owing to this union of the Central Asiatic Powers and vanquisted Germany joins them, British influence in Asia will receive a deadly blow. In order to avert the danger the paper suggests that the British Government should accede to the demand of the Turks, restore them their country, withdraw her troops from Arabia and grant freedom to India. Most probably the next bloody war will take place on the frontiers of India.

Sufi (Pindi Baha-ud-Din); Malak Muhammad Din, editor.

A danger to the white races.

4. A correspondent of the *Quarterly Review* has characterised the rapid progress of the dark races of Asia in the field of commerce and industry as a grave danger to the white races. Such are the views, writes the *Sufi* for the month of October, of a memeber of the nation which claims to be the pioneer of freedom. They reveal a system of Government that pretends to sympathise with us but is in reality a sworn enemy of ours.

Partap (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Indians in East Africa.

5. The *Partap* of the 26th October affirms that when the British Government is unable to protect the honour and rights of the Indians in her own colonies, she has no moral right to govern India. Government should liberate Indians and leave them alone to protect their rights.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

India's foreign policy.

6. Writing on the resolution of the Congress Working Committee regarding India's foreign policy, the *Tribune* of the 28th October thinks that India can legitimately ask neighbouring States to refuse to enter into treaties intended or calculated to injure herself or to prolong her condition of subjection.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Indian debate.

7. Writing in connection with the Indian debate in the House of Lords, the *Tribune* of the 29th October says :—" It is not India which is unfit for the new constitution but the new constitution which is unfit for India. . . . . We do not share Lord Curzon's hope that a mere message of good will will either make the Prince's tour a success or be fraught with much blessing to India. India is past the stage when mere words, however sweet, could work such a miracle . . . . . . There is absolutely no justification for giving a *carte blanche* to the Viceroy who after all is an individual. . . . The abdication of parliamentary responsibility in regard to India would undoubtedly be a blessing if properly carried out; but if that abdication is to mean the surrender of all authority into the hands of one man, we would deprecate the change as a change for the worse."

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

8. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd October says that if according to the *Daily Graphic* (London) the Prince of Wales is coming to India for sport, Indians will be highly disappointed. What is necessary at present is that the Prince should study the unrest in India in a disinterested manner and then draw the attention of the British Government to the necessity for its removal.

Sufi (Pindi Baha-ud-Din); Malik Muhammad Din, editor.

Military expenditure in India and Japan.

9. In its October number, the *Sufi* says that in comparing the military expenditure of India with Japan, Mr. Montagu has hurled a reproach on the former country. It is quite true that the population of Japan is smaller but its military expenditure is greater than that of India. But it should be borne in mind that there is a great difference between the political, commercial and economic conditions of both countries. While the Japanese Government has spared no pains in improving the commercial and industrial conditions of their country, Britain has devoted her entire energy to destroying the commercial and economic interests of India.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Fiscal Commission.

10. The *Tribune* of the 1st November 1921 thus comments upon the report of the Fiscal Commission :—"Whether a free trade or protectionist policy or a modification of either will obtain the barest necessaries of life to India's inhabitants is to be first determined and that policy which ensures this requirement will have to be supported. For this purpose the output of food grains should be increased and their exports limited only to the surplus quantity which should be very carefully determined. The present methods of crop estimates and calculations of available surplus are all faulty and expose the people to starvation and high prices. There must be a certain quantity of

surplus food stored to meet public requirements during scarcity and famine. And in regard to clothing the cotton grown in the country should be utilized to manufacture cloth in the cheapest manner. A free trade policy has only resulted in the export of more than half of India's cotton and the import of an equal amount of foreign manufactured cloth of finer varieties—thus exposing the people to nakedness and high price of cloth. It is, therefore, necessary to levy an import duty on cotton goods and an export duty on cotton. Similarly in regard to other articles of necessity to the people, cheapness, combined with facility of local manufacture, should be the main ideal and to secure it import and export tariffs should be regulated... Tariffs should be regulated to secure to the people all necessaries of life at cheap rates and in regard to luxuries and semi-luxuries duty might be levied for revenue purposes... Even land tax should be abolished and the bulk of the revenue should be raised by indirect taxes by levying duty on all kinds of luxuries and semi-luxuries... In regard to Indian industries it is difficult to say that they could be fostered only by raising custom duties on imported articles... In regard to the manufacture of articles, whose supply to the people at cheap prices is necessary, free imports should be allowed, fostering their local production by means of bounties, if necessary. It is not necessary, nor is it possible, that India should become independent of other countries in regard to her wants and requirements. There are essential articles which India should be able to manufacture for her own political strength and safety, for her economic well-being and for the comfort and prosperity of her people. There are many articles for which India has to depend on other countries, either partly or wholly, as for example, machinery, metals and chemicals. So protection can only be advocated for certain industries which are essential to her and to those which are likely, after a period, to be able to face foreign competition without assistance. And, as far as possible, care should be taken to avoid a protective policy pursued to the extent of provoking retaliation by foreign countries, either political or economic. A policy of imperial preference would at present have no support in India, as in the present condition of her economic stress, it is absolutely necessary to purchase all necessary imports in the cheapest market, without regard to political connections .. It would be wholly unjust to India in her present condition of political dependence to commit her to any policy of imperial preference. The tariff manipulation in regard to the export of hides, allowing a rebate to exports to colonies and other British possessions, was stoutly opposed in India and was adopted more or less in defiance of opposition. Steps should be taken to withdraw the concession allowed in this respect. It is clear, therefore, that India should adopt a policy of free trade in respect of certain articles and of protection in regard to others, including all those whose local manufacture is essential to her economic and political well-being. And in other respects, the present policy of regulating tariffs for revenue purposes mainly in respect of articles of luxury will have to be continued."

Unity between Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

11. (*a*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 22nd October, Pandit Mehr Chand, Principal, D. A.-V. College, Jullundur, says that Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs should realise their respective duties. The Hindu leaders are afraid of voicing Hindu sentiments and fear the displeasure of their Muslim and Sikh brethren. Such broad-mindedness of the Hindu leaders might prompt the Mussalmans and the Sikhs to demand special concessions on all occasions. What have the Hindu leaders done about the political disturbances in Malabar? Can the Hindu political leaders say what understanding they have arrived at with the Muslim and Sikh leaders to safeguard the lives and rights of the Hindus? The Hindu political leaders should remember that so long as they do not fearlessly safeguard the rights of their community the result cannot be good. They should follow the principle of "give and take."

(*b*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 24th October, Lala Lajpat Rai examines the above. He is not prepared to concede that in the Punjab, the Hindus are weaker than the Muhammadans or the Sikhs or that they need special protection against other communities. The Sikhs are much smaller in number both in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province than the Hindus. Various factors, religious, inherited and cultural, require that there should be love and friendship between both communities. Twenty years back, the relations between them were very cordial and the Sikhs always helped the Hindus. Even now no permanent barrier has arisen between them. Their superficial misunderstanding is only due to external causes, for which the educated classes are reponsible. At the outset the movement for separation from the Hindus was started among the Sikhs on the principles on which the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised the Muhammadans to stand away from the Indian National Congress. Although the Hindus opposed the movement, yet very powerful influences were working among the Sikhs. Thus the Sikhs succeeded in establishing their communal individuality. The writer thinks that it will be wiser for the Hindus to recognize the communal individuality of the Sikhs and arrive at an understanding with them so as to restore the natural and historical relations between the two communities. Council seats and Government posts should no more form a bone of contention between them. Again, it would be an act of folly to drag in the question of *gurdwaras*. It cannot be denied that Hindu officials are the most powerful enemies of the Hindus, while in the matter of kine slaughter Hindu *Sahukars* are the worst sinners. In fact, the division of Hindu society is responsible for their weakness. Another cause is the strained relations between Hindu money-lenders and Hindu zamindars. The Hindu public has nothing to fear from the Mussalmans or the Sikhs. This fear exists in the minds of the Hindu money-lenders and of weak but selfish and educated classes. The writer would appeal to the Hindus to expel this feeling from their minds.

(*c*) In the issue of the paper, dated the 27th October, the writer examines the question of the relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and says that before British rule money-lending and landed classes lived on friendly terms. But British laws and courts created such a spirit in the former that they ceased to have any regard for the latter. Thereafter the policy of the authorities changed and they began to incite the zamindars against the *Sahukars* and the relations between them became strained. There can be no denying the fact that the frontier Hindus need protection from Mussalman raiders and the British Government is also chary in affording this protection. In the frontier villages the Hindus are wholly at the mercy of the Muhammadans. It, therefore, behoves them to give up all hope of securing the protection of the British Government and to relinquish their villages or secure the love of their Mussalman neighbours and effect unity with them. As matters at present stand, the Hindus should establish pleasant relations with the Mussalmans and remove their internal weaknesses and differences. While on the political platform Hindu-Muslim unity is an accomplished fact, it is very weak in other relations of life. The two communities should try to create a feeling of trust and confidence in their minds for each other. Instead of the Hindus abusing the Muhammadans, the Hindu leaders should turn their attention to the internal weaknesses of their community.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore ;
Abdul Majid,
Salik,
editor.

The Moplah atrocities.

12. The *Zamindar* of the 26th October writes that the correspondents of Anglo-Indian and moderate papers are publishing long stories of Moplah atrocities ; but the reader should not believe these statements, as they are not supported by any proof. Misstatements are being circulated to create Hindu-Muslim dessensions. Any one publishing a report that might be harmful to the Government is at once arrested, but section 153-A has become paralysed against those who publish baseless and wild statements intended to sow feelings of enmity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore),
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The Gurdwara Bill.

13. The *Tribune* of the 29th October fails to understand what useful purpose can be served by the reintroduction of the Gurdwara Bill in the Legislative Council and thus raking up the whole controversy. Government made an attempt to legislate on the subject but failed and made matters worse. It should now leave the matter to the Sikh members of the Council to bring forward a fresh Bill or not as they think best in the interests of their constituents,

TRIBUNE
(Lahore),
K. N. Roy,
editor.

The Oudh Rent Bill : an objectionable ruling.

14. The *Tribune* of the 28th October writes :—"The ruling given by the President of the U. P. Legislative Council on the conduct of the dissenting members in withdrawing from the Select Committee on the

Oudh Rent Bill involves a constitutional issue of great importance. . . . If this view were to pass muster, then in future members of Select Committees would be debarred from exercising their right of protest in one most effective manner. Further, on the analogy of the case before the Council it would not be open to any member or members to leave a meeting of the Council itself as a measure of protest, without the consent of their constituents; for, after all what the Select Committee is to the full Council, that the full Council itself is to the country. We have grave doubts if hon'ble members would accept this interpretation of the constitutional position; nor are we sure that this position is accepted in other self-governing countries, where the representative form of government exists."

Foreign aid undesirable.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

15. Lala Lajpat Rai writes to the *Bande Mataram* of the 26th October that the policy of revolutionary Indians outside India to secure liberty for Indians with the help of foreign nations is wholly wrong. To act upon their views will lead to ruinous consequences Indians should stick to non-violent noncoöperation and should never think of fighting with arms and should stick to non-coöperation with patience and forbearance. For success moral courage, boldness and self-sacrifice are needed. To obtain liberty with the help of foreign nations is tantamount to passing from one slavery to another.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The confiscated *fatwa*.

ZULFIKAR (Lahore); Saiyed Ahmad Shah, editor.

16. (*a*) The *Zulfikar* of the 24th October refuses to believe that the *Ulema* who affixed their signatures to the confiscated *fatwa* are the recognised *Ulema* of the country. *Fatwas* of this nature are signed and issued with the avowed object of creating mischief. They are not issued in obedience to any religious behest. The *Ulema* are at the present moment serving Mr. Gandhi and not their God. Had they been obedient to the injunctions of God and had it been enjoined upon them to issue such *fatwas* under the British rule, they would have done so much earlier. The *fatwa* has, therefore, been issued not in pursuance of the behests of God but to create mischief. It is necessary that Government should forfeit it. Those who support it are of a seditious turn of mind and must be dealt with according to the law.
religion.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Swaraj* of the 27th October refers to the demand of security from the Ghani-ul-Mataba Press of Delhi for having printed the proscribed *fatwa* and advises the press not to deposit any security. It also requests other presses not to hesitate in doing their duty. They should prefer the commandments of God to those of the worldly rulers and abide by the dictates of their religion.

The Quetta shooting case.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

17. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 29th October writes that in the acquittal of Private George David Chaffe of the Devonshire regiment, one more case has been added to the list of those in which European jurors have refused to convict a European accused in the face of the clearest evidence of his guilt. The case for the prosecution was not conducted with the vigour that might be desired in a case of this kind. The Government Advocate took an extraordinarily lenient position towards the accused and the jury declared him to be not guilty. We would draw the attention of the Viceroy to the remarks of the presiding judge addressed to the prisoner at the bar. Here was a case of a verdict which even the presiding judge had no hesitation in considering indefensible and yet the accused went scot free. If even this case does not convince the Viceroy both of the extent to which racial feeling exists among a class of Europeans in India and of the pernicious consequence of the preferential treatment accorded to Europeans accused of criminal offences as compared with Indians, nothing will do so.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 31st October, says that he would like to draw attention to the attitude of the Government Advocate. While holding the statement of the accused to be wrong, he argued that the accident took place as the accused did not know the vernacular language and the wounded could not understand English. It was due to this misunderstanding between the two that the accused fired. The Government advocate further argued that the accused was guilty of negligence. The attention of Lala Pindi Dass Sabbarwal and Lala Shiv Narain might be drawn to these arguments of Mr. Herbert's, who should see how great is the difference between their ways and Mr. Herbert's.

SANT SAMACHAR (Amritsar); Swami Arjan Muni, editor.

The Nankana case.

18. (*a*) The *Sant Samachar* of the 18th October thinks that Mahant Narain Das is innocent and the news of his death sentence will shock the *Udasis* who should tell the Government that not only they but the *Akali* Sikhs also are loudly crying for his release. Cannot the law under which Sikh prisoners were released be applied to the Nankana case?

BHARAT (Amritsar); Pandit Ballia Ram, editor.

(*b*) The *Bharat* of the 22nd October states that besides the *Udasis* most ~~Hindus are not satisfied with the judgment.~~ Mahant Narain Das may have by now filed an appeal in the High Court and we have every hope that the learned Judges will do justice by laying emphasis on the true facts. The Punjab Government should also do justice in the case by paying full attention to the matter and releasing the Mahant like the *Akalis* under Royal clemency.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Kasauli police case.

19. J. C. writes to the *Tribune* of the 25th October:—"The judgment pronounced by Mr. P. L. C. Chandu Lal, in the Kasauli police case, is certainly admirably just regarding the findings, but one cannot but grumble at the miserable inadequacy of the punishment—which is very lenient as indeed remarked by the Magistrate himself. One can only imagine the troubles of the shookeepers whom the Police wanted to enmesh by making out a false case. Supposing that the Police had succeeded in proving the case, how severe and unjust would have been the punishment for the shopkeepers. The Police have succeeded many a times in such prosecutions, and in harrassing innocent people. Surely, then, justice requires an exemplary punishment to be administered to the Police when proved to have been found guilty. In this case the Magistrate believes that the Sub-Inspector will be dealt with departmentally, which means at most a reduction or dismissal; but the Departmental punishment will not equal what the Magistrate, in justice, should have inflicted. The Departmental punishment, if it is to be just, should be that the guilty man should be criminally prosecuted for tampering with Government records by creating false evidence for private illegal purposes."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

Mr. Yakub Hasan's arrest.

20. The *Partap* of the 26th October says that the present repression is a forerunner of *swaraj*. The country should be prepared for a struggle without which Government is not prepared to grant *swaraj*. Government arrests people for giving expression to our settled principles and all should be prepared to repeat them. We are rather surprised at the policy of the Government. On the one hand, it is bringing the Prince of Wales to India and, on the other, it is practising great repression.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Repression in Madras.

21. The *Tribune* of the 27th October writes:—"The Madras Government has surpassed its own record in repression by its order prohibiting a public meeting which was to be held in Madras on the 21st October. The order stated *inter alia* that the Magistrate who issued it apprehended that if the meeting were held, there would be 'riots, affray and other disturbances of the public tranquility.' .... How utterly unfounded the apprension was, is further shown by the fact that similar meetings have been held all over the country, and in not a single case have they or any of them been attended with untoward incidents."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

The insult to Pandit Mahabir.

22. The *Kesari* of the 23rd October, in condemning the conduct of the District Magistrate, Bulandshahr, who ordered a police constable to slap Pandit Mahabir in court, and in expressing dissatisfaction with the apology subsequently tendered by him, asserts that such Magistrates are not fit to be kept in service for a minute, as they can do nothing except cause miscarriage of justice.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The Mahants' memorial.

23. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 23rd October says that the conviction of Mahant Narain Das and the report of the release of the Sikh accused in the *Gurdwara* cases have filled the hearts of the *Mahant* party with envy, sorrow and wrath and have blasted its hopes. After referring to the memorial submitted by the *Mahants* to Government, the paper says that the Sikhs have made great

sacrifices for Government and they will be reconciled to Government if it removes their principal complaints. The statement of the *Mahants* that the *Akalis* captured the *Gurdwaras* with the object of utilising their money for political purposes is simply unfounded, nay mischievous. It is also a lie to say that the *Akalis* are turning *Mahants* out of the *Gurdwaras* because they are loyal to the Government. Political views have nothing to do with the *Gurdwara* movement. The object of the memorial is to inflame the mind of Government against the Sikhs, but we hope that His Excellency the Governor will pay no heed to the memorial.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Appeal to the Sikh members of Councils to resign.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

24. The *Akali* of the 24th October exhorts the Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council to resign their seats. It appeals to them to do so in the name of the 10th Guru. Government is about to take forcible possession of the old historic *Gurdwara* of Teja, in the district of Gurdaspur, associated with the name of Baba Budha. The paper gives a month's time to the Sikh members to obey the call of the community; otherwise, they will be regarded as betraying their community and a strong agitation will be started against them.

A complaint against the canal officers of Pakpattan.

PUNJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

25. Sardar Hukam Singh, *Rais*, Kalyana, writes to the *Punjab Darpan* of the 19th October that this year the Kitchin Canal had a larger supply of water than during previous years, but the obstinate officers allowed the canal to remain closed, with the result that the crops have withered. The Deputy Commissioner toured through the *ilaqa* and assured the people that the complaint would be removed. The paper says that the officers have adopted this attitude as a punishment to the zamindars for taking part in the *swaraj* movement.

Baba Gurdit Singh of the *Komagata Maru*.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh Gyani, editor.

26. Writing to the *Akali* of the 27th October, Gurdit Singh, of the *Komagata Maru*, says that the truth is that some ever-lasting and great power is now compelling him to demand his rights, for which he is prepared either to get justice or go to the gallows. The question arises from whom he will get justice and by whom he will be hanged. All hope of getting justice from the British Government has vanished, because "British justice" has long since been murdered by the selfish English people and to-day the corpse of "British justice" is emitting the obnoxious smell of racial bias, fraud and falsehood. It is, therefore, highly dangerous, in the circumstances, for the life and purity of man himself to approach it. After giving up all hopes of securing justice from this Government, he has fully determined to follow in the footsteps of his innocent brethren and sisters, who fell victims to the martial law regime or who are rotting in English jails for raising their voice in favour of truth, religion, justice and liberty.

Political work in Native States.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

27. Lala Lajpat Rai, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 28th October, says that a resident of a Native State has put the following questions to him:—

1. Whether the subjects of the Native States have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of their States.
2. If so, whether it is proper for them to practise non-coöperation.
3. If the internal affairs of the States are not to be interfered with, what principles should Congress Committees follow in carrying on their propaganda?

The answer to the first question is in the affirmative. It is the duty of people to criticise the administration of their Government and let it know their demands and views. The answer to the second question is in the negative. The Congress has sanctioned non-coöperation for British territory, because it is a foreign Government. The people of the Native States should approach their rulers with their requests, should openly criticise their Government and bring all the defects of the administration to the notice of the Government of India and the Indian nation. If all this proves futile, they will then have the right to resort to non-coöperation. As to the third question, Congress Committees in Native States should sympathise with the British subjects in their present struggle and bring about a political awakening in the States and boycott foreign goods. It is, however, not necessary for them to boycott State Councils or refuse to pay taxes. The Indian Ruling Chiefs should reduce their personal expenses and grant their subjects all the rights enjoyed by people in British territory.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Muhammadans and reforms in the Kashmir State.

28. Writing in connection with the reforms being introduced in the Kashmir State, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th October wants His Highness the Maharaja to give Muhammadans proper representation in the Executive and Legislative Councils. It also pleads for the appointment of a Muhammadan Judge to the State High Court.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 5th November 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Egypt.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st November says that the most noticeable feature of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement is that it will be a permanent one. This has been done to safeguard British interests—a fact opposed to the real independence of Egypt. The agreement should provide for the decision of all important questions in a manner beneficial to both parties.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 5th November says that the proposed Anglo-Egyptian agreement will be placed before the National Assembly of Egypt in the middle of November. The terms of the agreement are quite opposed to Egypt's complete independence and none is inclined to believe that Egypt can enjoy the benefits of liberty under these terms, which constitute chains of bondage for the people of Egypt.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 4th November remarks that a satisfactory solution of the questions regarding the independence of Egypt and Ireland will give an impetus to the movement for liberty in India.

Indians in East Africa.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd November writes that the proposals formulated by the Governor of Kenya about the representation of Indians on the Councils are extremely surprising and despotic. When it has been decided in the last Imperial Council—a decision which has received the support of the British

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cabinet—that Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in all British Colonies, excepting South Africa, the Governor of Kenya has acted in contravention of the decision in question by allowing a lower status to Indians in the matter of representation. It transpires that if the proposals made by the Governor are not accepted and if the matter be not compromised, the question will be referred to a Royal Commission for enquiry. This is an unnecessary measure. Indians may be given equal rights in accordance with the decision of the Imperial Council and all disputes should be at once put an end to. There is no need of appointing a Royal Commission. There can be no denying the fact that Indians cannot remain quiet without obtaining their legitimate rights. So long as they do not obtain them and are not placed on a footing of equality in the British Colonies neither can their agitation come to an end nor can they feel satisfied.

Siyasat (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

England and Turkey.

3. The *Siyasat* of the 30th October remarks that like France, Italy too wishes to make friends with Turkey. Great Britain is now the only Power which is adopting an attitude of partiality in Turko-Greek affairs. In the present circumstances, it will be quite right to say that it is simply British statesmen who have been instigating the Greeks to fight against the Turkish nationalists. Morality and justice demand that the Turkish demands should be accepted in full. If imprudent British statesmen go on patting Greece on the back, the state of affairs in Asia will surely go from bad to worse.

Zamindar (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

The exhibition in London.

4. The *Zamindar* of the 30th October says that in his speech at the London Mansion House the Prince of Wales expressed the wish that the proposed exhibition at London might find out ways to collect raw material from new markets. The Prince added that Indian representatives had welcomed the suggestions to hold an exhibition in London. It is not known who were India's representatives who accepted the proposal, a proposal that is likely to prove detrimental to the economical progress of India. Indians cannot tolerate that foreigners should come to their country and deprive them of their prosperity and prove instrumental in enriching the British nation.

II—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Prince of Wales.

5. In an article published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd November Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the speech of Munshi Muharram Ali Chishti delivered at the Lawrence Hall in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales. He said that hospitality towards guests was a trait of Eastern nations and that therefore they should show hospitality to the Prince, who was coming here as their guest. It is due to this Oriental hopitality, says the writer, that today all the nations of Asia are becoming slaves and European guests, while sitting at the dining-table of their hosts, do not leave behind even a bone for them. It is due to this hospitality that today even the impression of the degradation and ruin of Islam has been removed from the mind of the speaker, who considering the membership of the Punjab Council as a sign of Islamic glory is inviting the Prince on behalf of the poor rate-payers of the country. The whole of Asia, from China to Asia Minor, has already fallen a victim to this hospitality. It would have been a matter for pleasure if public money had not been spent in connection with the hospitality to the Prince if Raja Narindra Nath, who owns a lot of money had incurred expenses for this hospitality from his own pocket and if those persons who are earning thousands of rupees monthly under the British Government merely by making speeches had joined the function on payment of a handsome sum of money. It is indeed a very cheap bargain to get the credit of hospitality by paying Rs. 10 only per head. It is, in fact, very easy to show hospitality at the expense of others, especially when the latter have no voice or power, and the reponsibility and burden of whose protection and representation lies on the shoulders of persons like Maulvi Muharram Ali. This hospitality will be shown at the expense of the public, but rewards, titles, squares, appointments, high posts and powers will fall to the lot of the Maulvi's associates. How well would it be, if in reward for this hospitality a year's revenue were remitted to the agriculturists and the deficit so caused in the Government treasury made good by the hosts who are claiming to show hospitality to the Prince on behalf of the people. Great Britain is

far wealtheir than India. Why does not the Maulvi propose that the expenses of the Royal visit should be borne by British exchequer? Even the King is cutting down his expenditure but it is the Indian representatives who are boasting of Eastern hospitality at the expense of others. Surely a great change has come upon the Maulvi. He is not the same man who used to edit the *Rafiq* in 1881-83 and who used to make fiery speeches on the Congress platform.

The present situation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd November says:—"Lord Lytton was undoubtedly right when he said in the course of the recent debate in the House of Lords that 'the great mass of Indians' were absolutely loyal, but if his words were also intended to convey the impression that they were contented, he was equally undoubtedly wrong. Not only the great mass but all, save a handful, are still loyal, in the sense that they do not desire to go outside the Empire, if they can have full self-government within it, but let no one deceive himself into believing that this is the same thing as to say that they are in favour of the indefinite prolongation of the present order of things, or that they do not desire by every constitutional means in their power to terminate the present order as early as possible. As a matter of fact, as we have said again and again, there never was graver discontent and dissatisfaction with the existing order of things than now, and it is the duty of statesmanship to take note of this fact."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) With reference to the resolution of civil disobedience passed by the All-India Congress Committee, the *Tribune* of the 8th November says:—"But whether the struggle be localised in a small area or assumes a general character, there is not the smallest doubt that it will be a serious thing for both the Government and the people. It seems, indeed, that things in India are slowly approximating to those in Ireland. Whether this is due to a love of imitation in either the Government or the people, or to the fact that, after all, human nature being the same in India as in Ireland, the same causes are bound to produce the same effect in the one case as in other, is more or less immaterial. . . . Here is a warning both for the Government and for the people: for the former because it is clearly to its interest that it should do everything in its power, while there is time, to prevent things coming to ahead both by avoiding the blunders of England in Ireland and by following a policy of conciliation of which justice and freedom shall be the twin note; for the latter because it is not only to their own best interest but to the best interest of their country to do everything in their power to avoid the sinful quagmire into which things have drifted in Ireland."

The Gurdwara Bill.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

7. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 6th November thinks that there would have been no apprehension of disputes over *Gurdwaras* had the Punjab Government passed the Gurdwara Bill. The new policy of attaching *Gurdwaras* is very provoking and deplorable. All the *Mahants* will have *Gurdwaras* attached and this will inflame the minds of the Sikhs. We advise the Government to stick to the policy of leniency and pass the Gurdwara Bill forthwith.

Railway management.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. In reviewing the report of the Indian Railway Committee, the *Tribune* of the 6th November writes:—"An overwhelming majority of the people of India indeed want their railways to be managed by the State, because they are convinced that their wants and requirements, both moral and material, are best secured by direct State management under the present circumstances of the country. This national demand cannot be resisted, nor are there any justifiable reasons for vetoing it." . . . Proceeding the paper questions the soundness of the statement that if the management is entrusted to new companies, they would be to able to raise ample funds with greater facility and at cheaper rates, and continues:—"It is with the money secured on Indian taxation that the Indian railways have been almost entirely built up. It is the Indian people who use the railways and pay the rates and fares. Why should they allow the system to be managed by profit-earning capitalists and their associated groups of exploiters, Indian or foreign? We, therefore, strongly support the conclusions of Sir William Ackworth, Mr. Sastri and others on this problem."

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

Separation of executive from judicial functions.

9. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th November says that Mian Shah Nawaz's resolution on the separation of executive from judicial functions at the recent meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council should be given a practical shape regardless of considerations of expense.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore).
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

Allowances for Members of Council.

10. Writing to the *Banda Mataram* of the 2nd November, Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the increase of the daily allowance for the members of the Punjab Legislative Council and says that the greatest drawback in the existing reform scheme lies in its financial extravagance, and so long as complete democratic rule is not established, this extravagance will go on increasing daily. When the members see that the Ministers are drawing princely salaries, in addition to first class travelling allowances, they see no reason to serve the Council gratuitously.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

The Moplah atrocities.

11. In a signed article published in the *Bande Mataram* of the 30th October, Lala Lajpat Rai says:—There can be no gainsaying the fact that the Hindus were subjected to great atrocities in Malabar and some of them were even forcibly converted to Islam. But the official versions of the Malabar incidents are full of mischief and malice. Much stress is laid on the telegrams reporting the atrocities perpetuated on the Hindus. Statements of certain persons are recorded and published and this is done clearly to serve a political purpose, *viz.*, to provoke the Hindus. I am of opinion that a thorough enquiry only will show how far the allegations are true. The Punjabis know by experience how British officers and correspondents tell lies to meet their requirements. How many plain lies did Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself tell and make others do the same? Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province. If Englishmen of his position can tell lies, nothing need be said of others. We have had sufficient experience of the moral character of the Christian missionaries in the Punjab from the manner in which they identified themselves with English officers during the martial law days. The present is a critical time for us and we must exercise the greatest prudence and forbearance in all that we do. Those who are now exciting us against Muhammadans are not our friends. Not long ago, they were inflaming Muhammadans against us. Even now they do so when they find an opportunity. We should keep ourselves cool. After all Hindus and Muhammadans have to live together in this country. We should take steps to avoid a repetition of the Malabar incidents and put an end to such events once for all. It seems to be the policy of the English to utilize the Malabar trouble to separate us from the Muhammadans and impress on our minds that it is only under British rule that the Hindus can remain safe. I believe my Hindu brethren thoroughly realise this move and will do nothing by words or deeds to ensure the success of this move, the object of which is to defeat us on the political chess-board. It is our duty to checkmate it."

VAKIL,
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

The Muslim League.

12. The *Vakil* of the 3rd November writes that by electing Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as President of the next Session of the All-India Muslim League, the League has approved of the principles guiding the Congress and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. In doing so, the League has admitted that theologians also can efficiently guide Muhammadans in politics. Again it has thus given a challenge to Government in obedience to the wishes of the Congress.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Abdul Majid
Salik,
editor.

The Muslim League and the question of the Arabian Peninsula.

13. The *Zamindar* of the 3rd November publishes a communication from Agha Muhammad Safdar. It appears from the speeches and writings of Sir Agha Khan and Messrs. Jinnah and Kidwai that at the present moment they do not attach any great importance to the question relating to the Arabian Peninsula and are of opinion that the welfare of the Turkish nation lies in the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna to the Government of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha. The writer advises the Muslim public to think over all the aspects of the question before they form an opinion. The question regarding the Arabian Peninsula is a religious one and the whole of Mesopotamia and Palestine is directly or indirectly under the British influence. In these circumstances, it is unlawful from the religious point of view that the

Mussalmans of India should exclude the question of the Arabian Peninsula from the Khilafat demands. Secondly the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna is necessary to strengthen the hands of the Angora Government. The defeat which the Greeks have suffered at the hands of Mustafa Kamal Pasha has greatly distressed England and she is anxious to bring the question of Thrace and Smyrna into prominence with a view to silence the Indian Muhammadans. When the question of the Arabian Peninsula thus falls into the back-ground, the English will be able to obtain possession of Mesopotamia. But the question of the Arabian Peninsula is a religious one and the demand in its connection will remain for ever. The question of Thrace and Smyrna concerns the Turkish Government only and that of the Arabian Peninsula concerns all the Mussalmans of the world.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Government interference with the Indians' religions.

14. (*a*) The *Swaraj* publishes a series of three articles under the heading "Third attack on the religion of the Indians." In its issue of the 26th October 1921, the paper says that two or three years ago the British Government used to shoot from behind the hedge with a view to wound the religious susceptibilities of the Indians. Since its victory in the European war it has begun to openly attack the religions of the Indians. During the war, the Indians relied on the pledges given by the British Ministers and imagined that the promises would be kept, but they found out their mistake and discovered that the Government had used them and their wealth to destroy their religion and brethren. The Arabian Peninsula and the holy places are in the hands of the non-Muslims in direct contravention of the teachings of the holy Koran and every inch of Turkey is directly or indirectly in the possession of the English. Our benign Government is bent upon bringing about the destruction of the Ottoman nationalists.

(*b*) In the next issue, the *Swaraj* states that the indifference exhibited by the Government towards the *Gurdwara* reform movement, the enactment of the Nankana tragedy and the subsequent arrest of large numbers of Sikhs have served as an eye-opener for the Sikhs, who have also realised that so long as India is not free their lives and property will not be free from danger. Although Government had several times attacked Hinduism, still the arrest of Jagat Guru of Shardapeth showed that Government could arrest the greatest religious leader of the Hindus on his performance of a religious duty by describing him as a rebel. Nor is this all. Government has by using insolent language towards the Guru tried to lessen the respect and regard in which the Hindus hold him. No shameful attack greater than this can be made by a non-Hindu Government on the religion of the Hindus.

(*c*) In the third instalment of the article, published in the *Swaraj* of the 29th October Government is charged with being far from satisfied with the arrest of the greatest religious leader of India, the use of insulting language against him and the infliction of deep wounds on the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. It has begun to interfere with their religious festivals. For instance, at several places, the police forcibly stopped the Ram Lila processions this year. The *Dusehra* festival was not celebrated at Lahore and Rawalpindi. At Cawnpore the police stopped the marriage procession of Maharaja Bharat, and at some other places similar events took place. If this attitude of the police remains unchanged, it will become impossible for the Hindus to celebrate the *Dusehra*. Indians have adopted non-coöperation against the Government and they regard it as a sin to require the help of the police or the Government in political, religious and social matters. Then why does the police interfere in our affairs? It has no other object but to injure the cause of non-coöperation by provoking the people. We want, however, to assure Government, that it can never realize its hopes. In the the course of these articles we have proved that Government has been guilty of palpable interference in the religions of the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs. If Indians do not make an effort to check this, the day is not distant when they will be required to obtain permission from the local officers before offering devotions, saying prayers and reading the Granth Sahib. The orders to obtain a license from the police for parading the *Dusehra* procession amply corroborate our view. To tell the truth, so long as India is under foreign rule, Indians cannot consider their religions safe. Nor can they gain their object by co-öperation. There is only one way left and that is that we should gain independence by severing all connection with the Government. This movement has been inaugurated from a political point of view. But the fact is that according to our religions it is a heavy sin to coöperate with such a Government. The holy Koran, the sacred traditions, the holy Vedas, the Hindu Dharm Shastras and the Sikh Granth all preach that it is not lawful to co-öperate with or to give any kind of help to such a Government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The case of Lala Amir Chand and Lala Ajudhya Nath.

15. (*a*) Lala Lajpat Rai writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd November refers to the judgment in the case against Amir Chand and Ajudhia Nath and says that very few pleaders follow their conscience while arguing a case. He never heard such absurd arguments as were advanced by the Public Prosecutor in the present case. The decision has proved that the trial of such cases is nothing but a farce. It is not proved that Ajudhya Nath stopped any police officer. Ajudhya Nath's statement was so frank that no magistrate should have hesitated to believe it. It was the duty of every honest Public Prosecutor to withdraw the case against the accused on the basis of this statement. Again it has not been proved that Amir Chand assaulted any police officer. The evidence on this point is absolutely false.

(*b*) In a signed article in the *Bande Mataram* of the 4th November Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the judgment and says that it was essential for the prosecution to prove that the Sub-Inspectors had a right to attend the meeting. No conscientious pleader would venture to assert that the Bradlaugh Hall was a public place for the proposes of the Police Act: Does not the Public Prosecutor know that buildings do not become public simply because they happen to be built with public subscriptions? If the organisers of the meeting had arranged to admit the people by tickets, could the Public Prosecutor still argue that the police and the public had the power to enter the Hall without tickets? No authority was quoted to prove that the police had the right to attend the meeting without the authority of a magistrate. The accused made no defence and gladly went to jail. But the Ministers and the High Court are yet to be put to the test. Let us see what steps they take. The case of the Khilafat volunteers was also groundless.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 3rd November says it had heard that Sir John Maynard had called for the file and it hoped that the case would be withdrawn. If the case had gone up to the High Court, the sentence passed by Mr. Keough would have been surely quashed. But Lala Amir Chand is a non-coöperator and he will never appeal to the High Court. It is unnecessary to add that the case against Lala Ajudhia Nath was weaker than the case against Lala Amir Chand. Such decisions, however, injure the reputation of the courts.

TRIBUNE, (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 5th November says:—"We have no hesitation in saying that the conviction is wholly wrong.... What we cannot accept is the Magistrate's finding that under the law, as it stands, the police have a right of admission to public meetings. This right of admission must have its correlative in a duty on the part of the organisers of public meetings, to be enforced, if necessary, by a lawful penalty. Will the Magistrate or any one else kindly tell us where in the law such a penalty is provided for the due performance of this duty?... Now, imagine a case in which there was nobody at the gate actually to prevent the police officers from getting in, but in which the door had been carefully closed in due course a few minutes before the arrival of the police officers and was not opened in spite of their repeated knocking at it. In this case there would clearly be no prevention and no question of forcible obstruction and the present section could not, by the utmost stretch of imagination, be held to apply. And yet the failure to open the door would clearly be an offence if the police had a right of admission for in that case it would be the duty of the organisers to open the door when policemen knocked. Is the Magistrate prepared to hold that the rule which he cites as an authority imposes this duty on the organisers?... This rule [Police rule] only enjoins a duty upon the Superintendent and no corresponding duty on the organisers of public meetings. Had the latter been the object, it would not have been difficult to add words to that effect. Further, is it for a moment to be believed that so important a matter could have been left by the Legislature or the Government to be dealt with by a mere departmental head in the exercise of his rule making powers? . . . Even on the question of fact he is clearly wrong in convicting the second accused. The very prosecution of the young boy was an offence against common sense. . . To have prosecuted a boy of sixteen had all the appearance of vindictiveness. But if the prosecution was unwise, the conviction was unsustainable. The Magistrate disbelieved the denial of the accused, and seems also to have been influenced in arriving at his conclusion, by the latter's statement that had the police officers gone to the door at which he was on guard he would have prevented them from entering. But does not this statement itself, coupled with his whole demeanour both during the trial and previously, show that he was incapable of uttering a falsehood to save himself?"

The case of the Khilafat volunteers.

BANDE MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

16. In a signed article published in the *Bande Mataram* of the 3rd November, Lala Lajpat Rai refers to the judgment in the case of the four Khilafat volunteers of Lahore and says that he cannot help remarking that the order given by the Deputy Commissioner to the Khilafat volunteers to stand up could not be legally enforced. If the Deputy Commissioner had acted with a little sobriety the dispute would have ended without leading to any unpleasant incident. The Deputy Commissioner and the correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* have admitted in their evidence that the volunteers were seated quietly in a military fashion and they did nothing which could reasonably cause the apprehension of breach of peace in one's mind. In these circumstances, the writer wonders how any section of the Indian Penal Code could apply to them. In fact all this dispute was the result of the haughtiness of the Deputy Commissioner. The Court compound is open to all. It is open not only to the litigants, but even to those who wish to witness proceedings of cases. The Deputy Commissioner had issued no order that special men should go there. The entry of the Khilafat volunteers in the court compound, therefore, can in no way consitute an offence.

The case of Gurdwara Hothian.

AKALI
(Lahore);
Uttam Singh
Gyani,
editor.

17. The *Akali* of the 2nd November publishes an appeal from Kharak Singh, President of the Sharomani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, who refers to the Deputy Commissioner's judgment in the case of the *gurdawara* at village Hothian, District Gurdaspur, and says that the judgment is a shocking one. The Deputy Commissioner knew full well that the *Mahant* ran away with the whole property of the *gurdawara* on the 30th September. The Working Committee of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is going to the spot and all Sikhs should be prepared to reach Hothian in large numbers on receiving an invitation.

Arrests in Multan.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

18. The *Partab* of the 30th October says that the Government *communiqué* regarding the Multan arrests shows how wrong and misleading reports are sometimes made by local officers to their superiors. The matter was a trifling one. The public wanted to stage the drama of "Zakhmi Punjab" and the Superintendent of Police stopped it. The public thought that the order was illegal and staged the drama. It is not known what the Superintendent of Police wrote but a hundred soldiers surrounded the theatre. The report sent by the military to the Government of India is couched in language which shows that a great mutiny had broken out at Multan and Government had to face an inveterate foe, who was captured without any loss of life. We are surprised to read such *communiqués* issued by a mighty Government whose rule extends in all the continents of the world. *Communiqués* like these make the Government an object of ridicule in the eyes of the Indians, and outside India they spread mischief by creating a misunderstanding.

The conviction of the Ali Brothers, etc.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

19. (*a*) The ***Tribune*** of the 3rd November says:—"If the authorities wanted to send the brothers and Dr. Kitchlew to prison for two years, we do not think it would have been difficult for them at any time during the last twelve months to have done so without making the fuss they have succeeded in making in this case. They had only to bring a charge of sedition against them in connection with

some of their most outspoken utterances, for the ordinary run of Magistrate in any part of the country to convict them and sentence them to imprisonment for that period. This is not to say that those utterances were really seditious. In so far as they are directed against the system of government in India and are intended only to replace that system by a better by non-violent means, we for our part can never admit that they are seditious, no matter how strong or even indefensible some of them may be in their criticism of the Government. But our view in this case is not the view that the judiciary has usually taken, and so long as the definition of sedition in the Penal Code remains the vague and unduly comprehensive thing it is, and so long, moreover, as trial by jury is not provided for this class of cases, there is nothing to prevent a judiciary mostly recruited from the same service as the executive and steeped in its traditions from going on convicting every person against whom the executive chooses to bring a charge of sedition. Why instead of following this obvious course, the Government should have resorted to the questionable expedient of bringing charges of a graver nature against the accused, charges which, if proved, would probably have earned for them a sentence of transportation for life, entirely passes one's comprehension. It undoubtedly made the case far more sensational than it would otherwise have been. It also enabled the accused to appear before the public in the interesting character of religious martyrs. And how have the Government fared? On the two gravest charges, the only charges in respect of which the verdict of the jury was binding on the Court, the jury delivered a unanimous verdict of not guilty.' That, to our mind, is morally speaking, fairly decisive of the whole issue. We mean that after this verdict the prosecution cannot possibly claim that the moral victory is on its side. It is true that on the remaining charge, in respect of which the jurors were only assessors, the majority did return a verdict of 'guilty' against six out of the seven accused; but even this verdict was qualified by the statement that the jury had not taken the deep rooted religious convictions of the accused into their consideration. As these were practically the root of the whole question, a verdict which left them out of account might be technically valid, but is not likely to carry any moral weight, especially with the accused's co-religionists. In any case if the object of the prosecution was to damn the public character of the accused, to enlist the sympathy of the public on its own side, that object has clearly failed. So far as their countrymen are concerned, the accused are none the worse for the trial. We wish we could say the same thing of the prosecution. Surely a victory of which this is the essential character is a pyrrhic victory at best and a decisive defeat at the worst. Nor can we omit to say a word about the supreme inexpediency of implicating a person [Swami Shankar Acharya] in the case whom all the five jurors have found 'not guilty' on the first two counts and all the five assessors 'not guilty' on the third. His eminent position in the eyes of a large portion of his fellow countrymen, if nothing else, ought to have made such a man immune against prosecution except upon the clearest evidence of his guilt."

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 5th November writes:—"Neither the conviction of six of the seven accused in the Karachi case nor the sentence passed upon them by the Sessions Court can be justified. The real question was whether the statement made by the accused that their religion enjoined a certain course of conduct upon them was true, and whether if it was true, they were not protected by the exception under section 505... This case is tantamount to a complete moral defeat, and that the action of Government in prosecuting the seven leaders was supremely unwise, inexpedient and unstatesmanlike... If the resolution is bad in law and the Government wants to suppress the spirit underlying it by force, surely it is a matter of common sense that the successful prosecution of the six accused is only the starting point in a process the end of which no man can foresee... Challenge has already been thrown out to Government both by Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Kalam Azad. Is the Government prepared to take it up? Can it possibly take it up without creating for itself an impossible position?"

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th November thinks that the judgment in the case is quite an unexpected one. Nevertheless, it can never be imagined that the punishment of these innocent and respectable leaders, however light it may be, will ever satisfy the public, because they will think the accused innocent in spite of the improper and illegal proceedings of the so-called subordinate court and the

Sessions Court where the farce of the case was enacted to prove them guilty. We are unable to understand why Swami Shankar Acharya has been released although he shared the views of the rest of the accused. Besides there are thousands, nay millions, of men in India who repeated the Karachi resolution. And there are hundreds of men who appended their signatures to the Bombay manifesto issued by fifty respectable leaders, as also to the resolution passed by the All-India Working Committee at its Bombay meeting suggesting Government officials both in civil and military departments to give up service. In these circumstances, is it just to arrest six or seven men and punish them blindly?

(*d*) The *Vakil* of the 4th November characterises the conviction of the leaders in the Karachi trial as a serious mistake on the part of Government. Maulana Muhammad Ali repeatedly made his position clear by saying that he wanted to convey to his community and his co-religionists in the army only the religious commandments. That the leaders have been awarded a lenient punishment is a proof of the fact that the Judge had no strong reasons to convict them.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 4th November thinks that it is the beginning of the present struggle. Either the six martyrs will be released or hundreds and thousands of Indians will go with them to jail. No Government can maintain peace by wholesale arrests. Government may be in a position to keep India in subjection by keeping the people quiet. But it is impossible for it to rule. We congratulate our country on the conviction because we are confident that India will obtain Swaraj only when Indians will cease to fear imprisonment.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishna,
editor.

(*f*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th November says that the judgment has, for several reasons, cost Government dear.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

(*g*) The *Vakil* of the 5th November thinks that the Sessions Judge has committed a serious mistake in convicting the accused and has raised a legal point which may possibly lay the foundation of still greater agitation in the Islamic world.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Minhas,
editor.

(*h*) The *Akali* of the 6th November refers to the case against the Ali Brothers, etc., and says that the bureaucracy has grossly insulted the foremost leaders. Muhammad Ali and other patriots were awaiting the auspicious time of being hanged or sent to the Andamans or sentenced to imprisonment for life. Undoubtedly they have been considerably disappointed. The roots of the tree of the bureaucracy have now become hollow.

AKALI
(Lahore);
Uttam Singh
Giani,
editor.

(*i*) The *Siyasat* of the 7th November says that the Karachi trial of the Ali Brothers was the biggest political case in India in which Government has suffered a crushing defeat. Government should now abandon its policy of repression. We congratulate the Ali Brothers and their companions on giving proof of their unusual patience and perseverance during the trial. The result of the case has added to the esteem and respect in which the Ali Brothers were held by their countrymen.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Wajahat Hussain,
editor.

The Ali Brothers in jail.

20. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 6th November says:—"We have not the smallest hesitation in saying that public opinion all over the country will strongly and unequivocally condemn the treatment that is being accorded in jail to the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and their three associates.... According to every canon of civilised jurisprudence and the established practice of England herself, such men are entitled to be treated not as criminals, but at first class misdemeanants.... To treat such men as ordinary criminals in respect of food, dress or other things is as absurd as it is inexpressibly shocking to their countrymen and an outrage upon all our notions of the fitness of things."

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy.
editor.

(*b*) Continuing the paper says:—"They are no mere individuals but are representatives of their people who consider every attack made upon them as an attack made upon themselves. You cannot seek to humiliate such men or treat them with unnecessary and unjustifiable harshness without the whole country taking it as a deliberate affront, without widening the gulf that already divides you from political India. If there is statemanship in the councils of the Government, not a moment's delay ought to be made in directing the jail authorities to treat the brothers and their comrades as they ought to be treated."

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Wajahat Hussain,
editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 7th November takes strong exception to the treatment accorded to the Ali Brothers in the Karachi jail. They are treated like ordinary felons and subjected to jail hardships. It is strange that the Government likes to accord such an extremely humiliating treatment to the accredited leaders of the country who in the eyes of their countrymen deserve the greatest honour.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Withdrawal of the seditious case against the Ali Brothers.

21. The *Tribune* of the 6th November says:—"We cannot congratulate the Bombay Government on its belated wisdom in withdrawing the case of sedition against the Ali Brothers. Unwise and ill-advised as the other prosecution was, this one was even worse. . . . The delay they have made in this matter will naturally lead people to ask . . . their object in starting this case was that the brothers might not escape, even if the more important case against them failed. On this assumption they would be entitled to no credit for the belated withdrawal of the second case, but would on the contrary be open to the criticism that they were anxious at any cost to put the brothers out of the way for a time."

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Abdul Majid,
Salik,
editor.

The Khilafat movement in Malabar.

22. The *Zamindar* of the 29th October says that in sentencing to death Mauhana Kalni Kadar, Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Tanaur, Malabar, the Judge remarked that the Khilafat movement aimed at replacing the British Government by the Khilafat Government. It is true that the object of the Khilafat movement is to overthrow the present system of the British Government in India, but it is wrong to say that the promoters of the movement aim at establishing a Khilafat Government. It is a pity that the Secretary of a Khilafat Committee is sentenced to death on the basis of such absurd and meaningless judgments. It should, however, be borne in mind that if he has been doing his work sincerely and conscientiously his death will bring retribution in its train.

CANTONMENT
ADVOCATE
(Ambala);
M. Mansab Ali,
editor.

Sale of houses in cantonments.

23. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 25th October writes:—"There have been cases in the past where the military authorities have, on the strength of some old regulations, which have not the force of a law, tried to place restrictions on the sale of houses in cantonments. Efforts have been made to make such sales subject to the sanction of the military authorities. Intending buyers have been threatened with prosecution and even civil suits have been instituted to get such sales declared nul and void. This is quite an unwarranted interference with the proprietary rights of house-owners in cantonments and has the direct effect of materially reducing the prices of the houses. There is nothing in the House Accommodation Act that permits or countenances such an aggressive move on the part of the military authorities. This is a question of vital importance to the house-owners whose rights are being unduly curtailed and whose interests appear to be nobody's concern."

V.—EDUCATION.

SANSAR
(Amritsar);
Thakar Singh,
editor.

An appeal to Sikh students to boycott schools.

24. The *Sansar* of the 29th October publishes a letter from Avtar Singh Vidyarthi, who makes a strong appeal to the Sikh students over 16 years of age to boycott schools. The question of the Khalsa College has become still more intricate and every effort should be made to get rid of Wathenism from the college.

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

The Prince of Wales and Amritsar.

25, The *Partap* of the 29th October writes that the Municipal Commissioners of Amritsar who voted for the presentation of an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales committed a serious national crime. They are unfit to remain on the Committee as the representatives of the people. Nothing can be done now but the people of Amritsar should not, at the next election, return them to the Committee. In fact the resolution has brought disgrace to the whole of the Punjab. The paper urges the Amritsar public to boycott the Prince of Wales.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla Miuhas,
editor.

Bad crops and remission of land revenue.

26 The ***Vakil*** of the 30th October publishes a letter from "A Zamindar of the Lower Bari Doab Canal," who says that for the past two years, crops have been very poor, and this year the cotton crop too has been spoiled by the rains. He

prays Government to show broad-mindedness and remit the water-rate and land revenue for the current year. He wants to see what practical proof the Minister for Agriculture gives of his sympathy with the agricultural classes.

Widows of Rajput sepoys; a complaint.

RAJPUT GAZETTE, (Lahore); Thakar Sukhram Das, editor.

27. The *Rajput Gazette* of the 29th October complains that the widows of the Rajput sepoys are being put to great inconvenience in receiving pensions. They have to travel a long distance to go to the headquarters of a district or tahsil to get payment. Rajput women feel much ashamed in appearing before officials and they should be allowed to receive their pensions after necessary attestation by the *Lambardars* or *Zaildars* of their villages. The paper also refers to the inadequacy of the pensions in face of the prevailing high prices and asks Government to reconsider the case.

Corruption.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

28. With reference to the Government *communiqué* regarding bribery and corruption, the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 4th November writes :—"The *communiqué* says 'bribe taking will only stop when bribe giving ceases.' We admit this is exactly so. But we say no man is foolish enough to part with his money or waste it in presents or perquisites unless he is compelled to do so. It is the official who would not do his *own* duty unless his itching palm is greased. Complaints are seldom heard in this respect and the few who ever complain suffer the most for the obvious difficulty of proving it. The complications of law greatly stand in the way of bringing offending officials to justice. To those who give bribes there is no choice in the matter and they yield. . . . . Gandhites have openly declared a boycott of courts, because of their corrupt practices, and bribery being one of them. You cannot move there one step without acknowledging every official's work for you with a 'tip.' . . . It may be noted here that bribery seldom gets any 'extra' or special thing done for the giver ; it simply induces the officials not to turn away their faces from the public, but do their own duty a 'bit' for which the Government pays. The public is helpless and has to submit to the extortions of the officials because there is no choice in the matter. It is customary in law courts, it is rife in the railway, it is prevalent in the Irrigation Department, it is demanded with brazen affrontry in the police and so on. The last paragraph of the press note is particularly discouraging and defeats the very object of the *communiqué* itself. The very fact that bribe giving constitutes a crime of the same magnitude as bribe taking serves as the best and most secure protection to the officials who demand bribe. If the Government sincerely wishes to uproot this mal-practice, foundations of which have been dug deep by rapacious officials and *ahlkars*, it can do so only by granting a free and unconditional amnesty to the givers of bribes. It will no doubt mean an exposure of the Government officials, but it will do a great deal in stopping this corrupt practice. If the Government is not prepared to let its officials suffer this much, all talk on the subject appears to us a veritable mockery, a sham, and is bound to end in smoke. We wish the Government afforded no such protection to its officers so far as their exposure is concerned, for it lies with the Government to take or not to take any action against any of its officers."

A motor car incident in Simla.

AKALI, (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Giani, editor.

29. The *Akali* of the 4th November refers to the motor car incident in Simla and remarks that it is characteristic of the motors owned by *goras* that Indians are killed like worms underneath them. If the motor in question had been owned by a "black man" and the man killed underneath the motor had been a white man, the whole of Simla would have turned topsy turvy. It is strange that all this is happening under the very eyes of Lord Reading, the highest Judge of England, who is ringing the welkin with cries of justice!

Gurdit Singh of the *Komagata Maru*.

KHALSA ADVOCATE, (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

30. (*a*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 28th October says:—"The news that Sardar Gurdit Singh, the enterprising adventurer and the sole proprietor of the Guru Nanak ship, more widely known as *Komagata Maru* of the Budge Budge case, is still alive, has kindled a strong yearning in the hearts of the Sikhs to have a sight of him. By his series of articles contributed to the columns of the *Akali* he has brought to light certain astounding incidents of which the Sikhs had been quite

in the dark so far. The painful memory of the Budge Budge shooting has once more revived and added to the long list of the grievances of the whole truth [? panth] of Sikhs. We think the Government owes to the Sikh nation a full explanation as to the whole truth of the incidents brought into light by Sardar Gurdit Singh."

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

(*b*) In the course of a leading article the *Akali* of the 30th October says that the Sikhs must have been reading the painful letter headed "Justice or Gallows" contributed by Gurdit Singh, of the *Komagata Maru*. There is no true Sikh who would not be touched by reading the painful account of the sufferings of the innocent *Komagata Maru* passengers. The bureaucracy should cease troubling afflicted persons as it will gain nothing by this. It is the duty of the Sikhs to read the most painful letter over and over again carefully.

KESARI (Lahore), Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 2nd November publishes the following open letter from Gurdit Singh of the *Komagata Maru* to the Khalsa community:—In the first place, I raise the shouts of 'Sri Wah-i-Guruji ka Khalsa, Sri Wah-i-Guruji ki Fateh.' Next, folding my hands before the leaders of the Sikh community and bowing my head at the feet of the Sikh community, I beg to say that just as our Guru went on foot to Delhi in order to sacrifice himself to liberate India, so I, too, a worthless creature, am about to confront the Government of India in order to liberate my mother country and to sacrifice my head for the sake of the country. I hope that I, too, shall attain the status of the martyrs of the Komagata Maru, the Jallianwala Bagh and Nankana Sahib. Now that I am going to enter the arena to discharge this sacred mission I beg a favour from you. This is the most critical time in the history of India and it is extremely necessary for us to maintain union and become one at this time. Hence this is not the proper time to take possession of *gurdwaras*. We should put all [other] matters aside and become lovers of *Swaraj* at the present time. Before concluding (my) letter I wish to send a message to my son. 'O son! Dedicate your life to the service of the nation and be always ready to follow in the footsteps of great men. Consider service to the nation as a source of pride for you.' To my beloved father and sisters I would only say that it was the will of Wah-i-Guru that I should be unable to render any service to you in old age. I request my friends and those who love me to pardon my mistakes and weaknesses. I congratulate all my companions of the Komagota Maru and assure them that the day is not distant when their sacrifices will bear fruit. I am now fully prepared to sacrifice myself for the sake of the honour, liberty and glory of [my] mother country. May Wah-i Guru accept this trifling sacrifice from me! I now bid *Bande Mataram* to all my Indian brothers and request my [Indian] brothers and sisters to pray that I may become fit to be a worthy son of [my] motherland. O Almighty Father! Give me strength to sacrifice myself in the service of India".

SHANTI (Rawalpindi), Kishan Chand, editor.

(*d*) The *Shanti* of the 4th November reproduces the above.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Aman Sabhas.

31. The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd November says that Aman Sabhas and Liberal Leagues are really departments of the Government. Not only executive but even judicial officers take part in them. This is the reason why justice is not done in political cases. A person was told by a presiding officer in open court that his case was being dismissed because he was a Congressman and a non-coöperator. Next the editor publishes a letter from Feroze-ud-Din who says that a meeting of the Aman Sabha was recently held at Mauza Dahana, Hoshiarpur district, at which jesters were summoned to prevent men from dispersing. This is the utmost moral degradation of the Sabha.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore): Lajpat Rai, editor.

Foreign language.

32. In a leader published over his signature in the *Bande Mataram* of the 2nd November, Lala Lajpat Rai strongly urges Indians to use their mother tongue and employ the English language as little as possible. Although Hindus remained under Muhammadan sway for centuries, still they did not give up the use of their own language. Muhammadan kings made India their home and picked

up the language and culture of their subjects to a great extent. But the case of British rule is different. It is to be regretted that Indians are ignoring their own language. The Punjab and the United Provinces are the worst offenders in this respect. Every Indian student should try to use the English language as little as possible. He then requests his Punjabi friends not to write to him in English, as such letters will remain unanswered.

Renunciation of titles.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath editor.

33. The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 2nd November fails to understand what prevents Indians from renouncing their titles when it costs them nothing, especially when they are being treated with contempt by the public. A Khan Sahib of Thana Salar has gone to the length of taking back the title renounced by him.

An appeal for Angora Fund.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

34. Agha Muhammad Safdar, writing to the *Zamindar* of the 2nd November, endorses Shaukat Ali's appeal to the Punjab for contribution to the Angora Fund and says that the honour of Islam lies in the performance of this duty. Dr. Kitchlew also insists that his Province should not lag behind others in this matter. We should prove it to the world that if in helping the British Government one crore Muhammadans of the Punjab occupied the foremost position out of their folly they would not to-day lag behind others in washing off their sins by making financial atonement for the same.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 12th November 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Turkey.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, editor.

1. The *Zamindar* of the 6th November says that the London correspondent of the *Statesman* writes that the Greek premier has again gone to England to beg Asia Minor of her but the general feeling there is that the British Government cannot trample on Muslim sentiments and the majority of the ministers, especially Mr. Churchill and Mr. Montagu, are of opinion that Greek attacks on Turkey should be brought to a close. Commenting, the *Zamindar* wonders why the British Government can no longer afford to trample on the feelings of the Muhammadans and has grown anxious to placate "the loyal Mussalmans." Messrs. Churchill and Montagu, who have hitherto paid no regard to Muslim sentiments, now pretend to be great well-wishers of Islam. Muhammadans have, however, no reason to feel surprised at this. It is a characteristic of Western nations that they are amenable to the rod and not humanity and gentlemanliness. When Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha laid his demands before the Western Powers in a peaceful manner, responsible persons like Mr. Balfour afforded proof of their gentlemanliness by calling him a robber, a bandit and a ruffian. Now, however, when the Turkish sword has bewildered the Greeks it is under contemplation to "respect Muslim sentiments" and devise means for the fulfilment of the national demands of the Turks. The paper then goes on to say that Sir Aga Khan, who has always followed a double-faced policy, has sent an agent, Mr. Mashir Hussain Qidwai, from England and has asked his old friend, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, to send another Muhammadan deputation to England to discuss the Turkish question with the British Government. He can

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however, no longer succeed in deceiving the nation by secretly identifying himself with the Government and outwardly supporting the cause of the public. His co-religionists are, besides, tired of sending deputations. Maulana Muhammad Ali took a deputation there, but returned disappointed, and Seth Chhotani's visit also proved barren of result. It would be an act of extreme folly to try what has already been repeatedly tried, and the public is no longer prepared to send another deputation. An official deputation like the one headed by Syed Hassan Imam can of course go at all times.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Turco-Greek conflict.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th November says that reports go to show that Greece is about to sue for peace with the Turks. The latter will not cease fighting, however, unless the peace terms conform to their demands. The idea has gained ground in Turkey and other Muslim countries that Islamic interests are in serious danger at the hands of the European Powers and that these countries should whole-heartedly work in unison in order to dispel the danger. It behoves the Allies, therefore, to do strict and impartial justice in making permanent peace between the Turks and the Greeks. In the other event fighting will continue and there will be unrest in the East and Islamic countries, which will cause serious anxiety and harm to the Allies themselves.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Anglo-Egyptian agreement.

3. (*a*) Writing about the proposed Anglo-Egyptian agreement, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th November says that it is evident from the struggle the Egyptian Nationalists are carrying on that their fellow-countrymen will accept no agreement which is in any way prejudicial to their national honour and political freedom. The paper then takes exception to the provisions regarding the location of British troops to the north of Port Said, the appointment of an English officer to control public debts, the obligation on Egypt to consult Great Britain in exercising the right to appoint her representatives in foreign countries, which leads one to think that England does no wish to grant Egypt independence in the true sense of the term; the making of Alexendria the centre of British naval forces and of the international police, and the maintenance of the *status quo* in British Sudan.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 8th November, the paper says that the agreement is stated to be of a permanent character. This means that if the conditions referred to are incoporated in it Egypt will have no power to go against it. And still the agreement is said to be one of friendship. The whole world will take it to mean that the Egyptians have received the chains of slavery and subjection in place of liberty and independence.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Aden.

4. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 11th November expresses its inability to understand why it is proposed to transfer Aden to the Colonial Office. The reasons underlying the proposal should have been made known to Indians, seeing that India has spent several lakhs of rupees on the improvement of Aden. The money is not likely to be returned to India on the transfer being effected: Britain has never dealt fairly with this country as regards money matters. Again, from the military point of view, Aden is very important for the defence of India, while a large number of Indians carry on business there. No reliance can be placed on the assurance of the Government of India that the fullest guarantees will be secured regarding the status of Indians in Aden. The Colonial Office has not, in the past, accorded a considerate treatment to Indians or paid much attention to the question of their rights in the Colonies.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

WATAN (Lahore); Akbar Shah Khan, editor.

A house rent law for Lahore.

5. The *Watan* of the 4th October says that an association of rent-payers has recently been established at Lahore and has requested Government to pass a law to regulate rents. It is true that such a law has already been enforced in some towns, but it is not fair to do so without first carefully thinking over the matter. The number of house-owners is larger than that of rent-payers, and it would never please the former to see Government interfere with their rights. Indeed, such interference would be unjustifiable on principle.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Abdul Majid, *Salik*, editor.

The Royal visit.

6 (*a*). The *Zamindar* of the 6th November says that a movement has been set on foot at Lahore and several other places to form a committee of the representatives of the students of every college to take part in

preparations in connection with the forthcoming Royal visit. The paper also understands that college students are going to contribute towards the reception fund and that the Principal of every college is anxious to prove his own institution to be the most "loyal" It asks how long students will keep themselves aloof from the country and serve as tools in the hands of a Government which subjected them to insult and hardship in the martial law days. It then tries to shame them into refraining from according a reception to a Prince who is coming to India merely as a puppet in the hands of the British Cabinet. They should not contribute a single pie towards the reception fund and not one of them should join any reception committee. If some students (for instance, the Qadiani students of the local Islamia College), to whom Islam and India are as nothing, join such committees others should hold a meeting publicly to brand them as traitors to their community. It is on the rising generation that the prosperity and emancipation of India depend, and if it hurrahs and salutes the Union Jack the sight will be most painful.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

(*b*) One **Chiman Lal** of Samundari [Lyallpur district], writing to the *Akali* of the 7th November, says that now when Government has realised that the general public is not prepared to offer a welcome to the Prince of Wales the bureaucracy has devised a new piece of mischief, namely, that retired soldiers should be invited to Lahore at Government expense and made to line the roads by which the Prince will pass. After stating that every Tahsildar has been ordered to send a list of such pensioners to the Deputy Commissioner concerned, the correspondent reports that 240 *ex*-soldiers have been demanded from the district of Lyallpur. All the pensioners in the Samundari tahsil were recently summoned to Samundari, but about half of them went away when they came to know that it was not compulsory for them to go to Lahore. Only 160 hirelings offered themselves for the purpose, but they also are going to Lahore only to enjoy themselves and please their Deputy Commissioner.

Sansar (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Sansar* of the 8th November publishes a Punjabi poem on the Prince's visit written by one **Pritam Singh Mast**. Some of the verses run as follows .—

> The news of thy coming has made grain scarce : why doest thou frighten us by announcing thy visit?
>
> It is not known what will happen when thou actually comes : why doest thou revive forgotten things?
>
> Toadies have lost their senses, O dear: why shouldst thou cause disgrace to be brought on them?
>
> O *Mast*, the massacre of [our] brothers cannot be forgotten : why, O friend, doest thou make [us] speak the truth ?
>
> Thou shouldst, O friend, stop the pensions paid to those who riddled hundreds of [our] darlings with bullets.
>
> Thou shouldst first arrest and punish those who made our darlings crawl on their bellies.
>
> Thou shouldst cause grain to be bought with the three lakhs to be spent on thee and distribute to the starving.
>
> Thou shouldst first get the imprisoned nightingales set at large.
>
> We will say "well done!" if thou makest the standards of Home Rule fly.
>
> O *Mast*, what injury will then be caused to thee in saying "welcome!" [to the Prince]?

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th November publishes an article by **Lala Lajpat Rai**, who says that slavery leads to mean habits and this meanness extends from individuals to nations and sections of people. In the event of servitude lasting long meanness becomes a part of the disposition of slaves and slave nations. The flattering of Englishmen, the raising of memorials to them and the calling of roads, buildings, factories and lanes after them are signs of this meanness. Some Englishmen, particularly Christian missionaries, have acquired the habit of thinking and speaking of themselves as greater well-wishers of India than even her own children. The writer feels great shame whenever he hears an Englishman making such remarks. He would like Indians to remember that it is impossible for an Englishman to make friendships likely to prove harmful to his own country and nation. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has become enamoured of Lord Reading, the same being the case with other Indians also. He is of opinion that English politicians and statesmen regard Indians as mere children in the matter of politics. The Pandit raised a high pillar on the banks of the Ganges at Allahabad as a memorial to Lord Minto. Now he is going to spend thousands of rupees on the visit of the Prince of Wales. Millions of people in the country are crying for want of grain, while as many children have become orphans and there is no one to look after them. Again, thousands of children wander about in cities and there are no arrangements for giving them education. Whole families die from cold in winter for want of clothes. But the most eminent patriot in the country is about to spend thousands of rupees belonging to the Hindu University on the reception of the Prince of Wales. Time has come when Indians should give up their habits of servitude.

PAISA AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

Civil disobedience

7. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 6th November refers to the resolution on civil obedience adopted at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and says that it constitutes the most dangerous step so far taken by the Congress. The Congress and the Committee referred to appear to be mere puppets in the hands of the advocates of non-coöperation. Civil disobedience, including the non-payment of taxes, will undoubtedly usher in a new state of affairs in the country and greatly add to the prevailing unrest, while relations between the rulers and the ruled will become still more strained.

(*b*) In its issue dated the 10th November, the paper writes that in the opinion of all discerning persons the restrictions qualifying the resolution will prove absurd and weak in the event of any Congress committee or individual thinking it necessary to act upon it. Mr. Gandhi defines civil disobedience as disobedience of all laws and orders; in fact, it is a sort of violence and goes wholly against the principles of non-violent non-cooperation. It is a double-faced policy to advocate non-violent non-coöperation and to preach civil disobedience at the same time. The advocates of non-coöperation will have to commit several offences punishable under the Indian Penal Code in practising civil disobedience. This would create a very disquieting situation, considering the existing condition of the country. The Government would be certain to adopt measures to check the commission of different offences by non-coöperators, which would bring the resolution to naught. This being so, it was useless to pass the resolution.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishan,
editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 9th November writes that the All-India Congress Committee has sanctioned civil disobedience. Before, however, the movement spreads throughout the land, Government should try to come to an understanding with Mr. Gandhi. He is always prepared for this and to accept Dominion Home Rule for India. Government should write to him to signify its willingness to accept his demands and to intimate that a committee might be appointed to settle details. This would disperse the black clouds thickening on the political horizon of India.

ZAMINDAR,
(Lahore).

(*d*) The *Zamindar* of the 10th November hopes that Congress workers in every province will act with great care, quietly prepare the people in their respective parts of the country for the important work of civil disobedience and do nothing before the commencement of the struggle which might jeopardise national interests.

AKALI
(Lahore);
Uttam Singh,
editor.

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

8. "MASTER" SUNDER SINGH, of Lyallpur, writing to the *Akali* of the 5th November, says that the old-fashioned leaders among the Sikhs regard non-coöperation and other similar movements as childish things, and the majority of them have retired from the field. The younger generation of the Sikhs believe, however, that their co-religionists, Hindus and Muhammadans should, while holding fast to their respective faiths, become one, inasmuch as their well-being lies in unity. Some other Sikhs, who feel for their community, are honestly opposed to the wave of *Swaraj* passing over it. They fear that under *Swaraj* Hindus and Muhammadans will become more powerful than

Sikhs, with the result that the last-named will be injuriously affected. Their second apprehension is that Hindus and Musalmans will push the Sikhs to the front and will either recede after getting the latter killed or make peace with the Government on obtaining something from it. Were, however, Government in the hands of Hindus and Musalmans the condition of the Sikhs would improve a hundredfold, a purely indigenous rule being a thousand times better than foreign domination. As for the second point, it is difficult to see why Hindus and Muslims should get the Sikhs killed. Even if it be admitted that lakhs of Sikhs would die in "this religious war," would this cost the community more than the useless sacrifice of thousands of lives for the British Government during the war against the Germans? And if the Sikhs gain nothing else they will secure at least the good wishes of Hindus and Muhammadans.

Muhammadans and the *swadeshi* movement.

San'at (Lahore); Maulvi Alla Din, editor.

9. In its October number the *San'at* strongly urges the Muhammadans to take a more prominent part than the Hindus in the *swadeshi* movement. They have suffered greater wrongs and hardships at the hands of England and other European Powers than any other nation. All the calamities that have befallen their co-religionists throughout the world are the work of the Powers. It is plain enough that India cannot gain independence and the Caliphate and the holy places of Islam cannot remain safe unless the imperialistic policy of Great Britian is brought to naught. The most effective weapon with which India can compel England to grant her independence is to throw all the labourers in the Lancashire and Manchester mills out of employment. Another reason why Muhammadans should identify themselves with the *swadeshi* movement consists in their daily growing poverty.

Office clerks and students and the use of *khaddar*.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. The *Bande Mataram* of the 5th November remarks that feelings of disappointment have been caused in some quarters at the indifference of students and clerks employed in Government offices to the national movement. Pandit Nathu Ram, Assistant Time-keeper, Carriage shop, and a volunteer of the Congress Committee, Lahore, reports the glad tidings, however, that the clerks in all the carriage out-offices, Mughulpura, numbering over fifty and including the Head Clerk, have begun to attend office in *khaddar*. The paper has also learnt that the sorters and clerks, nay, even their Indian officers, in the Railway Mail Service office have begun to wear *khaddar*. This should impel the clerks of other offices, as also the students of schools and colleges, to drive all fear of the bureaucracy from their minds and take to the use of *khaddar*.

Swaraj.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

11. A correspondent writes to the *Akali* of the 11th November that the bureaucracy has usurped this country, but that the people have now awakened. They may keep quiet if they get *Swaraj* in time, but in case the bureaucracy would give it to them when they get out of the control of their leaders, confusion would be the result. This is the serious danger that looms ahead. The bureaucracy has always been doing wise things at the wrong time. It is likely to miss the right opportunity even now, with the result that it will involve both itself and the people in trouble. In view of the consideration that disorder is certain to break out in the country people should commence preparations which would stand them in good stead. The best way to avert the impending danger is that the bureaucracy should forthwith grant them *Swaraj*.

The Sikhs and *Swaraj*.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

12. Balwant Singh China, writing to the *Akali* of the 9th November from Amritsar, says that it is the religious duty of Indians to put forth efforts for the attainment of *Swaraj*. It is his firm conviction that if Guru Gobind Singh had been alive to-day, he would have thought it his duty to reform Government and end its tyrannies. The Sikhs were created by the Guru to save others from oppression, and it is a sign of weakness and slavery on their part to regard the work in which the Congress is now engaged and the efforts to obtain *Swaraj* as political and not religious work. Can a demand for liberty constitute a piece of irreligion? Certainly not. It is the inherent right of every person to remain free. Tulsi Dass says: One dependent on others cannot know comfort even in a dream." Nay, a slave cannot even worship God freely.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The situation in India.

13. The *Tribune* of the 13th November says:—"After all . . . . things in India are slowly moving along the road they have travelled in Ireland. Apart from the fundamental difference between the non-violence of the Indian movement and the violence that constitutes the chief feature of Sinn Fein to-day, India has still a mile-stone or two to pass before she reaches the position of that universality of intense discontent and dissatisfaction which constitutes the heart of the Irish problem at this moment. Would it not be wise for the reactionaries, both official and non-official, to read the signs of the times aright, and instead of waiting till the worst has come to the worst to express their unavailing regret, to join hands with those Indians who have been struggling so heroically, so energetically and amid so much misunderstanding and misrepresentation to prevent things from going to the worst? Non-co-operation may be a very undesirable thing from the point of view of authority; it may not be wholly a bed of roses for the country itself. But we have the history of Ireland itself before us to see that it is not the worst thing that can happen from the point of view of either. Why cannot all of us put our heads together to see if there is no way of preventing Irish history from repeating itself further in India?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Indians and the Army.

14. The *Tribune* of the 13th November writes:—"A Delhi telegram of the 11th instant states that it is understood that a strong committee with the Chief of the General Staff as President and the Adjutant-General and other senior officers at the Army Headquarters as a members is sitting there to formulate a scheme for the Indianisation of the Indian Army. . . . . It is the clear duty of the Government to issue a detailed announcement setting forth the personnel, the terms of reference, the scope of the enquiry and the procedure of the committee which, we are told in the course of a laconic message, is now sitting at Delhi. Does the committee contain any Indian member or members and does it propose to record any evidence?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Reforms and the services.

15. Commenting on the resolution on the Reforms and the services, the *Tribune* of the 12th November writes:—"We do not desire that the Government should for one single moment stand in the way of the retirement of persons, no matter whether they are highly placed or otherwise, who cannot reconcile themselves to their changed position under the Reforms. On the contrary, we are decidedly of opinion that the Government should do everything in its power to facilitate the early, if not virtually immediate, retirement of such men. . . . . But while this is clear, it is not equally clear that these officers should be treated with an excess of indulgence. . . . . Indeed, the authorities have in this matter followed exactly the policy that they have so often followed in similar cases in the past. They have enunciated the right principle and done the wrong thing. . . . . The mean that they have discovered between 'an offer which is open to the criticism that few of those in whose interests it is made can afford to avail themselves of it and one so liberal as to seem unfair to those who are willing to remain and play their part in the new order,' may be quite a just mean as between these two, but is not a just mean as between the claims of the public revenues and those of the retiring members of the Services. The truth is that, as is perhaps only natural, both the Government of India and the Secretary of State have a tender place in their heart for the Services, from which no less than one-half of the strength of the first and a large proportion of the Council of the second are drawn, and it is extremely difficult for them in any matter affecting the Services to be just and fair."

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

TAZIANA (Amritsar); Muhammad Ali editor.

The *fatwa.*

16. The *Taziana* of the 7th November says that Mr. Montagu stated in reply to a question about the distribution of the proscribed *fatwa* that he was corresponding with the Government of India on the subject. That gentleman and his counsellors should know, however, that Government may wish to maintain peace by means of daily arrests and prosecutions and may like to end national movements by practising repression, but that Indians will not care for their lives and property in defending their religions.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Karachi trials.

17. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 5th November says the Karachi sedition trial will lead to very dangerous results. A compromise between Government and the people has now become very difficult, the differences between them having been greatly increased by the trial. The Government has sent the Ali brothers to jail for two years, but it should not regard this as a victory. As a matter of fact, it has sustained a great defeat. The case was launched with a great show, but has had a sad end. The brothers have not suffered in reputation in the least, whereas the jury's unanimous verdict in their favour has reduced Government to a sorry plight. The public has the right to enquire from the Bombay Government what proof it had in support of the serious charges brought against Shankaracharya. In case it had none it should express its regret for his prosecution in clear language.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper congratulates Dr. Kitchlew on his bold statement in court, on which the Punjab feels proud. His statement is like the lion's roar: it is a sort of challenge to the Government that he is ready to go still further, and that although he follows non-violent non-coöperation, his religion and intellect tell him that *Swaraj* cannot be obtained without violence. Verily India has given birth to few worthy sons like the Doctor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 6th November heartily congratulates Government on the wisdom displayed by the latter in withdrawing the case of sedition against the Ali brothers. The institution of the first case dealt a serious blow to its reputation, which would have suffered still greater injury if the second case had been proceeded with. Government is also mistaken in recklessly throwing non-coöperators into jail, and will have to suffer the consequences of the mistake. It will probably rectify the mistake when this will prove of no avail whatever. The editor is no counsellor of Government, but if the reins of the country had been in his hands he would have forthwith ordered the release of the six well-wishers of the country.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 6th November says that the struggle now in progress throughout the country to release it from the yoke of the existing Government has rendered the Government of India half-mad, if not stark mad. Its mistake and folly in undertaking the prosecution of the Ali brothers and others in order to suppress the struggle referred to have no parallel to show. Next the paper says that the British Government's attitude towards Turkey is very regrettable. Is it not preposterous, it asks, that while France and Russia can make friends with Turkey, the English should not refrain from opposing the Turks?

(*e*) Referring to Dr. Kitchlew's assertion on the pronouncement of judgment in his case that he would attend the forthcoming Congress, the *Kesari* of the 6th November remarks that the hardships the Doctor has had are ascribable to the services rendered by him to the country and the nation. Is it not, then, asks the paper, the sacred duty of the latter to make strenuous efforts for his release? There is only one way to bring about this result, *viz.*, that India may attain *Swaraj* and the national parliament may order his release. If a struggle is carried on by the nation on the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, the Doctor and his fellow-prisoners can surely attend the next Congress. The Doctor's words afford proof of his confidence in the nation and the latter should prove by its conduct that his confidence is not misplaced.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

(*f*) The following occurs in an article contributed by the Hon'ble Mr. G. M. BHURGRI to the *Liberal* of the 7th November:—"The Government by the prosecution of the seven leaders have incited everybody and anybody in the Khilafat and non-coöperation movement to issue manifestoes and pass resolutions similar to the one which was the contention of the subsidiary charges and thus defy them in their face and the law under which the leaders were being prosecuted? Has that, I ask, added to the prestige of the Government and helped to vindicate the law, [or has it] undermined that prestige further and flouted the very law it was intended to vindicate? . . . . . Has it abated the fury of our non-coöperating friends, and made them relax their programme? Or has it been a moral and political victory of the non-coöperator, and an impetus to him for further and more drastic actions

Has all that brought the solution of the great problems confronting the country and the Government and their well-wishers nearer, or has it made the issues more bitter, more complex and the situation graver and graver ? "

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The treatment of the Ali brothers and others in jail.

18. The *Partap* of the 7th November condemns the alleged ill-treatment of the Ali brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and others in jail. The Bombay Government has brought ignominy on itself and tarnished the honour of the British Government by treating these respectable prisoners like ordinary criminals. If a small number of Englishmen hold sway over 30 crore Indians, this is due mainly to some excellences of the British Government having impressed themselves on the people. How can that Government remain in India, if even these excellences cease to exist ? No sane man will admit that the English can govern Indians by means of the sword. It is to be wished that the Bombay Government had not made a shameful mistake like the one in question.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

Treatment of political prisoners.

19. The *Desh* of the 10th November is extremely sorry to see that in the time of Lord Reading not only should political prisoners be on the whole ill-treated, but that a marked distinction should also be made between prisoners of the same class. For instance, while Maulana Muhammad Ali has been given the jail dress and the ordinary jail food, Maulvi Nisar Ahmad has been allowed to wear his private clothes and is also paid Re. 1-8-0 daily as diet money. Again, in the Punjab Maulvi Akhtar Ali Khan is kept in the European ward, but Maulana Habib is made to grind corn. The paper hopes that Sardar Sundar Singh, who is in charge of the Jail Department in the Punjab, will solve the enigma.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Yakub Hassan's case.

20. The following is from the *Tribune* of the 10th November :—" While the case of sedition against the Ali brothers was withdrawn, presumably because the Bombay Government realised at the eleventh hour that the prosecution of the brothers on a charge of sedition was not compatible with the plain words of the Viceroy's speech, the Madras Government has, in its wisdom, allowed a Madras Magistrate not only to convict Mr. Yakub Hassan of sedition but to sentence him to the maximum punishment which it was in his power to inflict. It is true that the Viceroy's words were uttered with special reference to the brothers. but it was understood at the time—and surely nothing else could be meant—that those words applied as much to their co-workers as to themselves. Even if it was intended that the words should apply only to the leaders, the fact cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Yakub Hassan is the foremost leader of the Mussalman community in the Southern Presidency and is one of its more prominent leaders all over India. The authorities owe it no less to themselves than to the public to explain under what circumstances they have felt justified in discriminating between the brothers and Mr. Yakub Hassan in this matter."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Lala Amir Chand's case.

21. In a signed note in the *Bande Mataram* of the 11th November, LALA LAJPAT RAI says that in his judgment in the case against Lala Amir Chand the trying magistrate has referred to the Police Act and Police rules. It is nowhere laid down in them, however, that police reporters have the right of entry into every [public] meeting. The magistrate's finding as to facts is also wholly wrong. The writer finds it difficult to believe that the magistrate really considered Amir Chand and Ajudhya Nath to be liars. Since, however, they had to be punished he set them down as liars. The more the British courts do such improper things and convict in false cases the more the non-coöperation movement will prosper.

PANTH (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

The Sikh conspiracy case.

22. The *Panth* of the 2nd November says that four months ago Sikhs were arrested on a charge of conspiring to murder certain Government officers, but they have not as yet been placed on their trial. The paper condemns the long delay made in launching the case and asks the Punjab Government to enquire from the Police the reason for it.

Firing at Howrah.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

23. The *Tribune* of the 9th November says :—"The readiness with which a section of the forces of order resort to firing in this country was once again demonstrated by what happened at Howrah on Friday night [the 4th]. With the merits of the occurrence generally we are not concerned at present when our knowledge of the details of what took place is necessarily meagre. But one thing is beyond dispute. It is that the policemen who fired without orders. Indeed, the officer who was in charge of the police candidly admitted that 'his men probably lost their heads and fired without orders,' and that 'they had not even received orders to load their rifles.' Lord Reading has an opportunity here of judging for himself if some among the forces of order in this country do not still hold Indian life cheap. We do hope that irrespective of the merits of the case, exemplary punishment will be inflicted upon those who broke all rules of discipline in this case and acted in a manner for which no condemnation can be too strong."

The employment of Gurkhas to disperse assemblies.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

24. The *Tribune* of the 10th November says :—"For the second time in the course of a few months have the Press and the public in Bengal had to complain both of the employment of Gurkhas in dispersing an assembly of peaceful and unarmed men and of the manner in which the Gurkhas carried out the task allotted to them. We think the time has come when public opinion all over India must ask strongly and unequivocally that the Gurkhas shall never be employed in dealing with internal disorder, except, it may be, in a case of rebellion. It was not so very long ago that public opinion in India was greatly exercised over a provision in the Anglo-Japanese treaty which was interpreted to mean that Japan was to be called upon in case of need to assist the British Government in maintaining peace in India. We think this employment of Gurkhas is a much more serious thing if only because it is a real and actual evil as distinguished from the other, which was more or less hypothetical and certainly distant In every country, where the form of government is not absolutely despotic, the maintenance of order is entrusted to a body which is more or less amenable to public opinion. The Gurkhas, with all their war-like qualities, are absolutely incapable of being influenced by Indian opinion and Indian feeling, and the complaint has been made again and again that they have no regard for either. We think it is a matter of equal importance and urgency that the authorities should be definitely told that Indian opinion strongly resents the employment of such men for maintaining peace and order in the country."

Government's excise policy.

BANDE MATARAM, (Lahore); Lala Lajpat Rai, editor.

25. The *Bande Mataram* of the 7th November says that the discussion in the Punjab Legislative Council on the amendment proposed by Syed Muhammad Husain in sections 20 and 21 of the Panchayat Bill relating to licenses for the sale of liquor affords fresh proof, if this was needed, of our kind bureaucratic Government's desire to lend great support to the liquor trade. The speeches made by Lala Harkishen Lal and Mr. [!] Maynard against the amendment have exposed Government in its true colours. These gentlemen pressed illicit distillation into service in order to defend the sale of liquor, and indirectly the drink habit. So long as lawful distillation and sale of liquor continues in the country Government will go on making use of the excuse furnished by illicit distillation. If it sincerely sympathises with the temperance movement it should wholly forego the princely income derived by it from the sale of liquor. The truth is that the *bania* Government thinks only of its pounds, shillings and pence. Who is, then, to prohibit the sale and consumption of liquor and why? And if illicit distillation stands in the way of this being done, can any one tell what else than greed and avarice on the part of the *bania* Government prevents the sale and consumption of opium, *charas*, *bhang* and *chandu* being made an offence under the law? Who can deny the truth that the bureaucracy is not as anxious about the betterment, welfare and prosperity of the ruled as it is in regard to its revenues?

The Secret Police.

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali, editor.

26. The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 29th October says that the whole of India bitterly complains against the Secret Police and people tremble at the idea of the tricks played by the force. But the Secret Police have their own grievances against Government: the pay received by them is small as compared with the enormous responsibility devolving on them. To crown all, the officers of the

department are indiffrent to them, and they are now required only to take notes at public meetings. Scores of Bolshevik agents visit this country, but the inexperienced, poverty-stricken and starving members of the Secret Police know nothing of them. The reason for this state of affairs is that Government neither spends money on them nor affords them any encouragement.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore; Abdul Majid, editor.

Inter-communal union.

27. QAZI ABDUL MAJID RASHID of Kasur, writing to the *Zamindar* of the 6th November urges the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs, to become one. He likens India to a buffalo, whose milk is used not by any of these communities but by the selfish Englishman. He would prefer that two of the communities should become extinct than that they should continue in their present unfortunate and destitute condition. The surviving third should, however, be such as may be able to prevent milk going to the English. The writer urges the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs to cease regarding one another with feelings of suspicion, saying in the course of his remarks that if the Muhammadans feel an unusual relish in licking dust at the threshhold of the British they should drown themselves in the sea rather than live in such disgrace and ignominy. Their union does not mean, however, that the Kuran and the Vedas should be amalgamated into one scripture. "Of course, if they have to fight the common enemy of both, the Kuran, the Vedas and the Granth also should individually rain bullets with equal vigour like the Hindu, Muslim and Sikhs heroes [*sic*]."

PANJAB DARPAN (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The Ram Das *gurdawara*.

28. The *Punjab Darpan* of the 9th November condemns, as greatly unjust to the Sikhs, the conduct of Government in taking possession of the Ram Das *gurdwara* at Sheikhupura and paying the police stationed there out of the offerings.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

The Lawrence statue.

29. It is reported, writes the *Partap* of the 5th November, that there was a consultation between the Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Minister for Education, and Mr. Langley, Commissioner, Lahore Division, on the 17th October last regarding the question of the Lawrence statue, and that subsequently the latter suspended the Municipal Committee's resolution concerning the removal of the statue from its present situation. After stating that it has reasons to believe that this report is correct, the paper says that while the people want the Minister to cancel the Commissioner's order, which means undue interference with the aforesaid resolution, Mr. Langley has interfered in the matter after consultation with the former. People should have no great expectations from the present Ministers and should continue a strong agitation for the removal of the statue. And if Government cancels the Municipality's decision in spite of this, they will realise how much of local self-government has been entrusted to them. Ministers were appointed to safeguard the interests and voice the feelings of the people, but they have become a part of the Government machinery.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Princes and the Press Act.

30. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 10th November writes :—' In the course of his speech at the Chamber of Princes, ... the Viceroy referred among other things to the question of protecting the Indian Princes from attacks in the Indian Press. . . . The majority of the witnesses before the Press Laws Committee gave it as their deliberate opinion that the Princes were not entitled to statutory protection from attacks in the Indian Press, and the Committee itself made that opinion the basis of its own recommendation. In the circumstances it is a great pity that the Government of India should still be considering the matter instead of quietly dropping it.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th November states that Lord Reading threw a very objectionable bait to Indian Chiefs in his speech in the Chamber of Princes. His Excellency remarked that they would be protected against attacks in the Press and on the platform in British India. This means that in future Rajas and Nawabs will be regarded as angels, and newspapers will not be able to criticise any of their acts, however cruel and high-handed these might be. In other words, while the actions of Governors, Viceroys and Ministers will be open to criticism, no one will dare criticise the malpractices and mismanagement of petty chiefs. There is already no freedom of speech and writing under the Indian Chiefs, but now the newspapers in British India also will be gagged, so that no one may criticise the doings of these angels in the heavenly kingdom. How will it be possible to expose tyranny practised in a Native State and how will the people concerned make their sufferings known? What does the late Lord Chief Justice of England care for all this?

Reforms in Native States.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

31. The *Tribune* of the 11th November says:—"The delusion that the people of the States already have *Swaraj* because they are under the government of their own Princes was never seriously entertained by thinking and patriotic subjects of their Highnesses. On the contrary, it is only too true that except in individual cases the subjects of the States would gladly have changed places with their neighbours in the Indian provinces even before the recent Reforms.... The time, indeed, is near when the Princes will be face to face with exactly the problem that has confronted the British Government during the last few years, and such of them as are not wise enough to take time by the forelock will inevitably encounter the whirlwind. They are living in a fool's paradise who imagine that the Government of India of the future will be able to render to the Princes any aid against a constitutional movement for the establishment of constitutional government in the States.... One need not be a prophet to tell the Princes that within a short time from now the Government of India will mean a government of the people by the people themselves. Can it for a moment be believed that such a Government will have any feeling except that of strong and active sympathy for the people of the States in their effort to make themselves free? Let the Princes, therefore, make their choice while there is time. Let them not be so short-sighted as to copy the methods of repression and of arbitrary rule which have already been tried under infinitely more favourable circumstances in the surrounding provinces and have in every case totally failed.

The Simla Hill States.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

32. The *Bande Mataram* of the 6th November reports that it daily receives letters from the inhabitants of the Simla Hill States describing what tyrannies are being practised upon them. It has reason to believe that although the Deputy Commissioner of Simla is also aware of these, still he considers it unnecessary to attend to the matter.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Turkey.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

1. The *Siyasat* of the 12th November says that most British statesmen and journalists are deadly enemies of Muhammadans, particularly the Turks. They desire the extermination of the Turks and have been intriguing, both openly and in secret, in order to achieve their purpose. Great stress is now being laid on the Dardanelles being made international, but if the Straits are placed under the supervision of the Allies the capital of Turkey will ever be within range of the Allied warships, which is wholly antagonistic to her independence. The *Near East* is of opinion that the Allies should keep Turkey in their own possession, but they have already become disunited. Great Britain wishes to become their representative, and her statesmen and journalists are zealously interesting themselves in Turkish affairs. Italy and France are silent, but Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon and others are hatching their own plans. It is to be wished that British statesmen and journalists would realise even now what attitude they should adopt towards Islamic countries in these critical days. These are not the times to ignore the feelings and sentiments of nations. The Powers which do not move with the times will assuredly be crushed.

The Franco-Turkish agreement.

(Amritsar); VAKIL Abdulla Minhas, editor.

2. The *Vakil* of the 14th November says that the discovery of a Franco-Turkish agreement has caused feelings of great alarm in Europe, especially England. But what does the indignation prevalent in Great Britain over the agreement signify? Does she not wish that the unfortunate Turks, who have been

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exhausted after fighting for ten or twelve years, may rest now? She know full well that Angora and not Constantinople is the real seat of the Turkish Government, but she is averse to admitting this, for a temporary occupation of Constantinople would then become meaningless. This is the reason why British politicians have disapproved of France entering into an agreement with Angora instead of Constantinople. England had better, in deference to the feelings of her ten crore Muslim subjects, cease objecting to the agreement and extend the hand of friendship and peace to the Turks. This would be to her own good also.

VAKIL, (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

Dr. Abdul Hafiz.

3. The *Vakil* of the 12th November says that there is not a grain of truth in the allegations which the British Foreign Office has brought against Dr. Abdul Hafiz. M. Litvenoff's reply to Lord Curzon's note also shows that the Doctor has absolutely no connection with the Soviet Government. Nor is that Government aware of the existence on the frontier of any factory where smokeless gunpowder is manufactured. Dr. Hafiz says that the story published by the British Foreign Office is a figment of imagination on the part of British spies, who wander about in the streets of Berlin and have to invent such news to justify their existence.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

Mota Singh's visit to Afghanistan.

4. (*a*) A supplement to the *Kesari* of the 16th November contains an article from the pen of MOTA SINGH, who says that the object of his visit to Afghanistan and the Frontier *ilaka* was to study political affairs and conditions there. He started from the Punjab in the second week of June last, and immediately on his arrival on the Frontier some dacoits attempted to surround him and his companions. He found later on that the dacoits were the members of the militia force. The writer found the Afridis to be very hospitable and courteous. He stayed with the leader of the Zaka Khel tribe, when some Pathans came and told him how they had killed about a dozen Gurkhas and taken away their rifles, how subsequently they had been attacked by four Sikh soldiers, and how they had told the latter not to fight with them, as the Sikhs and Muhammadans had now become one. Even the Muhammadans have now come to see through the diplomacy of the English. Many of the local leaders stated that the troubles on the Frontier were attributable not to them but to the English.

(*b*) In the paper's issue dated the 17th November the writer says that the Frontier people think that the English wish to subjugate them by sowing the seed of discord among them. It is greatly unjust to hold them responsible for the plunder of Hindu homes. Indians will be glad to learn that Mahatma Gandhi's name is well known to them. They also highly appreciate the non-coöperation movement, although they are not fully convinced of the necessity of non-violence. They have been greatly impressed by the unity between the Hindus, Sikhs and Muhammadans. It is absolutely wrong that they regard non-Muslims as infidels, look down upon them and subject them to all sorts of troubles. The Sikhs and Hindus enjoy complete religious freedom on the Frontier. If Indians wish to gain the sympathy of the Frontier people they should send at least fifty capable teachers and doctors to the *ilakas* occupied by the Mahsuds, Afridis, Mohmands and Waziris. They seem to be very eager to learn arts and industries.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Royal visit.

5. (*a*) We are told, writes the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th November, that the Chief Auditor of the North-Western Railway has asked his office superintendents to report to him how many clerks under them will witness the Royal procession at Lahore. Government has realised the public indignation over the Prince's visit, and has now turned its attention to poor, dumb clerks. Indeed, why should it not have done so? Does it not regard them as slaves and believe that it can get thousands of such slaves, wholly dependent on it. It now rests with the clerks to prove to it that they are Indians and nationalists first and Government servants afterwards, thereby forcing the Government to meet all the just demands of the people. It is to be hoped that the bold and courageous clerks in the Audit Office will not be won over by moves and threats on the part of the Chief Auditor or the Agent, and will tell their superintendents in

clear language that none of them would go against the wishes of his country and get himself branded as a traitor to the nation. This would infuse courage in the clerks of other offices.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 16th November LALA LAJPAT RAI states that the Punjab Government or the Reception Committee has sent a letter to the Heads of Departments asking them to intimate the number of their clerks desirous of witnessing the Royal procession at Lahore, so that arrangements may be made for providing accommodation for them, their families and friends. Most probably a similar letter has been issued to the Head Masters of schools and Principals of colleges. It is to be hoped, however, that all Government servants will profit by the opportunity to make their real views known to the Government. As for Head Masters, they have no moral or legal right to compel small boys to line the route to be taken by the procession. Principals of colleges also have no such right. The students of the Punjab University should display a sense of self-respect and boycott the Royal procession.

(*c*) Elsewhere the paper publishes an appeal in bold type to the citizens of Lahore from RAM BHAJ DATT, President of the City Congress Committee, urging them to observe complete *hartal* on the 17th. The writer says that not a single shop, factory, press or office should open that day. He reminds the citizens of the martial law atrocities in Lahore.

(*d*) In another place the paper states that in response to the circular letter issued by the Agent, North-Western Railway, to subordinate departments enquiring how many clerks would like to witness the reception of the Prince of Wales, only ten out of 250 clerks of the General Audit Branch have expressed their willingness to join in the function. These ten men are superintendents drawing fat salaries. We congratulate the clerks on the fearlessness displayed by them, and hope that those in other offices will learn a lesson from this.

(*e*) In its issue dated the 17th November the paper publishes the following in bold type :—" The 17th of November should be remembered by every Indian, because on this day officers of the Government will make the Prince of Wales land at Bombay against the wishes of the whole country in order to display its grandeur to him. At a time when crores of people are starving in consequence of the unusual scarcity prevailing and cannot get warm clothes to protect themselves from cold, these officers wish to spend lakhs of rupees of the poor tax-payers on the Prince's pleasure-trip and to decorate the bazars and waste money on illuminations and fire-works to prove how happy and prosperous the country is under the present administration. It is, therefore, the duty of Indians to observe a complete *hartal* throughout the country on the day when this act of deceiving the world begins to be committed and subsequently to effect *hartal* wherever the Prince may go. The same order has been given by all the representative national societies, *i.e.*, the National Congress, the Central Khilafat Committee, the Sikh League and the Hindu Conference. Where is the Indian who will not comply with the united wishes of the country ? "

SATJUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

(*f*) The *Satjug* of the 16th November asks the people to observe *hartal* and express sorrow when " the supporter of our enemy arrives in our country," thereby showing to the world that India is tired of this Government. We also wish to say that the Prince of Wales is bringing 16,000 pounds of beef with him, and if any Indian well-wisher of the cow still takes part in offering a welcome to him he will be cursed.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Gyani, editor.

(*g*) The *Akali* of the 18th November exhorts the Sikhs to save the face of their country and nation by observing *hartal* and expressing sorrow wherever the Prince of Wales may go.

WATAN (Lahore); Inha Ullah, editor.

(*h*) The *Watan* of the 18th November takes Lala Lajpat Rai to task for his remark in the *Bande Mataram* that the Municipal Commissioners of Lahore trampling upon the feelings of the public in connection with the reception to the Prince of Wales will get themselves set down as sycophants for all time to come. The Lala's public is, however, very limited in number and no sensible person can care for its opinion.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*i*) The *Tribune* of the 16th November writes :—" The elaborate reference made by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech in reply to the address presented to him by the Taluqdars of Oudh, to the question of the Prince of Wales's forthcoming visit cannot but suggest unpleasant reflections. . . The question, on the Viceroy's own showing, was one of a choice of evils, the evil of the abandonment of the visit and its possible effect upon British and Colonial opinion and the evil of the unsuccess or, what is the same thing, the partial success of the visit and its inevitable effect on the same opinion. Is His Excellency quite certain, can he tell the world on his own responsibility, that he and his Government have chosen the lesser evil? For our part we have no hesitation in saying that they have not, that the abandonment of the visit on the ground of the existence of acute political differences in the country would have been infinitely better from every point of view than the almost certain boycott of the ceremonies connected with His Royal Highness's visit by a large proportion of politically-minded Indians. . . 'I desire with all the authority at my command,' said His Excellency, 'emphatically to repudiate those suggestions and I assure the Indian people that neither I nor my Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness's visit for political purposes.' It is possible to accept this assurance unreservedly, and yet fail to see how it can disarm those who have convinced themselves of the evil consequences of the visit. In the first place, the work of exploitation, they will say, is more likely to be done by the British Government and Imperial statesmen than by the Government of India. It is likely to be done exactly by those who did exploit India's willing and enthusiastic participation in the war for the purpose of glorifying themselves, of conveying the entirely erroneous impression to the world, whose opinion is not without value in India's national struggle for freedom, that India was a contented member of a happy imperial family. Secondly, the exploitation in this case may be done merely by publishing broadcast the news of the loyal, enthusiastic and unanimous reception accorded to the Prince and leaving it to the imagination of the British and the Colonial public to infer from it the state of India's mind in regard to her position in the Empire, instead of by openly claiming that the success of the visit shows the happiness and contentment of the people. . . The plain fact is that it is only as regards England that the dictum of the King being above party politics has full force and application. In every other part of the Empire there are a large number of people who in times of trouble and confusion will make no distinction between the two, and the tendency is all the greater in a country like India which is yet to have its constitutional Government."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(j) In its issue dated the 19th of November the paper says :—"A litle bird whispers in our ears that an attempt is being made to get the whole body of students of the local Medical College to associate themselves with the reception which it is proposed to accord to the Prince of Wales during his visit to Lahore on behalf of the students. If the information is well-founded, we have no hesitation in deprecating the attempt. The reception, to be of any value, must be a purely voluntary thing, and no pressure of any kind ought to be brought to bear upon any one either to join or to refrain from joining it. We hope the proposed meeting of students at which, according to our information, they are to be asked to join the Reception Committee will, on second thought, be abandoned."

(k) The following occurs in the paper's issue of the 20th November :—"Bombay undoubtedly wore a gala appearance on the occasion, and not only officials and durbaris, but large numbers of the people appear to have greeted their future King with a warmth which left little to be desired. But equally undoubtedly large numbers not only took no part in the reception but attended a public protest meeting held simultaneously in another part of the city and addressed by Mahatma Gandhi. . . . Our own Province observed a more or less complete *hartal.* At Lahore and Amritsar even officials appear to be convinced that the *hartal* was practically complete. The same or virtually the same must have been the case in other principal cities, as the numerous telegrams received by us go to show. . . . The Press, which in such matters reflects the general opinion fairly correctly, has been equally divided. . . The question is, is this the sort of welcome which it was either worth the Prince's while to come all the way to India to receive, or worth the Government's while to obtain for him? . . . It was a happy saying of the Prince that he wanted the people of India to know him and he wanted to know them himself. There is not the smallest doubt that his journey to India would be fully rewarded, if as a result of it His Royal Highness was able to know what is really passing in India's mind. But he could know it only by being brought into touch with the real representatives of the people. The pity is that what with his purely official surroundings and what with the decision of the non-coöperators to give him a wide berth, he is not likely to have this opportunity in anything like an adequate measure."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*l*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th November says that the Prince's reply to the address from the Bombay Corporation and His Majesty the King-Emperor's message contain only things which Indians are tired of hearing. Besides, so far the bureaucracy has never attached any weight to royal proclamations. On the contrary, it has considered them to be meaningless. We, therefore, ignore both the message and the speech and will take no notice of the Prince's future speeches, which can be no better than songs issuing from a gramophone.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The King's message.

6. The *Tribune* of the 19th November writes :—"The message is couched in the happy phraseology we have learnt to associate with every pronouncement emanating either from His Majesty or any other member of the Royal House, and breathes sentiments which are not only unexceptionable but lofty. But this is almost all that can be said of it. To those who have been hoping that His Royal Highness [the Prince of Wales] was the august bearer of a message embodying either a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem or at any rate a substantial step towards that solution, the message, with all its felicitousness, cannot fail to be profoundly disappointing. There is not a word in it which contains a ray of hope for the early solution of any of the problems that afflict India and have destroyed her peace. It is perhaps good in a way that the Prince should have delivered this message on the very first occasion that he addressed a public gathering in India, for had he waited until his visit to Delhi and then delivered this message to a public, in whom hope deferred had made the heart sick, the disappointment would, if possible, have been even graver. Now the thing is over and we know that we have nothing of a political value to expect from His Royal Highness's visit. Let us, therefore, re-echo the King's pious and noble sentiments, and giving up all false hopes proceed calmly to business."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Royal proclamations.

7. "AN ECLECTIC" writes to the *Tribune* of the 19th November :—"Has not Mr. Kennedy in saying [in his address to the jury in the Karachi case] they should have to apply the law of the land which they were bound to administer 'when there was a variation between any such proclamation and any such law,' committed a grave blunder ? When such is the case that the King's proclamation is not superior to the law of the land whenever there is a variation between the two, why should the Indians accord an ovation to the Prince of Wales ? ... It appears now that instead of giving a right royal reception to the Prince of Wales or the King or any other member of his family, the Indians should, whenever their instinct of reference for Kingship boils itself to become an emotion or whenever the occasion requires, place the Indian Penal Code in a golden chariot and arrange a procession through decorated streets amidst bonfire surrounded by 'excited, cheering throngs.' ... Surely Mr. Kennedy has blundered and rather gravely ; if he has not, then he has rendered a great service to the Indians by removing their delusion."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Lord Reading.

8. The *Tribune* of the 17th November says :—"There are many among us ... who have told us more than once of late that what was bound to happen has happened, and that His Excellency has completely identified himself with the bureaucracy. It is absolutely certain that to such critics the decision of His Excellency regarding the martial law prisoners will furnish a decisive corroboration of their favourite view. That this was a crucial matter every one will admit. It is equally undeniable that in this matter His Excellency has done precisely that which the bureaucracy would have liked him most to do, which officials in whom the bureaucratic point of view was admittedly supreme had already done or attempted to do before him. .. The lawyer in His Excellency has had an easy triumph over the statesman.... The plain fact ...

is that brilliant lawyers are not, as a rule, good statesmen... Unless Lord Reading will be able within the next few months to unlearn something of what the practice and the administration of law taught him and to learn something that it did not teach him, we say with all respect but also with all the emphasis at our command, that there is little hope of his Viceroyalty being anything else than a grave disappointment both to himself and to all those, whether in his own country or ours, who expected any beneficent or far-reaching results from it for either."

SATJUG
(Lahore);
Nidhan Singh,
editor.

Non-coöperation.

9. (*a*) BHAI DEVA SINGH BAKHSHI writes to the *Satjug* of the 16th November that it is the duty of the Sikhs to sever their connection with tyrants in honour of the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev. This is the right path for the Sikhs to tread if they wish to become true Sikhs. Mahatma Gandhi is preaching the same gospel to-day.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(*b*) In a signed article in the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th November LALA LAJPAT RAI discusses the different aspects of civil disobedience and states that the Provincial Congress Committee will meet early to consider the All-India Congress Committee's resolution on the subject. In the meantime non-coöperators in the Punjab should not resort to civil disobedience and should refrain from doing anything in a hurry. We should take no step which we may have to retrace. Those who are prepared to make great sacrifices for their country and nation and do not fear the jail and bullets, should inform the office-bearers of the Provincial Congress Committee of their intentions, but should on no account do anything without its permission. They should continue non-violent non-coöperation.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Hafiz Said
Ahmad,
editor.

Lord Reading's Government and non-coöperation.

10. (*a*) The *Zamindar* of the 17th November says that Lord Reading's Government is said to have abandoned the policy of repression in dealing with the non-coöperation movement. But the daily arrests of the nation's leaders and the application of sections 124 and 153 of the Indian Penal Code falsify the claim. The Government is not only trying to suppress the movement with the aid of repression and its arbitrary powers, but most members of the bureaucracy have come to use mean weapons in the attempt.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdulla
Minhas,
editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 18th November states that it is rumoured that the Viceroy is about to summon the non-coöperation leaders to his presence to tell them that the British Government is prepared to give Indians a reasonable and substantial part of Swaraj before the expiry of the fixed period of ten years. The purport of the whole talk will be that Provincial automony will be granted to all parts of the country. The time for internal automony has, however, gone by. Such things cannot perhaps satisfy the non-coöperation leaders now.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

The *swadeshi* movement.

11. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th November publishes the translation of the Punjab Government's circular letter to all Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, and Heads of Departments that the use of *khaddar*, the Gandhi cap and black turban by Government servants should not be taken notice of, and congratulates the Government on arriving at this sound though somewhat belated decision. It hopes that all officers of the Government will respect the order. It also congratulates the clerks of the Audit Office of the North-Western Railway, who decided to attend office in *khaddar* in large numbers and thus compelled the Government to issue this order.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore):
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 18th November says:—"We learn from a realiable source that the Punjab Government have issued a circular letter to departmental heads and other high officials in the Province, in which they state that after consulting the High Court they have come to the decision that, except in the cases of employees who are required to use uniforms of a prescribed standard, all other Government servants should be free to use any cloth they like for their dress, including *khaddar*. This was the only right thing to do, and we have no hesitation in congratulating the Punjab Government on their doing it. At the same time we may repeat what we have said so often, that it is not enough merely to issue instructions of the right sort; what is necessary is that the Government should see that these instructions are carried out both in the letter and in spirit. We will remind the Government in this connection that they have made no public statement yet either as regards the Jullundur passport incident or about the two incidents which concern our own representative, as regards all which they have full facts in their possession. None of these cases, it is true, involved the question of the use of *khaddar* by Government servants, but that makes it all the more necessary for the Government to take suitable action. If Government servants are free to use *khaddar*, surely it is only commonsense that mere citizens, who are not Government servants, are even freer to use it."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*c*) A Jullundur correspondent writing to the *Siyasat* of the 20th November finds fault with the Headmaster of the Local Government High School for fining and otherwise punishing the students attending their classes in *khaddar*.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

The enemies of freedom.

12. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 15th November publishes an article written by "MASTER" MOTA SINGH, AKALI, who says that religion and politics are two great obstacles in the way of equality. The unique sacrifices made by the followers of that apostle of freedom, Guru Nanak, have removed nine-tenths of the obstacles set up by religious hypocrisy. Similar sacrifices are needed, however, to break down the walls raised by "imperial monsters." There are five ghouls in the path of freedom, *viz*, imperial monsters, capitalist monsters, hypocritical monsters, 'class privileged monsters' and military monsters. The great ghoul of imperialism or imperial monster (the imperial civil service) constitutes the greatest obstacle in the way of freedom and is the head of all the five ghouls. Goblins of this class being slaves themselves are eager to keep the whole world under the yoke of slavery. They are also experts in robbing the other four thugs. The military monsters are always engaged in protecting the imperial monsters. There are several diplomatic satans to look after their board, and they not only fill their own stomachs but also provide all sorts of luxuries for the imperial monsters. And when they experience any difficulty in collecting these articles they at once set the military monsters in motion and make a display of fireworks. When the imperial monsters fight among themselves the military ghouls have to die in very large numbers. The writer suggests that in order to get rid of this class of monsters no taxes or rents should be paid to fill the coffers from which the cost of their luxuries and of the maintenance of their diplomatic, satanic *amlu* is met. Besides, the trade of their capitalist monsters should be destroyed, the most effective way to bring about this result being to shear the military monsters of their military shows and for every province to spend five lakhs of rupees on setting up handlooms and a similar amount on cultivating castor and opening castor-oil factories. Thus should the imperial monsters be overpowered and a "divine-democracy" established throughout the world. The capitalist monsters are engaged in robbing the world by means of trade. Their capital should be divided among poor labourers, agriculturists, artizans and sepoys, and agricultural and industrial concerns opened under the control of "the divine democratic Government." The capital in the whole country should be equally divided among all the poor and rich people. "The divine democratic Government" should frame a law making it incumbent upon every individual to earn his livelihood. As to religious hypocritical monsters, if the imperial ghouls sucked the blood of people by their strength of arm the former sucked the blood of religious persons by means of hypocrisy. A dose of *satyagraha* should cure this class, but if this remedy fails, the question of a still more bitter dose will have to be considered. The "class privileged monsters" are made up of numerous divisions. From title-holders down to Lambardars all suffer from the diseases peculiar to this group. Some members of this class dine at the tables of the imperial monsters, but the majority of them pass their days in a state of starvation, getting, unlike the cats at the imperial tables, jams and pickles. They are given to back-biting and making secret reports and get titles in return. The satanic monsters of this class have brought about the death of many an innocent person and are the most dangerous of all the ghouls. They receive rewards from the imperial monsters in three forms: (1) salaries, (2) *jagirs* and squares of land, and (3) titles. We should try to reform title-holders and socially boycott them in the event of their not listening to us. The military monsters serve the imperial ghouls and have to kill or die in the foolish act of keeping the world under their

masters. The suggestions made in the case of the imperial monsters will convert them from demons to human beings. In spite of the prevalence of a dreadful famine the members of this class continue to receive a pay only of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15. The writer quotes a saying of Bhai Gurdas and remarks that a hundred curses be on the man who accepts military service under the imperial monsters. The saying referred to should be conveyed to all places, cantonments and barracks.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The martial law prisoners.

13. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 15th November writes:—"We mean no disrespect to His Excellency the Viceroy when we say that the decision he has just announced regarding the remaining martial law prisoners is one more case of the mountain in labour producing a mouse... After having thus been kept waiting for over six months, an expectant world is now gravely informed that only twenty of the prisoners are to be released and that, too, as a matter of grace, and not because they deserve the release... If any one does not know that in India and at the present time such an announcement in such circumstances can do nothing but harm he must be ignorant of the temper of the public mind. Except for the persons actually released and their friends and relatives, we cannot think of one single individual anywhere who will welcome the announcement or will find in it anything else than a supreme irresponsiveness to an insistent public demand. Why a time should have been chosen for the exhibition of this essentially bureaucratic quality when the gulf between the Government and political India is already wider than at any time in the past, one must perhaps be a bureaucrat to understand... The very first question which the public will ask is, why if the release of these persons is only an act of grace, the Viceroy should have waited for this long time before he took this action, and why he has not been able even now to take the same action in regard to all the prisoners instead of in regard to only twenty of them?... It is idle to say that the sixty-six are graver offenders than the twenty.... The plain fact is that the question whether one is a graver offender than another, whatever its validity when you are doing technical justice, has no validity whatever when you are showing clemency in the pursuit of a political object."

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mehbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 15th November says that the Viceroy has released twenty martial law prisoners as a matter of clemency. This can afford no satisfaction to the public, nay, the people are of opinion that it is wholly insufficient to heal the wound inflicted, and expiate the indignities heaped, upon them during the martial law days. Discerning people hold that the release of only twenty prisoners can have no wholesome effect in the matter of the reception to the Prince of Wales.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) In a signed note in the *Bande Mataram* of the 16th November Lala Lajpat Rai writes that the clemency shown by the Viceroy in releasing twenty martial law prisoners is like a mountain in labour bringing forth a mouse. Of the officials who practised untold oppression on the Punjab, General Dyer received a gift of lakhs from his countrymen. Mr. Thompson has gone to the Government of India on promotion, while Colonel O'Brien has been placed in charge of a Native State. The services rendered by Lala Sri Ram and others also are being appreciated. A judicial-minded Viceroy like Lord Reading, who has cried himself hoarse over the theme of justice, could not, however, release 86 martial law prisoners.

Kesari (Lahore): Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 16th November says that Lord Reading has dashed to ground the hopes the Punjabis had of His Excellency. The general Indian public believed that all the martial law prisoners, who are wholly innocent, would be released on the occasion of the Royal visit. The wounds in the hearts of the Punjabis will not heal so long as even one of these prisoners is in jail.

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*e*) The *Partap* of the 16th November says that Lord Reading has missed an opportunity of placating Indians and rendering a great service to the British Government.

Shanti (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

(*f*) The *Shanti* of the 17th November thinks the Viceroy's announcement will produce great disappointment in the country, notably in the Punjab.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(g) The *Siyasat* of the 18th November asks whether the Government expects that the release of only twenty prisoners will make us forget the martial law atrocities and forgive the tyrants? On the contrary, such things are calculated to sprinkle salt on our wounds. The event is a joke cracked at Indians.

The Ali brothers and Mr. Yakub Hussan.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

14. The *Vakil* of the 13th November asks why the Ali brothers have been rigorously imprisoned while Mr. Yakub Hussan has been sentenced only to simple imprisonment, although all three were charged with political offences. Should this be ascribed to some flaw in the law or to weakness on the part of the trying magistrates?

Patti arrests.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

15. Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th November, Lala LAJPAT RAI expresses the hope that the Patti (Lahore) arrests will greatly facilitate Congress work in the Manjha *ilaka* and many persons will come forward to fill the gap caused by the arrests.

Gurdit Singh of the *Kamagata Maru*.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

16. (a) In a signed article in the *Bande Mataram* of the 13th November LALA LAJPAT RAI refers to the open letter to the Government of India from Gurdit Singh of the *Kamagata Maru* recently published in the *Akali*, and says that there can be no doubt that the charges brought by him against the Government are generally well founded. Morally as well as legally the British Government is responsible for all the loss suffered by him, but he asks for no justice from it, nor do we believe in British justice. But for this, we would have asked for the appointment of a non-official commission to enquire into the whole affair afresh. We assure Gurdit Singh, however, that he was never forgotten by his countrymen and that we will always remember the tyrannies practised upon the Sikhs of Canada and California on their return to the Punjab. There were certainly some revolutionaries among the *Kamagata Maru* passengers, although we feel confident that Sardar Gurdit Singh was not one of them and that he had no idea of fomenting a revolution or rebellion in India. Continuing, the writer says that from the point of view of the Imperial Government, the Budge Budge incident was as expedient and necessary as the Jallianwala Bagh shooting. He is of opinion, however, that the *Kamagata Maru* affair and the Budge Budge incident had the effect of opening the eyes of Indians, especially the Sikhs in the Punjab. Those of his Sikh brethren, who believe in Mr. Gandhi's non-violent non-coöperation, should be wise enough to learn the lesson taught by these events. In these days of excitement a calm attitude on the part of the Sikh leaders will be very commendable, and the writer has every hope that during the coming weeks, when our fate is to be decided, the Sikhs will support the nation in every way and prove conclusively that they can work with calmness just as they can gallantly weild the sword and die for others. They are to be congratulated on the appearance of Gurdit Singh and the likelihood of his being able to benefit his community by his experience and sound advice.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(b) The *Tribune* of the 19th November writes :—"The case is now seven years old. Within these seven years things in India have changed almost beyond recognition. The authorities have had a taste of one of these changes, not the most important one, in Baba Gurdit Singh's own changed attitude. The *Kamagata Maru* affair is either forgotten or is only remembered as an incident in a larger story, an incident which to the Sikh community is naturally suggestive of painful reflections. Is it any use, is it prudent, wise or statesmanlike, to revive old memories in all their original bitterness by prosecuting Baba Gurdit Singh? He was no ordinary camp-follower, but the reputed leader of the party of Sikhs in the *Kamagata Maru* and it is impossible to try him without raking up every single incident in a story which had better be forgotten in the best interests of all concerned. The Sikh situation is difficult enough already. Is it desirable, is it wise to further complicate it? Now that we have a Sikh member of the Executive Council, and a Governor who, whatever else might be said of him, cannot be accused of a desire to add to the existing bitterness, it is perhaps not too much to hope that this question will be carefully considered before the next step is taken."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

The Moplah riots.

17. The *Zamindar* of the 12th November says that the Moplah riots, which broke out two months back, have not yet been quelled. The Moplahs are an insignificant people, and if the authorities had only tried the riots would have come to a speedy end. The rioters should not have resorted to violence, but Government also has not done its duty. It should have kept the unruly Moplahs in hand by means of love and conciliation. It has instead embarked on a course which is apprehended to excite them still further. The sentencing of their *sardars* and comrades to death would make them decide to die fighting rather than on the gallows. The riots can be quelled if the Moplahs on whom death sentences have been passed are not hanged.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Bombay disturbances.

18. The *Tribune* of the 22nd November, writes :—" [The Bombay] happenings. with all their regrettableness, have disillusioned those who until a few days ago were thinking that it would be time enough to bring about peace in the country after Swaraj had been attained in January. They will see that Swaraj itself must wait, until the atmosphere has become free from the present spirit of strife. And they will see by and by that for this it is essential that both the date-fixing habit should be given up and that the basis of the movement should become substantially wider. It is because we look forward to this great good resulting from the recent occurrences that, while deploring them like every one else, we do not take a wholly pessimistic view of them, but consider them a good in the guise of an evil. There is no question of the movement for Swaraj receiving even a temporary check. Civil disobedience may go. Some of us think that it ought not to have come when it did, even if it was necessary for it to come at all. The Congress programme itself may be drastically revised. Some of us think it ought never to have been the exclusive thing it is The movement for Swaraj will go on until Swaraj is attained. Not only so. It will gather strength from our very failures and reverses, as well as from our successes and triumphs."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Bengal Government and national volunteers.

19. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 22nd November :—" The Bengal Government has outdistanced most other local Governments by its action in declaring as unlawful the several volunteer orgnisations in the Province."

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Governorship of Behar.

20. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 17th November says that a correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* learns from a reliable source that Lord Sinha is about to leave his office. The paper suggests that some Muhammadan should be appointed to the office. The Honourable Mian Muhammad Shafi is fit to be the successor of Lord Sinha.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The Nankana fair.

21. The *Akali* of the 13th November remarks that the Government has announced that the Railway Department cannot make arrangements for providing extra carriages for the conveyance of pilgrims to Nankana Sahib on the occasion of the Purnmashi fair. Such, says the paper, is the attitude of a department that runs carriages on hire. Special trains are not available for the Nankana fair! But the Khalsas must go, even on foot, to pay a visit to the Guru Asthan and to witness the places where martyrdom took place. They are also expected to see Sardar Gurdit Singh, manager of the Guru Nanak steamer.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandan, editor.

Threatened strike on the North-Western Railway.

22. The *Liberal* of the 14th November says :—" The return of Mr. M. A. Khan, General Secretary of the North-Western Railway Union, from Rangoon and Bengal, to the head quarters of the Union at Lahore, has been announced by 'a proclamation to the effect that a strike on the Railway will surely take place.' We wonder if the announcement can cause any relief to the public or to the employees for whom it is directly intended. The employees certainly have their grievances and so have the public. But it is idle to think that such a huge administration as the railway should be without its shortcomings and defects. The railway administration would be superhuman if it were to be entirely free from error and disabilites to those who have anything to do with it Neither is a strike the only method of setting things right and getting redress of grievances. The public and the employees have hardly

recovered from the setback they received as a result of the last strike and it would be committing suicide practically if they were again put face to face with a fresh strike. The conditions prevailing now are even less suited for the purposes of a strike than they were on the last occasion. The country is in the grip of a severe famine and it would be sheer folly on the part of the Union authorities to launch the railway people as well as the general public into difficulties which are sure to follow in the wake of a general strike. We hope the men would profit by past experience and refuse to play into inexperienced, rash and boyish hands."

Government and the legal profession.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

23. The following is taken from an article contributed to the *Tribune* of the 17th November by **Lala Sham Lal** of Rohtak :—" While there has been a good deal of criticism against official corruption it is really strange that the legal profession full of its scandalous practices seldom even forms the subject of a comment in newspapers. It hardly admits of any doubt that most of the lawyers are more unscruplous than the dishonest officers, and that day by day the profession of law is becoming a public scandal ; still we find the public and the High Court quite indifferent to its growing corruption... The conduct of lawyers is not considered to be a business of the Government ; you may pay as much to the touts as you like, you may not attend to your cases, you may cheat your clients in all possible ways, you may even coach witnesses, nay, even win over your opponent's witnesses, [but] you have got nothing to fear if you are only respectful to the district magistrates and sessions judges, if you can address them as Your Honour, Your Worship, and assure them of your loyalty by not wearing *khaddar* or Gandhi cap. Since the non-coöperation movement, the practising lawyers have been discredited so far as their public activities are concerned, but they have not failed to take advantage of this movement also. The much-dreaded lawyer is now a pet of the Government, and the Gates of Heaven are opened to him if he can but profess to oppose the non-coöperation movement. The coveted posts of district judge and public prosecutor are thrown open to him, provided he can prove his sanity of judgment by holding aloof from the popular movement which has awakened India from its lethargy and benumbed the most active bureaucracy."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Hindus and Muhammadans.

Islah (Ludhiana); Muhammad Yaseen, editor.

24. The *Islah* of the 12th November publishes an open letter from **Ghazi Mahmud Dharmpal** of Ludhiana to Lala Lajpat Rai. In his articles on Hindu-Muslim unity, Lala Lajpat Rai said that the brunt of the fight for Swaraj fell in the Punjab largely on the Hindus, whereas it was evident that on the attainment of Swaraj, the larger part of the powers would be transferred to the Muhammadans, who were in a majority in the Punjab. Dharmpal criticises this statement and contends that as a matter of fact Muhammadans are in no way behind the Hindus in the struggle for Swaraj. If Syed Ata Ullah Shah, Zafar Ali Khan of the *Zamindar* and Syed Habib Shah of the *Siyasat* had not been deprived of their liberty, the Lala would not have had any cause for complaint against the Muhammadans. In fact, the credit for the Swaraj movement is due to those brave Muhammadans who never counted their services, who never flinched on any occasion to save their skin but who advanced abreast and went to jail and are grinding the mill there and not to those who, outside the jail, are engaged in simple calculation like shop-keepers. Muhammadans have excelled the Hindus in sending their sons to jail. It would not be out of place to say that not only in the Punjab but in all other provinces the brunt of the fight is being borne by the Muhammadans ; but if bombastic noise is to be taken into account then it is true that the Muhammadans are lagging behind. Let the Lala collect figures showing the number of Hindus and Muhammadans in the District Congress Committees in the Punjab and the number of national workers of both communities and the amounts paid to them from the Tilak Swaraj Fund. This would convince him why the Hindus are bearing the brunt of the fight and why on the attainment of Swaraj no real power will be transferred to the Muhammadans. Hindu leaders in the Punjab are doing their level best to retain all powers in their hands. In fact, by introducing the question of *chhuts* at the recent Delhi sessions of the Congress, the Lala

intended to throw the entire bunden of civil disobedience on the Muhammadans.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

The gurdwara reform movement.

25. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 15th November says that for the last one and a half years the Government's attitude towards the Sikh community has been most ridiculous. On one occasion a Sikh deputation waited upon Mr. King and was told by him that the Sikhs could manage *gurdwaras* as they liked and that the Government would not interfere in the matter. When they take the work in hand, however, they are arrested and sent to jail as trespassers and dacoits. We wonder why the Government is joking with us. It wishes the Sikhs to accept its interference in their religious affairs and get a law regarding *gurdwaras* enacted in conformity with its own wishes. Further, it wishes to prevent them from taking a prominent part in the Swaraj agitation and to keep them engaged in the *gurdwara* movement. But so long as we do not reform the Government, we cannot reform *gurdwaras*. The Government will continue to joke with the Sikhs until Indians obtain Swaraj. We should, therefore, zealously join in the agitation for its attainment.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

The Golden Temple.

26 (*a*). The *Sansar* of the 10th November says that during the mutiny of 1857 the Sikhs not only refused to stand by their countrymen, but rendered help to "these foreigners" under the belief that they were performing a duty. But for this, "these foreigners," who have been ruling over this country up to the present would have long been wholly forgotten. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria issued a proclamation on the occasion to the effect that no one's religion would be interfered with in future. The foreigners have now thrown the pledge overboard and are acting in an arbitrary way. What have they got to do with the Har Mandir that they should have deliberately wrested its keys from Sardar Sundar Singh at his house? Does this mean that the Khalsas should lose even what little respect they now have for the bureaucracy? It is owing to such conduct on its part that the people have begun to say openly that they and not the bureaucracy should be the masters. British officers promised to Maharaja Dalip Singh, who was then a minor, that they would restore his throne to him. They deceived him, however, and deprived him even of his religion. Nor did they allow him to return to his native country. The Sikhs should form a working committee, open the locked doors of the Har Mandir and relock them themselves. Next they should summon a general gathering and pass a resolution calling upon the bureaucracy to render an account of [its stewardship for] the last sixty years. They should know no rest until the accounts have been rendered. The Government is trying the Khalsas.

(*b*) "A WANDERING TIGER" contributes a poem to the *Sansar* of the 19th November in which he finds fault with and calls down shame on Sardar Bahadur Singh for receiving back the keys from the Government.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 12th November says that the bureaucracy announced more than once that the Golden Temple would be made over to the Sikhs. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar has, however, taken over its keys and assumed the rôle of *Mahant*. We have already told our community that in the matter of the reform of *gurdwaras* the *Mahants* and *Pujaris* have been brought to the fore merely as eye-wash. The real obstacle in the way is the bureaucracy itself, and it has now come forward by taking possession of the keys of the Har Mandir. The Khalsas should agitate and tell the world that their religion has been openly interfered with. They should hold meetings everywhere and send resolutions of protest to the Siromoni Gurdwara Prabanchak Committee and to the press. They should be courageous and peaceful, firmly stick to truth and religion, and not allow their honour and dignity to be tarnished.

(*d*) In its issue of the 13th November the paper says the official *communiqué* is full of falsehood, deceit and treachery. It bears witness to the intellectual bankruptcy of the authorities.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*e*) In its Puranmashi number dated the 13th and 15th November, the *Loyal Gazette* asks what right the Government has to take over the keys of *gurdwaras* from the Sikhs. Since non-Sikhs control their own religious places, why should the Government wish to manage the Golden Temple? It has no right to do so. Its conduct is most foolish in its own interests.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*f*) The *Kesari* of the 14th November deplores Government's policy in regard to the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It has no night to continue in possession of this religious place of the Sikhs, to decide who their real leaders are or to undertake the creation of leaders for them. The official statement regarding the Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee not being a representative body cannot be admitted. Government is exercising undue interference in the affairs of the Sikhs.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*g*) LALA LAJPAT RAI writes to the *Bande Mataram* of the 16th November that the step taken by the Punjab Government in taking over the keys of the Golden Temple shows that there is not a trace of sagacity left in the official circles.

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*h*) The *Partap* of the 16th November says that the action of the Government in taking over the keys of the Golden Temple has added to the tension of feeling between it and the Sikhs. The incident is likely to cause speedy excitment among the Sikhs and the Government should come to an understanding with their leaders. The Government may be in the right or in the wrong, but it is difficult for the general body of the Sikhs to understand the reasons for its taking over the keys of the treasury of the Temple. It should think over the consequences of its act in view of the fact that every other community is already hostile to it.

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lawrence statue.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

27. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th November writes that Mr. Gandhi's speech at Lahore has given a new turn to the question regarding the Lawrence statue. Excitement must result in the event of the Government not removing the statue, while if the public and the Municipal Commissioners do not obey Mr. Gandhi's orders they will be regarded as cowards and being unmindful of their duty. Indians wish to show no disrespect to the statue : they only desire its removal to a place not exposed to their gaze. The Lawrence gardens would be a suitable place for the purpose. There will be no harm in the authorities giving up their *zid*. In the other event it is likely that passive resistance might be started, which would complicate the question still further.

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 16th November says that in the event of the Government not removing the Lawrence statue from its present site the local public should act upon Mr. Gandhi's advice. The Lahore City Congress Committee should write to the Government to remove the statue by a fixed date, and if the latter pays no heed to it *satyagraha* should be resorted to.

Bande Mataram (Lahore) : Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*c*) Writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th November LALA LAJPAT RAI wonders why the Government should complicate the question. It should understand that the statue cannot remain on the present site, and the sooner it decides to remove it the better will it be.

(*d*) In its issue of the 18th November the paper opposes the proposed removal of the Lawrence statue to the Lahore Cantonment and calls upon the nationalist and responsible Municipal Commisioners of Lahore not to abandon their proprietary rights in the statue without obtaining an undertaking from the Government and the military in clear terms that it will not be exposed at any public place to wound the Indians' sense of self-respect.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Indian Princes and the Press Act.

Siyasat (Lahore ; Wajahat) Husain, editor.

28. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 14th November refers to the Viceroy's statement in the Princes' Chamber that in future Indian Chiefs would be protected against attacks on them in the press or on the platform in British territory. Indian newspapers never write against any Chief : it is only when the cup of oppression fills to the brim that one or two articles are published by some journal. It would appear, however, that Lord Reading's Government, which is an advocate of justice and equality, wishes to stop the publication even of these articles. If his Lordship passes a law in this connection great trouble will be entailed on the subjects of the Native States. Prudence and statesmanship demanded that special arrangements should have been made for reforms in the States and the grievances of their subjects redressed. But the Viceroy is thinking of something else.

intended to throw the entire burden of civil disobedience on the Muhammadans.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

The *gurdwara* reform movement.

25. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 15th November says that for the last one and a half years the Government's attitude towards the Sikh community has been most ridiculous. On one occasion a Sikh deputation waited upon Mr. King and was told by him that the Sikhs could manage *gurdwaras* as they liked and that the Government would not interfere in the matter. When they take the work in hand, however, they are arrested and sent to jail as trespassers and dacoits. We wonder why the Government is joking with us. It wishes the Sikhs to accept its interference in their religious affairs and get a law regarding *gurdwaras* enacted in conformity with its own wishes. Further, it wishes to prevent them from taking a prominent part in the Swaraj agitation and to keep them engaged in the *gurdwara* movement. But so long as we do not reform the Government, we cannot reform *gurdwaras*. The Government will continue to joke with the Sikhs until Indians obtain Swaraj. We should, therefore, zealously join in the agitation for its attainment.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

The Golden Temple.

26 (*a*). The *Sansar* of the 10th November says that during the mutiny of 1857 the Sikhs not only refused to stand by their countrymen, but rendered help to "these foreigners" under the belief that they were performing a duty. But for this, "these foreigners," who have been ruling over this country up to the present would have long been wholly forgotten. Her late Majesty Queen Victoria issued a proclamation on the occasion to the effect that no one's religion would be interfered with in future. The foreigners have now thrown the pledge overboard and are acting in an arbitrary way. What have they got to do with the Har Mandir that they should have deliberately wrested its keys from Sardar Sundar Singh at his house? Does this mean that the Khalsas should lose even what little respect they now have for the bureaucracy? It is owing to such conduct on its part that the people have begun to say openly that they and not the bureaucracy should be the masters. British officers promised to Maharaja Dalip Singh, who was then a minor, that they would restore his throne to him. They deceived him, however, and deprived him even of his religion. Nor did they allow him to return to his native country. The Sikhs should form a working committee, open the locked doors of the Har Mandir and relock them themselves. Next they should summon a general gathering and pass a resolution calling upon the bureaucracy to render an account of [its stewardship for] the last sixty years. They should know no rest until the accounts have been rendered. The Government is trying the Khalsas.

(*b*) "A WANDERING TIGER" contributes a poem to the *Sansar* of the 19th November in which he finds fault with and calls down shame on Sardar Bahadur Singh for receiving back the keys from the Government.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(*c*) The *Akali* of the 12th November says that the bureaucracy announced more than once that the Golden Temple would be made over to the Sikhs. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar has, however, taken over its keys and assumed the rôle of *Mahant*. We have already told our community that in the matter of the reform of *gurdwaras* the *Mahants* and *Pujaris* have been brought to the fore merely as eye-wash. The real obstacle in the way is the bureaucracy itself, and it has now come forward by taking possession of the keys of the Har Mandir. The Khalsas should agitate and tell the world that their religion has been openly interfered with. They should hold meetings everywhere and send resolutions of protest to the Siromoni Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and to the press. They should be courageous and peaceful, firmly stick to truth and religion, and not allow their honour and dignity to be tarnished.

(*d*) In its issue of the 13th November the paper says the official *communiqué* is full of falsehood, deceit and treachery. It bears witness to the intellectual bankruptcy of the authorities.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*e*) In its Puranmashi number dated the 13th and 15th November, the *Loyal Gazette* asks what right the Government has to take over the keys of *gurdwaras* from the Sikhs. Since non-Sikhs control their own religious places why should the Government wish to manage the Golden Temple? It has no right to do so. Its conduct is most foolish in its own interests.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(f) The *Kesari* of the 14th November deplores Government's policy in regard to the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It has no night to continue in possession of this religious place of the Sikhs, to decide who their real leaders are or to undertake the creation of leaders for them. The official statement regarding the Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee not being a representative body cannot be admitted. Government is exercising undue interference in the affairs of the Sikhs.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(g) LALA LAJPAT RAI writes to the *Bande Mataram* of the 16th November that the step taken by the Punjab Government in taking over the keys of the Golden Temple shows that there is not a trace of sagacity left in the official circles.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(h) The *Partap* of the 16th November says that the action of the Government in taking over the keys of the Golden Temple has added to the tension of feeling between it and the Sikhs. The incident is likely to cause speedy excitment among the Sikhs and the Government should come to an understanding with their leaders. The Government may be in the right or in the wrong, but it is difficult for the general body of the Sikhs to understand the reasons for its taking over the keys of the treasury of the Temple. It should think over the consequences of its act in view of the fact that every other community is already hostile to it.

VI—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

The Lawrence statue.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

27. (a) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 16th November writes that Mr. Gandhi's speech at Lahore has given a new turn to the question regarding the Lawrence statue. Excitement must result in the event of the Government not removing the statue, while if the public and the Municipal Commissioners do not obey Mr. Gandhi's orders they will be regarded as cowards and being unmindful of their duty. Indians wish to show no disrespect to the statue: they only desire its removal to a place not exposed to their gaze. The Lawrence gardens would be a suitable place for the purpose. There will be no harm in the authorities giving up their *zid*. In the other event it is likely that passive resistance might be started, which would complicate the question still further.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(b) The *Partap* of the 16th November says that in the event of the Government not removing the Lawrence statue from its present site the local public should act upon Mr. Gandhi's advice. The Lahore City Congress Committee should write to the Government to remove the statue by a fixed date, and if the latter pays no heed to it *satyagraha* should be resorted to.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore): Lajpat Rai, editor.

(c) Writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th November LALA LAJPAT RAI wonders why the Government should complicate the question. It should understand that the statue cannot remain on the present site, and the sooner it decides to remove it the better will it be.

(d) In its issue of the 18th November the paper opposes the proposed removal of the Lawrence statue to the Lahore Cantonment and calls upon the nationalist and responsible Municipal Commisioners of Lahore not to abandon their proprietary rights in the statue without obtaining an undertaking from the Government and the military in clear terms that it will not be exposed at any public place to wound the Indians' sense of self-respect.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Indian Princes and the Press Act.

SIYASAT (Lahore; Wajahat) Husain, editor.

28. (a) The *Siyasat* of the 14th November refers to the Viceroy's statement in the Princes' Chamber that in future Indian Chiefs would be protected against attacks on them in the press or on the platform in British territory. Indian newspapers never write against any Chief: it is only when the cup of oppression fills to the brim that one or two articles are published by some journal. It would appear, however, that Lord Reading's Government, which is an advocate of justice and equality, wishes to stop the publication even of these articles. If his Lordship passes a law in this connection great trouble will be entailed on the subjects of the Native States. Prudence and statesmanship demanded that special arrangements should have been made for reforms in the States and the grievances of their subjects redressed. But the Viceroy is thinking of something else.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 20th November says that Lord Reading should have afforded protection to the newspapers against the Indian Princes instead.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Native States.

29. Writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 17th November LALA LAJPAT RAI says that he has received a lengthy communication from Rajasthan. The writer complains that the Government is unduly interfering in the internal administration of the Rajputana States and that several Chiefs have been forced to vacate their *gaddis*. Again, Englishmen and Indians from British territory are being appointed to different posts and have been acting, in conjunction with the Residents, in an arbitrary manner. Lala Lajpat Rai says that Native Chiefs are themselves laying the axe to their roots. If they are prudent they should not allow Government servants, be they Indians or Englishmen, to enter their States. They should arrive at an understanding with their subjects and placate the latter. The people living in British India are greatly displeased with the British Government, and if the rulers of the Native States adopt the above suggestion they will be safe during the coming revolution. They should not also render help to the British Government against the Indian nationalists. The latter are realising that it is they who are the strongest opponents of their movement and are devising means to crush it in coöperation with the British Government. In these circumstances, Indians in British territory can have no sympathy with them.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

The Dujana State.

30. The *Jat Gazette* of the 16th November does not understand why the Dujana State has not been placed under the direct control of the Government of India like the other Punjab States, although its revenue is greater than that of the Loharu State, which is one of the thirteen States thus placed.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

England and Turkey.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

1. The *Swaraj* of the 23rd November says the agreement between France and Angora has caused great anxiety in political circles in England. The agreement has frustrated all the designs of British statesmen, who were trying to destroy Turkey and enslave Asia for ever. This was the reason why secret help was given by England to the Greeks against the Turks. But when asked by the Indians, England proclaimed her neutrality and British statesmen said that they wanted to help Turkey but were helpless, as Italy and France would do nothing. The real situation has been now exposed by France entering into an agreement with the Turks and supporting Mustafa Kamal Pasha's demands and by Italy intending to follow the example of France. It remains to be seen how the English whitewash their conduct.

The trans-frontier tribes.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

2. The *Zamindar* of the 25th November adversely criticises the policy pursued by the Government of India regarding the trans-frontier tribes. The tribes have become the objective of aeroplanes and guns since the Durand treaty. Punitive expeditions often bring about their ruin, and their limited crops are always overrun by His Majesty's gallant troops and Indian money is wasted. But the tribes' spirit of independence remains uncrushed. It is a pity Sir Hamilton Grant has abandoned the policy of Sir George Roos-Keppel.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Prince of Wales.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishan Chand, editor.

3. (*a*) The *Shanti* of the 20th November says that the Prince of Wales should try to acquaint himself with the grievances of the people. It would appear, however, that Lord Reading will allow His Royal Highness no facilities to know the present situation in the country. His Lordship would be doing a great service to India, especially the British Empire, if he let the Prince gain this knowledge.

JAT GAZETTE (Lahore); Molar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 23rd November says that the Asiatic mind associates gifts and concessions with royalty and if the Prince of Wales has none to give the object of his visit will be frustrated. The present difficulties in India can be solved only if His Royal Highness announces that the country will get *Swaraj* within a specified period of time.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 23rd November writes:—"Yesterday we published a notice which, though marked 'confidential,' was read out at the several group meetings of the Lahore Medical College held on Saturday last to ascertain the views of the students in regard to their participation in the welcome to the Prince on the occasion of His Royal Highness' visit to Lahore. The notice speaks for itself. We understand that out of a total of 400 and odd students less than a hundred signified their consent, and this in spite of the fact that the students were questioned individually at the group meetings and the notice cirginally marked 'confidential' was read out to them by way of warning them against the consequences of giving a reply in the negative. A welcome is nothing if it is not spontaneous, as the learned Principal himself seems to recognise. Why, then, proceed in this particular way? We hope wiser counsels will prevail, and no pressure of any kind will be brought to bear upon the students either to make them join or refrain from joining the Reception Committee."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd November publishes a note over the signature of LALA LAJPAT RAI, taking strong exception to the conduct of certain school teachers in compelling their students to take part in the reception of the Prince of Wales.

(*e*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 25th November publishes from a Bara Banki correspondent an appeal to the Punjab Muhammadans. The writer requests Muhammadan students to take absolutely no part in the reception of the Prince of Wales and says:—"O reciters of the name of Muhammad! How shameful it is for you that while the garden planted by your Prophet thirteen hundred years ago is being devastated, his last will has already been rent into pieces, the holy House of God is in possession of the enemies of Islam, your Caliph is, in spite of being the leader of 40 crore Muhammadans, passing his life in a state of slavery, your Master, who reposes under the green dome, is raising his eyes towards you, and your brothers and sisters and young children are being thrown into the rising flames of fire at Smyrna,—while all this is happening, you have not shaken off your sleep of negligence. Do you still need a Dyer who may compel you to crawl on the earth, slaughter your children and insult your mothers and sisters that you may come to your senses? Does not the bloody sight of the Jallianwala Bagh rise up before your eyes? O Muhammadans! You have yet to offer the last prayer for the martyrs killed at the Jallianwala Bagh and Smyrna. What will their prayer be? It will simply be 'Restore the Khilafat and liberate India.' You should remember that if you lag behind your Hindu brothers in the present race it will be an unsightly blot for you when the history of India is written and it is said that Muhammadans showed indifference when Hindus and Sikhs were sacrificing themselves in the cause of liberty."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

(*f*) The *Zamindar* of the 25th November writes that Calcutta must observe a *hartal* on the occasion of the Royal visit in spite of the repressive measures of the Bengal Government. It does not matter if Khilafat and Congress volunteers are put in jail. It is not the volunteers who bring about *hartals*, but it is the tyranny of the bureaucratic officials which is responsible for *hartals*.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*g*) The *Tribune* of the 25th November has the following :—" It cannot have been forgotten that it was only the other day that Delhi was under the Seditious Meetings Act and that when the Duke performed the opening ceremony of the new Indian Legislature, which in a special sense is supposed to be the seat of Indian freedom, the city in which that ceremony was performed was without the elementary right of free speech. It is a singular irony of fate that the Prince will have the same distressing experience when he will be at Delhi, for the proclamation is for six months. . . . It was scarcely worth the Prince's while to come all the way to India to see this state of things ; and it was scarcely the right thing for the Government of India to bring him to this country so that he might see it."

(*h*) LALA LAJPAT RAI publishes in the *Tribune* of the 29th November a letter to the citizens of Lahore, in the course of which he refers to the Lahore Municipal Committee's second resolution on the Royal visit, and writes :- " It would have been in far better taste if the official President had refrained from voting, as he was requested to do by some members, or if he had not at least given his casting vote in the way he did . . . . But it was not to be. The officials were all out to snatch a welcome at any cost. The Deputy Commissioner had made elaborate police arrangements to rigorously exclude the public from the Hall without any rhyme or reason. The members protested but to no purpose. The Government party had been working, I hear, most indefatigably for the last few days and the officials from the Ministers downwards had been bringing all sorts of pressure to bear upon the members. The nominated members under such circumstances could not and, I dare say, did not vote as their conscience dictated, but had to follow the official lead and justify their selection by the Government . . . . . But your duty is clear. First of all let me exhort you not to harbour any ill-feelings personally against the members who voted against your wishes, but you should rather pity them, for they have been the victims of circumstances and of their own weakness. When the Prince comes let no man have the slightest decoration anywhere. During his visit let no man stir out of his house and let not the Government employees or the college students be coerced by the departmental heads into joining any official-made reception. Let it be clearly shown to the Prince that the only people who will receive him are the police and the military. Keep perfect peace. Give no occasion for any official high-handedness."

The King's message.

KESARI (Lahore) ; Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

4. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 21st November characterizes the King's message as dry and disappointing. It does not contain a single sentence likely to give solace to the hearts of aggrieved Indians. To the Indians who are dying of starvation, who are struggling for their rights and whose fellow-countrymen are rotting in jail, the message brings no relief.

(*b*) The *Swaraj* of the 24th November has a similar note.

Government and the Muhammadans, Sikhs and Hindus.

SWARAJ, (Lahore) ; Badri Nath, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Swaraj* is being prosecuted under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code in respect of the following three articles, headed " third attack on the religion of the Indians ", which appeared in the paper's issues dated the 26th, 27th and 29th October, respectively.

No. 1.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

Two or four years back our Government used to shoot from behind the hedge in order to wound the religious feelings of the Indians and, like the Frontier lions, was given to sniping at our religion. It did this on behalf of the British Government, which claims not to interfere in the religion of the Indians and to have granted them complete religious freedom. Since, however, its achievement of victory in the recent [*lit.* past] European war, it has, in its inebriation with the wine of success, openly begun to attack the religion of the Indians. It has now ceased to make "cowardly"* attacks in secret and has shown to the Indians by its recent [*lit.* new] words and acts that whatever they may do they will not be listened to in any way and that, according to the saying " we should do what is comprehended by our understanding," the Government will do only things which it may consider advisable to keep the Indians fastened in the chains of slavery for ever.—

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*The inverted commas are the paper's own.

It is unnecessary for us to write at length on the fate which the solemn pledges, made to our simple-minded Indians by our diplomatic Government and its ministers and grandees during the recent [*lit.* past] European war, met with after its termination, seeing that these breaches of promise are not unknown either to the Government itself or to the Indians. We know, and so does the Government, with what blandishments befitting a sweet-heart it gave us promises to meet us and how it spurned us after having been saved from a dreadful and devastating foe with our help. It not only spurned us, but began to show kindness to our black-faced rival (Greece)* before our very eyes. The Indians, who are true of promise [themselves] and consider others also to be the same, thought that the promises which were being made to them were not merely the coquetry of a beloved but the promises of a true and honest man. But their view turned out to be wrong and the Government utilised the lives and property of the Indians for obliterating their own religion and destroying and ruining their own brothers.

The promise was held out to the Muhammadans that not one inch of Turkish soil would be occupied and the liberty of the holy places of Islam would be kept intact. But what has now been left to Turkey? We should be pardoned for saying that the present position of the Prophet's viceregent [and] the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin, the Sultan of Turkey, is no better than [that of] a prisoner of the British. These are the very Englishmen for the protection of whose lives and property, and for the protection of whose homes against German shells weighing 30 and 35 maunds, and for the protection of the chastity of whose women from the hands of blood-thirsty Germans, the Indians spent their blood and money like water! And these are the very civilised Englishmen to protect whose homes we brought ruin on our own! British troops will [here follow some illegible words] in the capital of the Khilafat, and [the next few words are illegible] has not the permission or power to employ or dismiss any one at his own will. In other words, Turkey is now under the sole rule of the English and no one dare show them disrespect even in thought. They arrest and release whomsoever they like. There is no one to interfere with them.

The Jazirat-ul-Arab and the holy places are in possession of the non-Muslims, chiefly the English, in contravention of the injunctions in the Koran; while the English now occupy, directly or indirectly, nearly the whole of Turkish territory. Of course, threats and acts of leniency on their part have failed to cast their spell on self-respecting Turkish nationalists. But our kind and exalted Government, may its mouth be filled with dust, is bent upon destroying them also. It is certainly helping the tyrannical and barbarous Greeks, indirectly if not directly, while English factories are supplying them with munitions, guns, rifles—in short, every sort of war material, nay, even horses. But since the Turkish nationalists are on the side of truth and justice, God is with them No Power in the world, be it the British, Japanese, Americans or Greeks, can, therefore, overpower them. And God willing, the truthful will triumph in the end and the liar's face will be blackened.

No. 2.

SWARAJ
(Lahore),
Badri Nath,
editor.

(*b*) The Sikhs felt the greatest pride in the present Government, and this is why their number in the army is comparatively [*lit.* on an average] larger than that of other communities. There is no room for doubt, however, that many Sikh gentlemen had, by joining and working in the Congress and other political bodies, become fully acquainted with the tactics of the present bureaucracy and had been trying, as far as it lay in their power, to bring their brethren into the right path by informing them of the real state of affairs. But the ignorant Sikhs used to feel greatly pleased on a Sikh being given a seat on any Council or Committee, running away with the idea that they had obtained the entire Kingdom of God. This state of things continued for a long time, and just as the majority of the Muhammadans used in the beginning to regard the British Government as their chief benefactor, our Sikh brethren also thought likewise.

But just as the Muhammadans had, after being buffeted about, to keep pace with the political wave passing over the world, our Sikh brethren also naturally could not remain aloof from the struggle for [illegible]. And first of all they became anxious to reform their religion. They resolved to reform the Sikh *gurdawaras*. An idea of the indifference shown by the Government towards the movement can be formed from the single fact that even an [two words here are illegible] admirer of the Government, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mahtab Singh, had to resign the office of Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council. The Government apprehended that if to-day the Sikh community succeeded in reforming their *gurdawaras*, it must divert its attention to-morrow to the reform of the country And so far as we can think this was the only consideration which led to the arrest and shutting up in jail of hundreds of Sikh gentlemen as dacoits and highwaymen.

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*The brackets are the paper's own.

The heart-rending and soul-melting incident at Shri Nankana Sahib, in which about 200 innocent Sikhs were very cruelly made the targets for bullets or burnt alive, had fully shown to the Sikhs what the attitude of the Government towards this movement was. Can any sensible person deny that the secret department of the Government, whose members [*lit.* which] note in their diaries [*lit.* decrees] how many morsels [of food] had been taken by such and such a political worker on a particular day [*lit.* to-day], had information of the preparations made by stone-hearted and butcherous men like Mahant Narain Das, especially when other people had sufficient knowledge of the matter beforehand? This life-consuming incident fully revealed the Government's true character to the Sikhs, while the subsequent arrest of many Sikhs served as a lash, and in the end the Sikhs also realized that until India became free their religion, lives and property could in no way be safe. This is the reason why our Sikh brethren also are now participating in the present movement for freedom with might and main.

Next came the turn of the Hindus. Although there had been attacks on the Hindu religion by the Government or at its instance before that, still the arrest of Jagatguru Shri Swami Shankaracharya of Shardapeth made the matter perfectly clear and the Hindus came fully to know that the Government could arrest even their greatest religious leader for the performance of his religious duties by calling him a rebel. As stated by Pandit Neki Ram Sharma in one of his speeches at Lahore, the Hindu Shastras say in clear terms that it is a sin even to associate with an ungrateful person, let alone serving him. We fail to understand what offence Shri Swami Shankaracharya commits in saying, in the presence of these Shastric injunctions, that the Hindus should in no way coöperate with the present Government.

So far as we think, there is no section in the Indian Penal Code which can make it criminal in a Muhammadan, a Sikh or a Hindu to obey the injunctions of the Koran, the Shri Guru Granth or the Vedas and Hindu Shastras, respectively. But our kind Government does not stop here. On the other hand, it tries to lower Shri Jagatguru in the estimation of the Hindus by writing most disrespectful words for him; while by exceeding its powers and through the instrumentality of a few flatterers it endeavours to prove that he is not Shankaracharya of Shardapeth but merely a Sanyasi. Can there be a more shameful attack on the Hindu religion by a non-Hindu Government?

No. 3.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(c) An idea of whether or not Shri Jagatguru Shankaracharya of Shardapeth is the real Shankaracharya can be very well formed from the proceedings of the meetings held in different cities. Feelings of sorrow and indignation over this proceeding on the part of the Government are being expressed to-day everywhere from one end of India to the other and all the Hindus—men, women, children and aged persons—have come thoroughly to know what regard the Government has for their feelings, ideas and religious susceptibilities. In spite of its having been proved that Shri Jagatguru is the Shankaracharya of Shardapeth, neither the Government nor any of its officers has uttered or written one word to express regret for the insulting language used by the Government in the official *communiqué* towards him. And so far as we think and the facts are concerned, the Government is in the habit of making announcements in such matters at the instance of one or two men, not caring to see what the views of the general public are. This is the reason why it feels the greatest hesitation in admitting its mistake in the end.

The Government is not content even with the arrest of the greatest religious leader of India. It does not feel satisfied with using insulting words towards Shri Jagatguru and dealing an irreparable blow to the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. It has now begun to interfere with their religious festivals. For instance, at several places the police forcibly stopped the Ramlila processions this year. The Dussehra was not celebrated at Lahore and Rawalpindi. At Cawnpore, the police interfered with and stopped the marriage procession of Maharaj Bharat, while at some other places also similar events have taken place. Several newspapers have thrown sufficient light on the reason why the Dussehra was not celebrated at Lahore and Rawalpindi, and have shown that all this is due to high-handedness on the part of the police. And if the police behave similarly in future also, we think that in future it will become utterly impossible for the Hindus to celebrate the Dussehra.

It is a fact that, owing to the doings of the police, feelings against the department have been roused among the people for some time past. And this is the reason why for a long time past they have been making their own arrangements in connection with their meetings and processions, and they have proved by their past achievements that they possess administrative ability a thousand times better than the police. At fairs and festivals, where once disturbances used to take place and the police used to rain blows from their batons, the entire arrangements are now made by our volunteers without mischief or disturbance being caused. Besides, the Indians have now adopted non-coöperation against the Government and regard it as a sin to take help from the Government in connection with any political, religious or social work of theirs. But the question is why do the police then interfere in our affairs? What other meanings can we place on this than that they wish to injure the non-coöperation movement by affording provocation to the people. We wish to assure the Government, however, that these hopes on its part can never be realised.

We have proved in the last two numbers and the foregoing article that the Government has now exercised open interference with the religions of the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs. And if the Indians do not try to stop this, the day is not distant when they will have to obtain permission from the local authorities even to perform the *sandhya*, say prayers and recite the Granth Sahib. The order by the police regarding the obtaining of a license for taking out the Dussehra procession is evident proof of our view being correct. But the question is how Indians can protect their religion. The deputations which have from time to time gone to the snowy heights of Simla, the memorials which have been submitted to the exalted court of the Government on our behalf and the deputations which we sent to England across the seven seas to have our demands fulfilled lead us to the conclusion that Government has become accustomed to throwing our memorials and the petitions from the deputations into the waste paper basket.

The matter is clear, [*viz.*] that so long as India is under the rule of any foreign nation the Indians cannot regard their religion to be safe. Nor can they gain this object of theirs by coöperation. Consequently, there is left to us only one way, [namely] that we should gain independence by severing all connections with the Government. This movement has been inaugurated from a political point of view, but the truth is that in our religions coöperations with such a Government is called a great sin. The teachings of the holy Koran, the sacred Traditions, the holy Vedas, the Hindu Dharam Shastra and the Granth Sahib tell us that it is not lawful to coöperate with, or render any help to such a Government. Moreover, the success so far achieved by this movement proves that if, as is expected, the Indians continue it with unabated zeal India will soon be able to rank with free countries.

In these circumstances, it is the duty of every Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh to have no connection of any kind with the British Government. In the words of Mr. Gandhi, he should earn his bread by breaking stones rather than serve in any department of the present Government. He should throw off foreign clothes as unclean rags, wear *khaddar* made of yarn spun with his own hands, regarding it as clean from a religious point of view, and put forth every possible effort to make the entire non-coöperation programme a success at the first opportunity. In the present circumstances, this is the only way to liberate India from the foreigners and we hope that the Indians, who love their religion dearer than their lives, will make their religions safe by achieving success in this struggle.

Repression and non-coöperation.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 25th November says :—" Where in the history of the world has such a movement [as non coöperation] been killed by force ? Was it killed by force in Russia, in China, in Egypt or in Ireland ? We flatter ourselves that we live under a Government which, with all its shortcomings, is incapable of using force in the manner and to the extent that it has been used in some of those cases. Well, then, if force failed in those cases, is it likely to succeed in this ? And has such force as has already been used in this case suceeded ? An appeal has been made to Lord Reading to rise to the height of statesmanship. . . . If His Excellency will really rise to this height, he will not for a moment listen to [the] advocates of repression. He will undoubtedly do all that is really necessary to maintain order, but he will rely chiefly, if not solely, on conciliation for killing a movement which nothing else can kill. Let us not be misunderstood. We have made no secret of our opinion that the present non-coöperation programme stands in need of vital revision. But that revision must come from within. We are firmly convinced that such an incident as the Bombay riot, coming on the top of other and lesser incidents, cannot but facilitate the process of this revision. Interference from outside, and especially forceful interference, can only do harm."

(*b*) The following is taken from the paper's issue dated the 27th November :—" From all that one can see we are on the eve of a recrudescence of strong repression in all parts of the country. . . . . Repressive activities began long before there was any actual violence on the popular side. . . . . Undoubtedly there has been violence in the country since, no matter whether connected with the non-coöperation movement or not, and the present extension of the policy of repression is clearly connected with this fact. But . . . . violence, though it strengthens the official case for repression, is not a necessary factor. . . . . The reasoning in the Government's mind is vitiated by two fallacies each as glaring as the other. To one, the futility of all repression, we have referred again and again. It is specially futile in the present case, because the organisation with which the Government has to deal is one which considers such punishment as it is in the power of authority to inflict upon its members as the one gateway to its cherished goal. . . . The other fallacy is equally obvious. The underlying assumption of all repressive measures is that they are needed in the interests of the general community. . . . . Since the Government themselves have said again and again that the vast majority of the people are law-abiding, the assumption practically means that the vast majority of the people do not want political meetings. A more utterly unfounded belief than this it would be difficult to think of. . . . . The Loyalists, the Liberals and the law-abiding Nationalists must all suffer equally with the handful of persons who may be disposed to indulge in extravagant excesses. To say that the community generally can either like such action on the part of Government or can have any feeling for it except that of strong and energetic disapproval would be just as absurd as to say that it can do any good to the Government itself. Its only effect can be to swell the volume of justifiable discontent from which non-coöperation draws its sustenance."

(*c*) In its issue of the 29th November the paper says : –" That the new policy has emanated from the Government of India is perfectly clear from the speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to a deputation from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce. . . . But it is one thing to punish crime and even to prevent it when you are absolutely certain that crime is about to be committed ; it is quite another to resort to general measures affecting such primary rights of the whole community as the rights of public meeting and of association, measures which are bound in the very nature of things to confound the innocent with the guilty. It is precisely because the measures now being taken all over India belong to the second category that we have no hesitation in expressing our strong disapproval of them, and declaring with all the emphasis at our command that they are bound to do far greater harm than good."

The Sikhs and non-coöperation.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

7. (*a*) Jagat Singh contributes a long article to the *Akali* of the 15th (received on the 22nd) November, in which it is stated that people are very unhappy. They

have been much harassed by tyrannical rulers. Subjection has weakened them. No trace of national honour has been left. We should resort to non-coöperation in dealing with this crafty, cunning and deceitful bureaucracy and no Sikh should give any help to it.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper remarks that Baba Nanak worked at mill-stones to protect the oppressed and the poor. O Khalsas! Awake and rub your eyes. The same sinful rule of tyranny and high-handedness has spread on all sides. Be prepared to become martyrs. Nothing can be achieved without sacrifice. You should resort to non-coöperation in dealing with the sinful rule of the tyrannical bureaucracy and tell it that you are celebrating the birthday of the Guru. The bureaucracy interfered with your religion and is always ready to crush you. You should always be ready to go gladly to jails and accept the sweet offers of bullets, because religion is in danger and it is proper for the Sikhs to protect their religion.

(*c*) In another place the paper publishes an address to the goddess of good luck and happiness. "O heavenly houri! Amritsar is the unique city of Ram Das, the city of the Guru. Here a European demon heated an oven and burnt innocent children and infirm and old persons! After destroying them he cast a look on those who were writhing in pains and the agonies of death, laughed and trotted off! A lame *gora* lifted the veils from off the faces of women in Mananwala and spat on them. He used filthy words such as she-hogs, bitches and flies in addressing them. . . . The mother country has become the oven of oppression. It has become the place of execution for innocent people. The sighs which have gone forth from the hearts of helpless women and the blood of the innocent have made all sides still and desolate. The reins of the worldly affairs of the people have come to be held by partial persons who have appeared from the sea and who are immersed in pride. Like heartless rocks and stones of the sea, these people have drowned the boats of many families. The plant of justice, mercy, fulfilment of pledges and religious feelings never grew, nor can it grow, from flinty soil." Addressing the Sikhs the writer says:—"Be prepared to serve the distressed and promote the well-being of the country and the nation. You will have to live in jail. To-day is the anniversary celebration of the beloved (Guru). The same tyranny exists do-day. Be a true Sikh by giving up coöperation with an irreligious bureacuracy in the same way as the Guru refused to accept the meal and water offered by Malak Bhago by considering him a sinner."

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badre Nath; editor.

Non-coöperation and boycott of British courts.

8. The *Swaraj* of the 25th November 1921 writes that boycott of British courts is a part of the non-coöperation programme. It greatly pains us to see, however, that on being weighed journalists are found to be wanting. The paper regrets that Shafa-ut-ullah, manager of the *Zamindar*, should have recently given evidence against the editor and publisher of the paper on behalf of the prosecution.

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal, Tandon, editor.

Civil disobedience.

9. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 21st November says:—"The important statement issued by Mahatma Gandhi from Bombay in connection with the sad events that happened there immediately after the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in that town should form the subject of serious reading by all non-coöperators in the country . . . . To encourage people, most of whom are illiterate and devoid of all sense of responsibility, to defy the authority of the law, is to place an ignited match in the hands of a child. Every person is free to raise any objection he likes to the passing of a law and prevent, by all constitutional means, its being placed on the statute book. But once it is made a law, we are bound to obey it, though we may move heaven and earth to have it removed from the statute book, as early as possible, in case it be repugnant to public taste and will. To disobey constituted authority, on the other hand, is to break society into pieces and to make life, property and honour of women most insecure. It is on these grounds that a large section of the Indian people . . . . have been and are opposed to the initiation of civil disobedience in the country. It is a fortunate circumstance, therefore, that the leader of the movement has found out what potentialities of evil are hidden underneath this principle before he has had time to carry it into practice, and has made up his mind to postpone

it for the present.... With the abrupt failure of civil disobedience, and of the other four main items that preceded it, the present programme of non-coöperation is spent out, and it is feared.... that it may not cause a set-back to the constitutional progress of the country. We hope the Government would take a more reasonable view of the matter and not misjudge the deeds of the few for the deliberate wish of the whole country."

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 23rd November affirms that in resorting to civil disobedience we shall have to suffer imprisonment, undergo flogging and be prepared to be shot down by bullets. If we emerge successful from the ordeal, we shall be an independent nation of thirty-two crore people with inexhaustible treasures of wealth at our disposal. But if our courage fails, we shall be reduced to perpetual slavery and degradation. We have been called upon to disobey a law, which has put our leaders into prisons, which paid no regard to the religious orders of our distinguished Ulema, which placed obstacles in the way of the propagation of our important religious injunctions, which prevented us from helping our brethren, which crushed the noble sentiment of protecting the holy places of Islam, which ruined our national existence, which treated us like a herd of cattle, and which granted rewards to the authors of the Amritsar tragedy. We should readily respond to this call. But in doing so we should strictly adhere to the principle of non violence and refrain from doing anything that may cast a slur on our fair name.

British justice in India.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

10. DR. AGYA RAM of Miani writing to *Bande Mataram* of the 21st November relates a story to the effect that on being repeatedly asked by a *faqir* at Lahore, "Why have you come and when will you go?", Lord Lawrence replied "We have come to dispense justice and will go away when we become unjust." The correspondent says that the fair-minded among the authorities should calmly think over the result which will ensue from the sort of justice that is being done in these days.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Suppression of national volunteers.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

11. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 24th November says:—"The Bengal Government has by its action in regard to certain volunteer organisations placed itself in exactly the position in which the Bombay Government found itself after it had taken its ill-advised action against the Ali brothers and others. The action of the latter was immediately challenged by a number of prominent Indians, including almost all the foremost leaders of the non-coöperation movement headed by Mahatma Gandhi himself, whose example was speedily followed by hundreds of persons in all parts of the country. The action of the former has similarly been challanged by no less than a thousand Nationanalists of Bengal, who have not only condemned it as uncalled for and unjustifiable, but have actually got themselves enrolled as members of a volunteer corps, and have also invited others to follow their example. .... It was their consciousness of the difficulties of [the] position that led the British Government, wiser than our Governments here in India, from the first to stay their hand in the matter of the Ulster Volunteers, though the provocation given by the latter was infinitely stronger than any that may have been given in India so far, and though the authorities in that case had a much stronger case for forcible interference than they have in India. What, then, is the duty of the Government?.... Instead of attacking one of the primary rights of citizens, the right of association,.... what the Government should, in our opinion, do is to prevent and punish actual crime. If any volunteers are discovered in the act of intimidating or using violence, there is nothing to prevent the proper authorities from either proceeding against such men or dispersing them according as either course might seem the more expedient of the two."

(*b*) Writing about the suppression of volunteers in the Punjab, the *Tribune* of the 26th November further says:—"As regards volunteer organisations, they have in other cases been suppressed on the specific ground, no matter whether supposed or real, that they have indulged in unlawful activities. In the case of this province we have heard of no general complaint of this kind, and we do not gather from the notification that the Government themselves have any such complaint to make. A few individuals have, indeed, been prosecuted, but even assuming that they acted illegally, no right thinking person can say that the organisations as a whole should be suppressed because of the illegal conduct of an extremely small number of individuals connected with them. In most other cases this action has been the outcome of the belief on the part of the authorities that the recent *hartal* was brought about by intimidation or violence. In the case of Lahore and Amritsar, both of which had a practically complete *hartal*, no allegation of this kind has been made even by interested parties. In the circumstances, we have no hesitation in expressing our strong disapproval of the action of the Government."

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Wajahat Hussain,
editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 25th November takes exception to the order of the Bengal Government about the volunteer organisations. The object of Government seems to be the prevention of a successful *hartal* on the occasion of the Royal visit. But is this the only way to get a welcome for the Prince?

BANDE MATARAM
(Lahore);
Lajpat Rai,
editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 26th November says that the Government is preparing ground for civil disobedience. The Bengal Government has set the ball rolling and other Governments are following suit. We believe that the nationalists of other provinces will imitate the thousand Bengal nationalists who have issued a manifesto declaring themselves to be members of the volunteer corps and thus show to the Government that the people have no regard for its statements and no fear of imprisonment.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

Application of the Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

12. Writing about the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in certain districts of the Punjab, the *Tribune* of the 26th November says:—"We are not surprised to find that the *communiqué* issued by the Punjab Government does not cite any specific cases of abuse of freedom in justification of the action. No such cases are known to the public. Is it wrong to infer that the Punjab Government has taken the action because that action is part of a general campaign all over the country? Within the last few weeks both at Lahore and at Amritsar some of the biggest public meetings ever held in any part of the country have been held, and in not a single case that we know of has any untoward incident taken place at any of them. We are quite prepared to believe that some of the speeches have been couched in strong language, and although we do not know of any such case ourselves we are also prepared to assume that in a few cases the legitimate limits of fair criticism have been overstepped. But .... this is not a sufficient reason or indeed any good reason, for restricting the liberty of a whole population. The Government have in some cases prosecuted individuals. If they considered it either necessary or expedient, there was nothing to prevent them from prosecuting others. What they were not entitled to do, in our opinion, was to punish the whole population of three districts for excesses perpetrated by a handful of persons."

LIBERAL
(Lahore);
Jai Gopal
Tandon,
editor.

The martial law prisoners.

13. The *Liberal* of the 21st November writes:—"The Viceroy's decision in regard to the Punjab martial law prisoners has been received with intense dissatisfaction throughout the country and has failed entirely to evoke any enthusiasm in the minds of the people. The decision, which is more like that of a judge rather than of a statesman, seems to have been based on the records of cases, and no allowance appears to have been made for the circumstances under which they were heard. The Viceroy has thus lost another opportunity of pacifying depressed hearts and enlisting public support. This is most unfortunate, especially as the announcement has come after expectations of generous treatment had been aroused in the country. British statesmanship cannot be complimented on its achievment, for it has impaired rather than improved the confidence of the people in the British sense of justice. We have no doubt that the remaining prisoners would also be set free at an early date, but the conciliatory effect which a magnanimous decision would have produced on the public mind has already been lost."

PAISA
AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
edito

Lord Sinha's successor.

14. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st November pleads for the appointment of a Muhammadan to succeed Lord Sinha in the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 23rd November writes:—"It is with the deepest regret we learn that Lord Sinha has been compelled by reason of his protracted illness to resign his high office.... The British Government must presently make up its mind as to whom it is going to appoint in his place. We have already expressed our own opinion that there ought henceforth to be no period in our history without at least one Indian Governor, and to that opinion we strictly adhere. We do not mean that Lord Sinha's immediate successor in Bihar must be an Indian. What we do mean is that if Lord Sinha is succeeded by a non-Indian, room should be found for an Indian Governor somewhere else. Otherwise, the wholesome effect which the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor made upon public opinion would be very largely neutralised."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(c) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th November says :—" We are very sorry to learn that His Excellency Lord Sinha, the first Indian Governor of an Indian province, has resigned on account of his failing health. Let us hope he will be succeeded by another Indian."

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(d) The *Desh* of the 26th November says that Lord Sinha has resigned the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa, because he is opposed to the new Government policy which is being inaugurated in the different provinces of India, illness being merely a pretext for his resignation. Indeed, the position of an Indian Governor is a very delicate one and it is difficult to believe in these circumstances that an Indian would like to succeed Lord Sinha. The paper further believes that no Muhammadan would accept the office even if it were offered to him.

Gurdit Singh's case.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

15. (a) Writing about the arrest of Gurdit Singh, the *Kesari* of the 20th November says that the Government should not treat him in a way likely to pain the already wounded hearts of the Sikhs.

(b) In its issue of the 21st November the paper affirms that the painful story related by Gurdit Singh at Nankana demands that justice should be done to him.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(c) The *Partap* of the 21st November advises the Government to give up all idea of prosecuting Gurdit Singh. In the other event old affairs will be raked up and the tension between the Sikhs and Government will increase.

SWARAJ (Lahore); Badri Nath, editor.

(d) The *Swaraj* of the 21st November hopes that the real facts connected with the *Komagata Maru* and the Budge Budge affairs will shortly be made public, and the people will come to know what diverse means are adopted by our kind Government to achieve its ends. Our Sikh brethren will also learn what tactics were adopted by O'Dwyer in connection with the Budge Budge incident and how Sikh emigrants were hanged or transported. The revelations will strengthen the hands of the nationalits in paralysing the Government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(e) GOWARDHAN DAS, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 21st November, states that in the course of an interview he had with Gurdit Singh in jail the latter complained that from Nankana he was brought to the Lahore Cantonment, whence he was taken to, and shut up in a room, in the Criminal Investigation Department office. At 4 A.M., he wanted to make water, but was told that there being no bathroom there, he would have to answer the call in the jail and that he was taken out at 8 A.M. and reached there an hour later.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(f) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th November says :—" Hardly a scar is healed when a deep wound is inflicted afresh. We are sorry we can see no wisdom in the act of the Government in arresting Baba Gurdit Singh of the *Komagata Maru*. . . . And we are still more surprised to learn that the aged Baba is to take his trial under sections 302, 148 and 149 of the Indian Penal Code. A blunder huger than this could not have been conceived. To rake up old sores is no part of wisdom or far-sighted statesmanship. The things which had been buried and almost forgotten will now be unearthed and their bitter memory revived once again. This is most unfortunate, particularly when a great change has already come over the people, and among them the Sikhs particularly. We are sorry the Government has not been able to realise the injudiciousness of its act. It will not only further estrange Sikh relations with the Government, but will also furnish a cause in the hand of political revolutionaries to foment agitation against the Government."

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*g*) Hukam Singh of Kaliana, District Montgomery, writes to the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th November on the same subject :—"Now Providence has given to Government one more chance to do justice [to the Sikhs] and it is hoped that Government will not allow this opportunity also to slip off, and that is the case of Baba Gurdit Singh." After referring to the Baba's version of the *Komagata Maru* affair, the correspondent continues :—"There is vast difference between the statements of Baba Gurdit Singh and the Government version of the facts of the case. Therefore justice demands that an impartial commission be appointed for enquiry, which should comprise Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Sardar Jogindhra Singh, and one official European member [and] which may discriminate as 'between water and milk.' . . . The Baba has appeared for testing British pure justice only, and justice demands that the matter, which is the first of its kind between the subjects and the Government, should be carefully gone into by the appointment of an impartial commission. In case the commission finds the Baba guiltless the Government should also let him off, and compensate him fully for the losses borne by him and for the hardships and troubles borne by him during the last seven years. In case he is found 'guilty' the law shall take its course against him. During the enquiry he should be released on 'parole', and if security be demanded for him I will be ready to offer it in any amount that may be required of me. This is the only way in which justice can be done to the Baba and which is to satisfy the whole people; not only to satisfy them but also to lay the whole community under obligation for justice of the British Government, and it will restore the same respect for justice which was enjoyed by the Government before the war and which cannot be purchased by spending crores of rupees. It will also remove greatly the Sikh excitement which has been caused by the technical arrest of the Baba on the very ground which was the birthplace of Guru Nanak Deva."

Vedic Magazine (Lahore); Rama Deva, editor.

The Karachi trials

16. The *Vedic Magazine* for November number writes :—"Lord Reading's Government would never have laid its hands upon the Ali brothers and their associates, if it had not been assured that this *coup d'état* would strike terror into the hearts of non-coöperators and initiate a collapse of the movement or provoke violence and bring about the degeneration of non-coöperation into sporadic out-breaks justifying the application of force. . . . The Government now stands staggered at its own colossal and tragic blunder. Contrary to all expectations, the Karachi resolution is being affirmed from a hundred platforms and accepted with unprecedented acclamation by monster meetings and huge concourses of people. . . . If this strikingly singular demonstration of soul-force and disciplined defiance has not made the Government wiser and convinced it of the futility of repression when it is employed against a movement like non-coöperation we can only deplore its want of prescience. . . . There can be no doubt that the movement for freedom in India cannot now be checked. The Government has only two alternatives before it. Either it must recognise non-coöperation formally as a coöperative force and openly negotiate with its chief or convert it into an irresistible tornado which will carry all before it."

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

Treatment of Sikh prisoners at Coimbafore.

17. The *Akali* of the 24th November 1921 affirms that the oppression which is being practised on the Sikhs under the bureaucratic rule has now overstepped all bounds of suffering.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Frontier Province.

18. (*a*) Lala Lajpat Rai writing in the *Bande Mataram* of the 18th November says that apparently efforts are being made in official circles to prevent effect being given to the Legislative Assembly's resolution regarding the amalgamation of the Frontier Province with the Punjab. The reason for this is that in the event of the resolution being carried into effect many English officers, who are now drawing high salaries, will lose their appointments.

(*b*) In its issue of the 25th November the paper publishes a communication from its Dera Ismail Khan correspondent, who says that no sense of justice is left in Government. It is bent upon practising undue severity and has given extensive powers to its officers to practise great repression. In the Frontier Province blank warrants are sent to district officers to ensure arrests being promptly made. It is not known on what ground the recent arrests in Dera Ismail Khan were made. Two of the arrested men neither appended their signatures to the Karachi resolution nor attended the meeting [at which it was affirmed]. Again, some of the gentlemen who supported the resolution are still at large.

The Bombay disturbances.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

19. (a) The *Kesari* of the 21st November complains of the neglect of Government duty in not cancelling the festive ball that came off at the Government House in honour of the Prince's visit, in view of the riots in Bombay and the killing and wounding of people.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(b) The *Partap* of the 23rd November deplores the Bombay disturbances, which have dashed to the ground all hopes about the commencement of civil disobedience.

An objectionable circular.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

20. The *Partap* of the 21st November adversely criticising the circular issued by the Hon'ble Minister for Education directing, as alleged, that in the Education and Medical Departments 40 per cent. posts should go to Muhammadans, 20 per cent. to Sikhs and the rest to other communities. This will perpetuate Hindu-Muslim differences and mete out scant justice to Hindu claims.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Golden Temple.

PANTH SEWAK (Amritsar); Chanda Singh, editor.

21. (a) In its combined issue dated the 9th and 16th November the *Panth Sewak* condemns the act of the Deputy Commissioner in taking over the keys of the Golden Temple. What right has a foreign Government to interfere in the affairs of the Temple? We will see how it secures possession of the treasury of our religious place. Several thousand Akalis have gone [to Amritsar] in response to the call of the Parbandhak Committee and indignant speeches are being made daily.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

(b) The *Sansar* of the 19th November says in the course of the leader that the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar took over the keys in a fit of anger owing to the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee not fawning upon him. We will most certainly sacrifice our lives for the sake of our *gurdwaras*. Formerly the Government used to cause disunion between different communities by getting cases instituted in connection with *jhatka, halal,* calls to prayers and the blowing of conches. But since such matters are now decided by the people themselves, a new plan has neen devised to divide brothers. The Government has made Captain Bahadur Singh the tool with which to crush the Sikh community.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(c) The *Akali* of the 20th November says a crazy headed officer does not permit decorations on the occasion of the birthday-celebration of Guru Nanak! Have the Khalsas ever before heard such high-handedness and mal-administration? The fire which is now-a-days burning in the hearts of the Sikhs is unique and unbearable. The bureaucracy has surpassed all other countries in uttering falsehood. It has, on the one hand, interfered with our religion and taken away the keys of the Har Mandir and it has, on the other hand, declared that the Government has made over the keys to the Siromani Committee! This is a white lie! No keys have been made over to the Siromani Committee. O Khalsas! Do not put faith in the least in Government *communiqués* and the rumours spread by the police.

(d) In another place the paper says that the official *communiqué* issued by the Government on the subject of the keys of the Temple is wholly misleading. The paper goes on to say: "O Khalsas! Be not nonplussed! We will not now allow the bureaucracy to break its pledge! One of two things must happen. Either the Sikh nation will be destroyed by fire like the moth in order to preserve the liberty of their religious places; or if it remains alive, it will not allow the bureaucracy to approach near the *gurdwaras*. Every brick of the Darbar Sahib bears witness to the sacrifice of thousands of martyrs. *Thirty-two lakhs Khalsas have now placed their heads in the palm of their hands.* If we live we will live like manly Sikhs. Otherwise, whatever Wah-i-Guru pleases will happen."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(e) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 25th November says:—"The Government stands committed in more than one official announcement to having withdrawn its control from and interference in the affairs of the Golden

Temple and its attached Gurdwaras, but still there can be no denying the fact that no process of law has been gone through to secure it the seal of legal sanction... They [the Sikhs] should feel no diffidence in accepting the transfer of the control of the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, from the Government to the Sikhs through a process of law which, they think, is the only way sanctioned and recognised by the constitution.... Provided the Government does not mean to defeat our cause through the cumbersome and flexible process of law and honestly and earnestly means to help us, our honest opinion in that case would be that no harm would accrue if the community accepts the decree which will be granted to it through some prominent Sikh leaders.... In the matter of Gurdwara reform in which they need the active coöperation with them and moral support of the Government at every step, they cannot, consistantly with a successful achieving of the object, effectively non-coöperate with the Government.... The condemned Mahant Narain Das has executed a will vesting the trust of the Nankana Sahib estate in a trio headed by Baba Kartar Singh Bedi. This scheming junto joined by some other Sadhus have instituted civil proceedings for the restoration of the possession of the Nankana Sahib estates to them. If the Gurdwara Committee still persists in non-coöperation in this matter the result will be that the enemies of the Sikhs will achieve an easy victory over them and all sacrifices put in by the Sikhs will come to naught, for a time being at any rate, or that more sacrifices will have to be put in. Non-coöperation will thus place the Committee in a very sad predicament."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*f*) Commenting on the Punjab Government's recent *communiqué* regarding the Golden Temple, the *Bande Mataram* of the 26th November says that the proposed institution of a civil suit preliminary to the restoration of the Temple's management to the Sikhs is like one requesting a court that one had stolen some property belonging to another person and that the latter might be directed to take it back. The paper is also of opinion that, with the exception of Sardar Kharak Singh, all the members of the committees proposed to be appointed to draw up a scheme for the future management of the Temple are likely to support the Government in the end.

V.—EDUCATION.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

The Central Model School, Lahore.

22. The *Bande Mataram* of the 24th November learns that the Headmaster of the Central Model School is caning the innocent boys who did not attend school on the 17th November. The paper gives the names of the students who have been punished and asks the parents of the boys how long they will keep their innocent children in the hands of a merciless butcher under the bureaucracy and how long they will let them be punished without cause and simply for their patriotism.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor

A complaint.

23. The *Siyasat* of the 21st October remarks that so far as the Arts branch of the Education Department, Punjab, is concerned the new scale of pay introduced by Government has absolutely no meaning. The Principal [of the Art School, Lahore,] has delegated all his powers to the Vice-Principal, with the result that the latter always tries to stifle his fellow-countrymen. He forces the Indians under him to live in a state of starvation with a view to showing savings in expenditure. No addition has so far been made to their pay in accordance with the new scheme. Again, the Headmaster has fixed the school time from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., which hours are unbearable for the students to observe. Besides, those of them who come to school from a long distance are put to great inconvenience.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Lawrence statue.

24. (*a*) In a supplement dated the 20th November the *Kesari* says that, according to rumour, the Punjab Government wishes to remove Lord Lawrence's statue to the museum at Lahore. If this is really so the Government cannot be congratulated on the decision. If the statue is placed in the museum the hearts of Indians will be still more deeply wounded. If the Government is very anxious for the safety of the statue and is deeply attached to it, it should send it to England.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

(*b*) It is rumoured, writes the *Zamindar* of the 21st November, that Government has given a contract for removing the Lawrence statue with due respect to Mianmir or the Government House. If there is any truth in the rumour we must say that Government has acted wisely in depriving people of an opportunity for civil disobedience; otherwise a day will come when patriots will face bayonets and bullets and either suffer death or remove this offending statue from a public thoroughfare.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*c*) The *Desh* of the 24th November asks Government to show wisdom by itself removing the statue from the present site.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 24th November says:—"It will be remembered that the Commissioner's order suspending the execution of the Municipal Committee's resolution, was based upon two specified grounds, first, that he considered that the statue could not be removed from the present site without the consent of the Punjab Government, and secondly, that it was possible that the statue, after removal by the Committee, would not be treated with proper respect. The first is essentially a question of the Punjab Government's rights, and there is no reason why either the Punjab Government or the Commissioner should take a longer time than they have taken already to come to a decision, first, as to whether the Government has any rights in the matter, and secondly, whether, if it has any rights, it is or is not prepared to waive them in deference to an insistent public demand. The second is only a question of obtaining from the Municipality an assurance that the statue will be treated with proper respect after removal, and we believe the Municipality has already given such an assurance in an indirect but none the less convincing way. Where, then, is the difficulty of settling the matter and thus removing a prolific source of public discontent?"

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Udaipur affairs.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

25. The *Bande Mataram* of the 20th November publishes a communication from one MUHY-UD-DIN of Ajmer who says that, according to reports Government wishes to establish its authority in Mewar on the pretext of giving it friendly help and advice and is anxious to appoint English officers to all the departments in the State. Another rumour is that the Maharana's presence in the capital being an eyesore to it the Government is thinking of sending him to some other place and surrounding the Maharaj Kumar with English officers. The correspondent invites the attention of the rulers of all Native States to the matter. Commenting, Lala Lajpat Rai says that Lord Curzon was greatly displeased with Maharana Fateh Singh in connection with the Darbar held by him [at Delhi]. The latter was taken ill on the Darbar day and went back to his State. He has gone sick more than once since, and the Lala suspects that the visit of the Prince of Wales is perhaps the cause of the present revolution. Maharana Fateh Singh has ancient Rajput pride in him and would bow before no one. The present course has perhaps been adopted to overcome this difficulty.

Colonel O'Brien in Bahawalpur.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

26. We learn from a Bahawalpur letter, writes the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 25th November, that Colonel O'Brien of the Martial Law fame has been appointed Revenue Member of the State on a monthly salary of Rs. 3,000, though the President of the State Council gets Rs. 1,400 only. People observed a *hartal* when Colonel O'Brien reached Bahawalpur and it is strange that, in spite of the public resentment, Government has conferred on him a high post carrying a big salary.

High prices in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

27. The *Tribune* of the 26th November says:—"According to the latest information received from America and England the cost of living has had an appreciable fall in both countries during the last four months, although it is still higher by 103 per cent. than the pre-war level. The news is welcome, indeed, but it painfully reminds us of the acute distress prevailing in our own country on account of the sudden and unprecedented rise in the price of foodgrains during the very months which have witnessed a perceptible fall in other countries. Why it should be so in a country which is one of the biggest

wheat-producing regions in the world and that, too, so many years after the termination of the war, is undoubtedly a puzzling problem. Not only have not the hopes of those, who believed that this abnormal rise in prices was a purely transient phase, been fulfilled, but, on the other hand, there has been a still further rise in the grain market during the last fortnight or so. This coupled with the fact that the advance rates for the ensuing wheat crop are being settled at something like Rs. 8 per maund is sufficient to create a wide-spread feeling of alarm. Under the circumstances, we have a right to ask what steps the local Government proposes to take in the matter.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

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Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Anglo-Afghan treaty.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

1. (*a*) Writing about the Anglo-Afghan treaty, the *Vakil* of the 27th November says that it is a matter of special gratification to the Indian Muhammadans that our neighbouring Islamic kingdom becomes wholly free from foreign influence and relations of equality have been established between it and England and India. No subsidy will be paid to it in future from the Indian exchequer, which should satisfy those who used to regard it as an unjustifiable burden upon this country. The provision regarding the establishment of British consulates at Kandahar and Jalalabad constitutes a great victory for British diplomacy, inasmuch as the arrangement would practically annul the Afghan treaty with the Soviet Government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) According to the *Bande Mataram* of the 28th November, Afghanistan has succeeded in securing many advantageous terms from Great Britain, while the latter country has gained nothing solid except the friendship of the ruler of Afghanistan. But in existing circumstances Great Britain, which is afraid of the Bolshevik bugbear, thinks even this a blessing. We congratulate the ruler of Afghanistan on his success.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(c) The *Siyasat* of the 1st December states that some Indian Muhammadans are not satisfied with the Anglo-Afghan treaty, as it makes no mention of Turkey and the Khilafat. The *Siyasat*, however, cannot make out any connection between these things and the treaty. Muhammadans should rest assured that the Amir of Kabul is a true Muslim, who will do all he can to ensure the safety of the Khilafat.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(d) The *Tribune* of the 2nd December says:—"The Amir is no longer an earthen pipkin but a High Contracting Party, whose obvious inferiority in strength and power does not prevent the British Government from treating him as an equal. . . . The only two marks of inferiority, the control of his foreign relations and the receipt of a subsidy by him, have now definitely disappeared . . . For the first time in many years this small Kingdom definitely comes into its own and becomes an Asiatic Power. On that fact we as Asiatics are fully entitled to congratulate ourselves. . . . Another and to us an equally important reason is that now for the first time we have a definite step towards peace with Afghanistan. . . . The only other feature of the treaty that merits consideration is that affecting the frontier tribes. Here unfortunately the treaty affords no guarantee of peace, as perhaps it could not. . . . What may perhaps ultimately have a more appreciable effect is the linking up of Kabul with India by telegraph and the mutual development of trade relations between the two countries. These important steps, with the benefits they will bring in their train, cannot but have a salutary effect upon the people of the frontier."

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(e) The most important point in the treaty which the *Kesari* of the 2nd December can perceive is the permission given to Afghanistan to import arms through India without let or hindrance. In agreeing to this condition, the Government of India has afforded clear proof of its weakness and fear of the Bolsheviks. We must congratulate the Afghans on their victory in such a matter.

(f) In its issue of the 3rd December the same paper says that it finds nothing gratifying in the treaty. It appears that Bolshevik activities in Central Asia and unrest in India have led the Government to make a treaty on such terms. If the relations between the rulers and the ruled are cordial in India, Government need fear no one. When Government has been so lenient towards the Afghans, can it not placate the Indians? It can put an end to its anxieties by granting swaraj to the Indians.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

England and Turkey.

2. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th November states that the Constantinople correspondent of the London *Times* writes that the Greek Premier has persuaded Great Britain to render further help to Greece. This means that, in spite of her professions of neutrality, Britain has helped and will render further help to Greece. If this is really so, she is proving inimical to the Turks and is acting against the wishes of her allies—France and Italy.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

The Khilafat.

3. The *Vakil* of the 30th November says that since the conclusion of an agreement between France and the Angora Government the whole blame for the Khilafat controversy has been laid at England's door. Lord Reading should make it his first and foremost duty to bring about a solution of the problem. If His Excellency wishes to kill the non-coöperation movement, to rally the moderates and to restore peace in the country, he should avail himself of the Prince of Wales's visit to India to get it announced that the country will be granted swaraj within ten years and the Khilafat problem solved in conformity with the wishes of the Islamic world.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

Settling Jews in Palestine.

4. The *Vakil* of the 28th November says that the policy of settling a large number of Jews in Palestine has caused great alarm among the local Arabs. The British Government promised the Sherif of Mecca in 1915 that if he helped it against the Turks he would be granted the right of self-determination. It was on the strength of this pledge that the Arabs fought for the Allies. The Arabs of Palestine contend that the fulfilment of Mr. Balfour's promise of 1917 regarding the Jews being allowed to settle in the land is opposed to their

interests and rights. There is only one way to stop their agitation, namely, the establishment of a parliament elected by the people, the Jews, however having no right of vote. The Arabs do not oppose the British mandate. They are only against Palestine being converted into Jewish territory.

England and Egypt.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 27th November writes that now that the negotiations between the Egyptian deputation and British statesmen have been broken off the question arises who will be responsible for the bloodshed which may result from the zealous efforts of the Egyptians for their freedom. Since Great Britain has already promised to grant independence to Egypt it is quite absurd for her to return evasive answers to the latter. It is true that her political interests are bound up with the occupation of Egypt, but the Egyptians will never oppose the English immediately on obtaining independence nor prevent them from placing their foot on Egyptian soil. Great Britain can fully safeguard her interests by establishing friendly relations with Egypt. Egypt will assuredly become free one day and Ireland also will get complete independence. India, too, will obtain swaraj for certain. One Government can easily oppose another, but it is wholly impossible for it to control nations consisting of crores of human beings. The members of the Government will one day have to accept the demands of the people.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th November refers to the failure of the mission of the Egyptian deputation to England and expresses its inability to understand on what grounds Lord Curzon has rejected Adli Pasha's demands. Since the English never conquered Egypt, why does England insist on the location of British troops in big cities in that country? This is clearly an act of high-handedness, which will injure British prestige and lead to the liberation of the Egyptians. Lord Curzon's assertion that at present Egypt is incapable of defending herself is only an excuse for postponing the fulfilment of the legitimate demands of the Egyptians. But this is not possible even if all Englishmen wished to have the demand forcibly postponed. The treaty which the British Government has concluded with Afghanistan sets an example worthy of being followed and will infuse a new political spirit into the Egyptians. The sole object of the strange political philosophy of Lord Curzon and Mr. Lloyd George is to cripple the power of the Muhammadans in every possible way. The great injustice that was done to Turkey and her people in the time of these two gentlemen is known to the world. A similar treatment is now being meted out to poor Egypt. No fair-minded person can help remarking that they are harming the prestige of Great Britain.

(*c*) In the issue of the 1st December the paper states that, according to the *Englishman*, Lord Curzon is not prepared to remove British control in connection even with the fiscal and other administrative affairs of Egypt. If this is really so the independence which Britian wishes to confer on Egypt will be only nominal and will make no change in the present condition of the country. Why should England exercise the control referred to, which would amount to Egypt retaining the collar of slavery round her neck? Lord Curzon is undoubtedly anxious that British prestige should be established in the whole world by means fair or foul. The object cannot, however, be achieved by oppression and tyranny or by usurping the rights of others.

India and Egypt.

SWARAJ (Lahore).

6. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 27th November refers to certain provisions in the Anglo-Egyptian agreement and expresses its inability to understand what sort of freedom will be enjoyed by Egypt under such restrictions. A statement by the British Foreign Office says that such terms have been offered to Egypt owing to her present inability to defend herself. Our moderate brothers should take a lesson from this. If the British are not prepared to free Egypt in spite of her sacrifices, how can they expect them to liberate India without a struggle? They should identify themselves with the non-coöperation movement, so that India might gain swaraj without shedding a single drop of blood.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue of the 28th November, the paper advises British statesmen to stick to the principle on which they joined the European war, admit the birthright of mankind and grant freedom to Egypt, India and Ireland.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

The International High Court.

7. The *Vakil* of the 24th November states that Lord Finlay, who charged the Government of India with humiliating General Dyer in relieving him from service on an annual pension of £ 900, has been appointed a judge of the International High Court. This should enable one to form an idea of the sort of justice the judges will do in connection with the affairs of Eastern nations.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The Royal visit.

8. (*a*) Kishan Singh publishes in the *Akali* of the 27th November "A request to troops", in which he states that district authorities are sending copies of a form to zaildars and lambardars, who have to secure the signatures of pensioned and discharged sepoys. The last-named are being asked to attend all functions in connection with the Prince's visit, those not affixing their signatures being threatened with the confiscation of their pensions, imprisonment, etc. They should not, however, be misled by improper threats on the part of the authorities. Pensions cannot be confiscated even if persons drawing them are sent to jail. The soldiers in question should not sign the form, it being shameful for an Indian to attend such functions. The Prince has been openly boycotted by the National Congress, the Muslim League and the Central Sikh League. It is, therefore, wholly sinful to attend functions connected with his reception. These are the white-coloured officers whose hands are red with the blood of your brothers. They riddled our innocent brethren of the *Komagata Maru* with bullets at Budge Budge. We have been commanded by the Guru not to coöperate with the sinful tyrants.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 1st December writes that the Prince of Wales has seen that the public is not prepared to welcome him as the guest of the Government, and as such he cannot learn the true sentiments of the people. If he wants to know these, he should become the guest of the people.

Shanti (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

The King's message.

9. The *Shanti* of the 25th November says that the King's message contains words of sympathy, but there is nothing in it which can pacify Indians in the existing circumstances.

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Lord Reading.

10. The *Partap* of the 27th November says that while England felt fully convinced of Lord Reading's ability to establish peace in India, this country expected His Excellency to listen to it. Circumstances go to show, however, that India is about to witness unprecedented unrest and repression. The present Viceroy came here only six months back and the country is already openly giving expression to its feeling of disappointment in him. He alone can banish unrest from India who is prepared to grant her rights without caring for what the Anglo-Indians may say to him.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Lord Reading's policy of repression.

11. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 30th November writes :—"It is impossible to think of a better or finer illustration of the two fallacies into which advocates of repression are apt to fall than what is contained in the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to a deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce. . . ." After quoting an extract from the speech, the paper continues :—"In the first part of this passage His Excellency tells us that intimidation, coercion and other unlawful methods have been resorted to by certain persons, and that this can no longer be permitted. We may readily grant both these propositions, and yet enquire what justification there is for the particular measures which local Government after local Government have been taking. The essence of those measures is that they interfere with some of the most dearly cherished rights of the subject and, as such, affect the whole community. With what truth can it be said that they belong to the category of 'proper precautions' or of the steps 'necessary to give the peaceful citizen the security to which he is entitled and to bring the wrong-doer to justice?' Can that be said to be either a proper precaution or a necessary step in the above sense, which affects the liberty of hundreds of thousands of men in

order to prevent unlawful activities on the part of a few scores of them at the outside? . . . . [We now come] to the second aspect of the matter. His Excellency tells us that 'the peaceful citizen wishes to carry on his own business, his own pursuits, his own avocations, without improper interference or molestation by others with whom he may not be in agreement.' Granted. . . . . His Excellency will, we hope, excuse us, but we do consider that this constant talk of the necessity of resorting to repression in the interests of the peaceful citizen is not only sickening but is in the last degree unfair and unjust to that individual. It is undoubtedly true that he wishes to be protected against undue interference, but it is an insult to his intelligence no less than to his patriotism to assume that in order to be protected from undue interference on the part of a few scores of his fellow-countrymen he could either invite or welcome undue interference on the part of the State. It is perfectly true that he does not wish 'any political activity to impose its will upon him by coercion,' but he makes no exception in favour of that particular form of political activity which is popularly known as repression."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Continuing in its issue of the 1st December the paper writes: – "We have purposely reserved the most important aspect of the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Punjab Chamber of Commerce deputation for separate treatment. We refer, of course, to that aspect of the speech which shows, first, that the measures which local Government after local Government have been taking during the last few days are not their own, but are in pursuance of a policy which has been laid down by the Government of India, and, secondly, that that policy itself is not the fruit of an impulse, but a deliberate policy which has been evolved for a definite purpose. Even a cursory glance at this part of the speech shows that the Government of India have now made up their mind to come to grips with the non-coöperation movement as such as distinguished from its individual advocates and champions. . . ." Next the paper quotes a passage from the Viceroy's speech and continues:—"These words can mean only one thing, and refer to only one set of men, and after uttering them in this undisguised manner it was indeed quite unnecessary for him, as he himself said, to designate them. . . . No Government would spend its powder and shot for nothing, and in India at the present time there are no body of men in order to deal with whom it could be at all necessary for the Government to exert their full strength, if we leave aside the non-coöperators headed by Mr. Gandhi. . . . It is here that the new policy differs from the old. It would be affectation to deny that that policy, too, was directed against non coöperation, but the Government was anxious to have people believe that it was directed not against non-coöperators as such, but against those non-coöperators who departed from what their leader had laid down as an essential part of their creed, non-violence. . . . The fact is indisputable that never before now had the Government of India made a definite declaration of their resolve not to tolerate the non-coöperation movement."

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) In the first instalment of its leading article, headed "The time for trial has come," the *Partab* of the 3rd December says that Lord Reading has openly adopted a policy of repression. He has declared in plain language that Government will suppress the non-coöperation movement with might and main. The Provincial Governments have set themselves to carrying out his desire. People are being sent to jail in large numbers. Eight districts in the Punjab have been deprived of freedom of speech. National volunteers have been declared a dangerous and unlawful body. On the one hand, Government intends to use all its power to suppress the present movement. On the other, the nationalist party has already announced that it will either die or attain swaraj. The Government and the nationalist party have declared war against each other, although the weapons which the nationalist party will use will be of a novel description. The weapons will not be made of iron, but will consist of non-violent non-coöperation. It is a time for trial for both the Government and the people. We shall, however, only address our countrymen. The time for our trial has undoubtedly come. The trial will be a twofold one. One is whether owing to oppression or being provoked we are apt to forget our vow of non-violent non-coöperation. We have several times said that the secret of our success lies in avoiding violence even under provocation. But oppression generally rouses one's temper and it is necessary to avoid this. Although Government began the present policy of repression some months ago, still from one point of view it should be considered to have begun since Lord Reading delivered his speech, seeing that he has plainly admitted that his policy will be one of re-pression. Our first trial will, therefore, be that we should in no case resort to violence. Our second trial is that we should not retrace our steps owing to repression. We should stand like men in the field, whatever the number of attacks upon us. We have adopted non-coöperation against the Government after due deliberation, have drawn up the programme of non-coöperation after careful consideration and have with full sense of responsibility resolved to act up to it. In the circumstances, what can stepping back mean ? Shall we like cowards now fly from the field, simply because Government has begun to put us to the test ? Bear in mind that everything wants its price to be paid. A thing has its value in proportion to the extent to which it is held dear. Freedom, the best loved thing in the world, has a price which must be paid. There was a time when freedom had no importance or value in our estimation. We did not therefore get it. It was a long way off; no one allowed us to approach even near the precincts of the temple of the goddess of liberty. We were under the impression that freedom could be had by collecting together and making speeches for three days during the year. We had read the history of the world. We knew that other countries had gained freedom by shedding blood, but we thought we would get freedom by presenting addresses, sending memorials and deputations to the Government and passing resolutions. For years together we continued to deceive ourselves. At last, there came a time when our eyes were opened and we felt that the path to freedom was different from what we were treading. We would not, perhaps through our weakness, have acquiesced to tread upon this path, but Dyer's bullets and O'Dwyer's whips of law made us realise our real worth, which prepared us to step into this valley full of thorns. At its Calcutta and Nagpur sessions, the Indian National Congress sanctioned a complete programme of non-coöperation. The country has practically approved it. This means that the old ways and means of attaining freedom, which we and several of our brethren regarded as constitutional at that time, have been left alone. Whether the country gets swaraj or not, it is not prepared to beg for it now. The time for begging is gone. The country now regards swaraj as its birthright and demands it. It demands no concessions from the Government, nor begs for kindness to be shown to it. When such is the state of affairs why should we run away and show our backs ? There are now only two alternatives for us. Either we should die in the struggle or attain swaraj. Government has announced a policy of repression. The country should reply to it with vigour. Although the disturbances at Bombay have somewhat soured the temper of Mahatma Gandhi and we consider him justified in this, still the current of civil disobedience cannot now be checked. Preparations for civil disobedience are going on in Bengal, the United Provinces, Delhi and the Punjab. We are confident that in every province a sufficient number of men will be forthcoming, who, after taking the vow of non-violence and swadeshi, will be prepared to practise civil disobedience. Our dear brethren ! Dear children of mother Bharat ! It is the hour of your trial. See that you do not fail in this trial. See that through your weakness you do not stain the fair face of your motherland. Those who consider themselves unable to participate in this struggle should stand aloof. But for those who are prepared to enter the field there are or can be only two paths . . . (*sic* !) or swaraj. We are confident that this is our last trial. If we succeed swaraj is ours. Come let us unite and enter the field to serve our motherland and let us not blacken our hearts with the soot of enmity towards others, but illumine them with the light of love for our country. Having been illumined with this light, let us devote our lives and property to release our motherland from the chains of slavery. If we work with a pure spirit and if justice and truth be on our side, God will help us and we shall be victorious.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishan, editor.

(*d*) In the second instalment of the article, the *Partap* of the 4th December says :—Government is not only practising oppression, but it says that it wants to test the strength of the non-coöperation movement. Under the circumstances, the country has to decide upon the reply it has to give to the Government. There can be only two answers. Either it should give way, as it has been doing in the past. It should not only give up the present programme, but should follow the way Government wants it to follow. Or, while the Government does its own work, the country should go on doing its own.

We understand that while the Government has no other alternative except to accept the challange thrown down by the country, the latter also can do nothing but to carry out its programme to completion. The Congress cannot now request the Government to grant the country its rights, nor can it change its programme. The Congress has reached a stage where to step back is to court death. The Congress cannot step back even if it desires to do so. We do not think that Government has done with all the oppression it could practise. If the struggle continues in this way we see the day when membership of any Congress Committee will be held to be unlawful. The time will be one for the real trial of the people. In view of all these circumstances, we should prepare ourselves for resistance. We understand that we have no alternative but to resist and there is no room for retreat.

Civil disobedience.

SWARAJ (Lahore).

12. (*a*) The *Swaraj* of the 27th November requests people to be prepared for civil disobedience, but before doing so they should purge their minds of all idea of anger.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 2nd December says that plans for practising civil disobedience are being devised not only in the United Provinces but in other parts of the country as well. When the authorities take to issuing unjust orders the people feel constrained to disobey them. The proceeding is certainly fraught with danger. Will Lord Reading, who professes to be a great champion of justice and fair play, say whether such orders and laws can ever be based on justice? Repression and despotism now reign supreme in India and the British traditions of just and fair play have become a thing of the past.

The non-coöperation movement.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

13. Lala LAJPAT RAI, in a signed article in the *Bande Mataram* of the 30th November, says that if the Congress sticks to its programme of non-violent non-coöperation, Mr. Gandhi will lead the movement. But if the Congress is inclined to violence he will forsake it. It behoves every Congressman to adhere to non-violent non-coöperation. Our peaceful warfare will go on and even if Mr. Gandhi forsake us, God will be with us and we shall not shirk our duty. It is only for the last 3 or 4 years that Mr. Gandhi has taken to political work, while the writer has been doing this work for the last 35 years. He will continue the work and will not admit any defeat till there is breath in him.

Government and non-coöperation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

14. (*a*) The *Tribune* of the 6th December say:—"It is perfectly obvious that with the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai and his three comrades the struggle between the non-coöperation movement and Government has entered upon its most serious phase Hitherto except for occasional deviations on one side or on the other, the parties were only facing each other, but the actual struggle was yet to begin. Individuals either directly or indirectly associated with the movement had been proceeded against, but as a rule, and except for a number of restrictive orders, the position taken up by Government in all such cases,—whether rightly or wrongly does not matter—was that the persons concerned had deviated from the principle of non-violence. For the first time in the present case there is no question of such deviation. The four leaders have been arrested not because they have departed from the policy and programme of the non-coöperation movement, but in the actual pursuance of that policy and that programme. In other words, for the first time the non-coöperation movement has assumed a phase which the Government is determined not to tolerate, which in the words of the Viceroy it will exert its full strength to suppress. . . . While mass civil disobedience, as explained by Mahatma Gandhi and his associates, just because it meant disobedience in everything, *thrust* a struggle on the Government, whether if wanted it or not, here in the case of individual disobedience, the Government had the key to the whole situation in its own hands, and could regulate it as it liked. It had only to refrain from passing restrictive orders, whether under an ordinary or an emergency law, for the would-be civil resister to find that he had not much to resist. This is the position of advantage which the Government had on the morrow of the Bombay happenings, and which it has since abandoned by its orders under the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. These orders gave the would-be civil resisters

exactly what they had been hankering for, an opportunity of civilly resisting some one or some thing. . . . We do hope that even now wiser counsels will prevail and that not only will a halt be called but the wrong steps already taken one after another will be retraced. That the present is not the road leading to conciliation or the restoration of mutual understanding between the Government and the people must be patent to all who give themselves the trouble to think."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) Continuing its remarks in the issue dated the 7th December, the paper says :—" The Prince's visit can be utilised in a sense very different from that alleged, that that is exactly the sense in which a wise and a statesmanlike Government would utilise it, and that if it were utilised in that sense, not only would no one object to the proceeding but all opposition to the Prince's visit would at once vanish into thin air. The Prince of Wales has very rightly been called the Empire's greatest ambassador of peace. We can think of no one better fitted either by his eminent position or by his great personal qualities to play this worthy part in India. It were idle to say that he could not play this part without taking part in politics. . . . If the fact of his having no politics has not prevented His Mnjesty on at least two occasions from taking a personal interest in the settlement of the Irish question, there is absolutely nothing to prevent His Royal Highness taking a personal interest in the settlement of the Indian question. . . . The question which the Government must seriously ask itself is, should it persevere with the new policy and all that it means and implies, or should it rectify its grave error before things have gone farther? We venture to think that this question admits of only one answer. . . . Even if the Government did succeed in suppressing the movement for the time being, the success would be only temporary, and the cost would be tremendous, nothing less than the alienation of large numbers of people who are by no means committed to non-coöperation to-day. We have not the smallest doubt that the Government desires peace. . . . But it is not enough to desire peace. In every situation like ours, peace, in the sense of freedom from discontent, can be secured only on certain terms, and on no other. It cannot surely be obtained by sending the country's trusted leaders to jail. In every country situated as ours is such action has in the past invariably rendered the question of peace more difficult. So it is bound to do in India itself."

Sansar (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

Government and the people.

15. **Arjan Singh** of Tarn Taran contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Sansar* of the 26th November. Some of the lines are as follows :—The King, whom his subjects thoroughly dislike, under whose rule they suffer the greatest trouble and cannot bear [to be shot with] bullets, crawl on their bellies or suffer disgrace by having their faces spat on, should not harrass them. But, so far from doing so [his] Government is subjecting the country to suffering. No one bows to its rule, it feels no shame in governing and bathes in our blood. The Indians will not now suffer themselves to be cowed.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The only way to obtain swaraj.

16. **Sundar Singh** of Lyallpur contributes an article, headed "The war of Swaraj, " to the *Akali* of the 27th November. The writer says the proper and only way of obtaining swaraj is that we should feel a firm and unalterable longing for putting an end to the existence of foreign rule. We are engaged in a religious war. We should consider the life and honour of a white-skinned man or woman as sacred as we consider the lives and honour of our brothers and sisters. The rulers are misguided persons and are inebriated with the wine of wealth. If they consider you as strangers and shoot you and shed your blood, are they not sinners and irreligious? But although the Sikh religion holds it lawful that a tyrannical butcher should be killed in order to save the lives of many weak people, cows and helpless persons, still this is permitted only when all other measures fail. The time has not as yet come when the Sikhs should wield the sword. The sword should be used when the parties are equal. But while we are unarmed and helpless, the bureaucracy has an army and police equipped with machine-guns, guns, cannon and bombs. This is like a conflict between cows and lions. At present, we are in the thick of the war and in the midst of the most vigorous conflict. We shall not rest until we bring the conflict to an end.

Famine in India.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

17. (*a*) LALA MOHAN LAL, Pleader, Ferozepore, contributes an article headed "God Indra and famine" to the *Bande Mataram* of the 27th November. The writer says that the long list of British possessions proves great territorial aggrandisement on the part of Great Britain. She joined in the recent European war only to maintain the balance of power, and although India was confronted by no danger still she appealed to the latter [for men and money] in the name of loyalty and gallantry. Recruitment was made on a large scale and section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which is now being applied against the nationalists, was enforced against young men fit for enlistment in the army. Again, thanedars, zaildars, doctors, school masters, etc., went about collecting funds and squeezed money out of the people in every possible way. Crores of rupees went out of India, which added still further to the poverty of the country and has now made it difficult for the Indians to purchase foodgrains at the present high prices.

(*b*) Continuing in the paper's issue dated the 28th November, the writer tries to prove that Government will repay the war loan by increased taxation. Public expenditure in India has considerably increased in consequence of the introduction of the reforms, and the increase will be met by levying new taxes. Income-tax is being mercilessly increased, and railway fares also have been enhanced. Land revenue, too, will certainly be increased wherever settlement operations are now in progress. Proposals are also being made to levy a village tax under the cover of the Panchayat Bill. The writer further complains that India has to fight abroad for Great Britain and suffer the consequences of these wars. He contends that, but for the European war, grain would not have become as dear as it is at present.

(*c*) In the *Bande Mataram* of the 30th November the writer concludes his remarks by observing that the British Prime Minister, in his love of territorial aggrandizement, drains away India's produce, grain, men and money, and that this is the chief cause of famine in this land.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Suppression of volunteers.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

18. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 26th November accuses the Bengal Government of having acted with much haste in declaring unlawful all volunteer organisations.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal, Kapur, editor.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 26th November condemns the repression started by the Bengal Government and asks if the Government wants to show to the Prince of Wales that it cannot control people except by repressive means.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 27th November writes that the repression and high-handedness practised by the Bengal Government affords proof of the success of peaceful work as against tyranny and oppression. The peaceful *hartal* at Calcutta on the 17th November upset the authorities, who lost their heads and took shelter under an old repressive law to ban all volunteer organisations. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, under which the action has been taken, was passed in 1908 to suppress the revolutionary societies in Bengal, which were given to using bombs pistols and swords. The volunteer organisations referred to, however, hatch no conspiracies, keep no swords or pistols and only promote peace and order.

SWARAJ (Lahore).

(*d*) The *Swaraj* of the 28th November takes strong exception to the Government's action against volunteer organisations. Can any one cite a single instance in which volunteers used force or did anything likely to disturb the public peace ? There is not a grain of truth in the allegations levelled against them.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi ; Kishen Chand, editor.

(*e*) The *Shanti* of the 1st December does not consider as politic the action of Government in declaring the volunteer corps unlawful and arresting the Sikh leaders.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

19. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 27th November states that while riots took place in Bombay and Calcutta, meetings have been stopped at Delhi and Lahore. What even-handed justice ! The inhabitants of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura should not give up perseverance and should go on advancing, as Government has cleared the path for civil disobedience.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(b) The *Siyasat* of the 30th November says it is the third time that the Seditious Meetings Act has been proclaimed in the Punjab during Sir Edward Maclagan's tenure of office. This seems to have been done at the instance of the Viceroy. A policy of repression will not, we think, affect the national movements. The public should either resort to civil disobedience or suffer in silence.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The Ajnala arrests.

20. (a) The *Akali* of the 29th November publishes a supplement, which says that on the 26th instant a meeting was held at Ajnala, to which the Deputy Commissioner came, attended by the Tahsildar, two Thanedars, one Inspector, another Englishman, two Sikhs employed in the army and a dozen police fully armed. Sohan Singh, a pleader of Ajnala, pointed out some Sikh gentlemen attending the meeting and the Deputy Commissioner ordered their arrest. Sardars Jaswant Singh and Dan Singh were bound with the same handcuff. Sardar Teja Singh of Samundri was arrested, as also Pandit Dina Nath. Sohan Singh then pointed at Sardar Harnam Singh, Zaildar of Pind Sadharwala, who was also arrested. When the news of the arrests reached Amritsar, the General Committee decided to go to Ajnala. Nearly 50 members of the Siromani Gurdwara Committee arrived at Ajnala in motor cars. Sardar Mahtab Singh delivered a speech. He was followed by Sardar Kharak Singh, who said that no foreign Government was entitled to interfere with the religious affairs of the Sikhs. Whatever the bureaucracy and its myrmidons say is entirely false. Sardar Bhag Singh observed that these gangs of dacoits [the bureaucracy] were making noise for nothing. Master Tara Singh stated that by the sacrifice of Guru Arjan Dev the foundations of Musalman sovereignty were rendered hollow. When, however, Guru Tegh Bahadur offered his head, Muslim rule was extirpated. So long as the head of a personage as great as Guru Tegh Bahadur is not offered, these people [the bureaucracy] cannot be wiped out of existence. Bhai Jai Kishan of Kamalia said: "These people have practised oppression. May God ruin them." The papers says: "O Khalsaji! The time of test has come. Be ready and sacrifice yourselves for your religion Destroy by the roots this dacoit-like and irreligious bureaucracy by peaceful ways."

(b) In its issue of the 30th November the paper remarks that the Punjab Government has announced that purely religious meetings are exempted from the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act, but the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, who has become the Governor of his district, says in a letter to the Secretary of the Siromani Gurdwara Committee that certain persons were arrested under the Act and religious meetings are not exempted from the operation of the measure!

(c) The *Akali* of the 30th November 1921 refers to the arrest of the President, Secretary and some members of the Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and asks what hope there is that the British Government will grant political liberty to the Indian people. From the very beginning it is interfering with "our" religion. When the community awoke, the *gurdwara* wave began to flow. The Government made great efforts to throw obstacles in the way of this reform. It drew up the draft of the Gurdwara Bill and appointed Sardar Bahadur Singh manager of the Golden Temple. In the end it made new promises. There was also the Nankana Sahib affair. All these afford proof of the fact that Government has been throwing obstacles in the way of the *gurdwara* reform movement. It had been loudly professing to be just and neutral towards the religious affairs of other people, but the Khalsas paid no heed and the *gurdwara* wave continued to rise. When the authorities found that their efforts were of no avail, they made the greatest attack by arresting the Sikh representatives and the leaders of the movement. But this irreligious and wicked rule can never understand the religion of the Khalsa. What can those people, who are inebriated with the wine of the pride of sinful rule, know that the Khalsa took his birth by offering his head? Will the wave of the movement be stopped by the arrest of 40 or 50 or 100 leaders? If the authorities hold this view, they are in the wrong. There was Bhai Mani Singh in the Sikh community who suffered his limbs to be torne away. Bhai Tara Singh suffered the scalp of his head to be removed. Bhais Dalip Singh and Lachman Singh were burnt alive. Many suffered to be flayed and bound in the rack, but never did even a sigh escape their lips. They sacrificed themselves for the Sikh religion. The young son of the Tenth Guru suffered martyrdom. Such being the case, will not the children of the Sikh community be ready to lay down their lives for their religion ? Have we become so worthless and ungrateful that the martyr's blood does not flow in our veins and we have no regard and sense of shame for that blood ? No, every child of the Sikh community is prepared even now. The Nankana Sahib incident is not an old story. The Khalsas will never allow any stain being cast on their religion and honour and dignity and on the blood of the martyrs. Every child of the Sikh community will be Sardar Kharak Singh. He will be ready to sacrifice himself and will destroy the roots of this sinful rule. The bureaucracy thinks that the publication of the *Akali* will be stopped by the arrest of Master Sunder Singh. This is a mistake. The Sikh community is sure that the *Akali* will live permanently. We assure the Sikh community that every worker of the *Akali* is ready to follow in the footsteps of Master Sunder Singh and to make every sacrifice for the *Akali*. We hope that the Sikh community and the arrested and honourable leaders are prepared to make every scarifice for the reform of the Khalsa *gurdwaras* and they will fully maintain a peaceful attitude and will go on doing their work in the belief that it constitutes the greatest kindness on the part of Wah-Guru that our beloved ones are being sent to jail, while this bears witness to the evil days of the bureaucracy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 3rd December says :—" It is no use disguising the fact that at the present moment the Sikh situation is one of extreme gravity. We do not, indeed, remember any other period in recent history when so large a body of Sikh opinion was so definitely arrayed against the Government as has been the case during the last few months, and more particularly during the last few days. . . . With the Khilafatists definitely alienated from the Government, the position was already difficult enough. To-day it is much more so. If there is statesmanship in the province, now clearly is the time for it to assert itself. It is absolutely futile to denounce the whole body of men with whom the Government finds itself in conflict as ' extremists.' . . . It is no use uttering the cry of despair that in the present temper of these people there can be no peace between them and the Govenment. If for its success, one might almost say for its very existence as a moral entity, it is essential for the Government to have peace with the people, then peace it must have, no matter what the temper of the people may be. After all, there are two and only two courses open to a Government in the position in which our Government finds itself to-day. One is to coerce all who are opposed to it ; the other is to do everything in its power to conciliate them. The first would answer the purpose admirably when the Government had to deal with isolated individuals. No wise Government can for a moment think of it when it has to deal with a whole community, or at any rate all its active elements. In this case the second is the only prudent course, and the sooner the Government gives up all thought of the other course, the better for itself and all concerned. We anticipate the question being asked at this stage : Has not the Government gone far enough towards conciliating the Sikhs ? That is a question we have no hesitation in answering. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof. The very fact that the Sikhs have not been conciliated shows that the Government have not gone far enough. . . . The Government, equally with the Gurdwara Committee, desires that its own responsibility for the management of the Golden Temple should cease. The only difference of opinion is as to whom it should be handed over. We do not think that is an issue which should be found incapable of being amicably settled."

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 4th December says :—" Sardar Mahtab Singh and his fellow accused have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment each. . . . We have no hesitation in saying that these convictions and sentences are not likely to make a solution of the present Sikh problem easier or to promote mutual understanding between the Sikh community and the Government. We do hope wiser counsels will yet prevail, and not only will the present policy be abandoned but the steps already taken in pursuance of that policy will be retraced."

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

Gurdit Singh's case.

21. (*a*) We did not believe, writes the *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 25th November, that Government would arrest Baba Gurdit Singh and thought that the passengers of the

Komagata Maru had already suffered enough. But our Government will ignore justice and considers that its safety lies in suppressing its people by tryanny and oppression. The Sikhs should know that their *Gurus* made heavy sacrifices to liberate others. Unless we offer for sacrifice personalities like Gurdit Singh or be prepared to sacrifice ourselves, we cannot throw off the yoke of slavery. If Gurdit Singh had not been arrested now, the memory of the sacrifices made by the passengers of the *Komagata Maru* would never have been revived, nor the painful episode of the shooting of our innocent brethren conjured up before our eyes. The Sikhs should rest assured that the blood of the innocent will bring retribution in its train.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(*b*) According to the *Loyal Gazette* of the 27th November, Government has not shown wisdom and statesmanship in arresting Gurdit Singh. The raking up of this old question will increase agitation and give an impetus to the non-coöperation movement. Our Governor is said to be a merciful ruler. How could he allow this runied man to be arrested? We appeal to the good-will of Sir Edward Maclagan to withhold sanction from Gurdit Gingh's prosecution.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Pandit Neki Ram's case.

22. (*a*) Lala LAJPAT RAI writes to the *Tribune* of the 30th November:—"The trial and conviction of Pandit Neki Ram affords another instance of the farcical nature of political trials in this country. On Saturday last when the Magistrate heard the case he seemed to be of opinion that no case had been made out under section 153-A, under which he had been charged; that although Pandit Neki Ram had attacked the Government there was nothing in his speech which could be construed as having fomented hatred between any two sections of His Majesty's subjects. By Monday, however, the Magistrate had persuaded himself into a different conclusion and sentenced Pandit Neki Ram to 8 months' rigorous imprisonment. May we ask if the treatment meted out to Pandit Neki Ram, as an under-trial prisoner, from the moment of his arrest onwards can show anything but racial discrimination as against the sons of the soil. Would a European of the position of Pandit Neki Ram have been treated similarly? Pandit Neki Ram was handcuffed and brought to Lahore in a third class compartment. At Lahore he had to take his food in court with handcuffs on both hands; and from what I hear of his treatment since, I am compelled to say that it is only farcical to try an Indian under section 53-A, for pointing out the huge injustice done to the sons of the soil. What is the use of convicting a man like Pandit Neki Ram on this charge when the whole system of government in the country breathes the spirit of racial discrimination and when there are hardly any Indians who have not bitterly complained of it at some time or other of their life. I have no complaint to make of the British who believe in the superiority of their race. But what fills me with humiliation and anger is the callous attitude of my own countrymen occupying high positions in the Government of the country. For these Indians to be parties to sanctioning prosecution of Indians under section 153-A. for the criticism of the bureaucracy is pure and simple hypocrisy. The Indian member in-charge of jails may well be asked if in his opinion Pandit Neki Ram Sharma is not as good as a 3rd class European, and entitled to the same treatment in jail as the latter. If not, then why talk of section 153-A, Indian Penal Code?"

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st December also publishes the above.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Pandit Neki Ram in jail.

23. The *Kesari* of the 3rd December regrets to learn that Pandit Neki Ram is being given 18 seers of grain to grind daily. He is suffering from diabetes and such treatment will ruin his health. The public should demand that he should not be badly treated.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

Conviction of Malik Lal Din and Bashir Ahmad.

24. Writing about the imprisonment of two Lahore non-coöperators, Malik Lal Din and Bashir Din, for refusing to furnish security under sections 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the *Zamindar* of the 27th November objects to the court's interpretation of good behaviour. So far as we know, the accused were not concerned in any conspiracy and have

been guilty of no misconduct. We did not expect that the Government of Sir Edward Maclagan would stoop so low as to declare in its courts such persons to be "bad characters as are real gentlemen."

The Moplah situation.

25. The *Kesari* of the 27th November states that the Government has not been able to restore peace in the disturbed area. Is it not now necessary for the Government to put the sword in the sheath and devise some other plan for restoring peace?

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

The Moplah train tragedy.

26. (*a*) The *Siyasat* of the 26th November refers to the press *communiqué* regarding the death of a number of prisoners from asphyxiation and suspects that the prisoners are probably Moplahs.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 26th November wants an impartial committee to enquire into the incident and mete out exemplary punishment to those who have been guilty of criminal negligence. Lord Reading is crying himself hoarse over justice and it remains to be seen what steps His Excellency takes in the matter.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Zamindar* of the 26th November says that the incident is similar to the Black Hole tragedy.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

(*d*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 27th November writes that during the great war some European soldiers died of heat in Sind on their way to Karachi. A great clamour was raised in India and England and the officer-in-charge was dismissed. But it is a matter for regret that the Government does not seem to take proper action in connection with the Moplah train tragedy.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*e*) The *Tribune* of the 2nd December writes:—"We do not think the mere appointment of a committee to enquire into the matter and report upon it can convey any assurance to the public that the needful will be done either by way of punishment, if delinquency is proved, or by way of preventing a recurrence of this sort of thing. Too often these committees of enquiry instead of solving the problems referred to them only shelve them, instead of fixing the responsibility for an act of injustice or inhumanity on proper shoulders only whitewash all parties concerned. We do hope such a thing will not happen in the present case. The incident has created the most painful impression in all quarters and more than one newspaper has characterised it as a second Black Hole With all one's desire to avoid strong language, it is really difficult to see how such an incident could have occurred without some one being guilty of the grossest negligence, if not positive disregard of human life."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The *hartal* on the 17th.

27. The *Zamindar* of the 26th November is gratified at most cities in India having observed a complete *hartal* on the 17th instant and congratulates the public on their national spirit. The nation has done its duty. The Bombay disturbance constitutes a blot on the fair name of the nation, but we are not prepared to believe that this hooliganism was intended to support peaceful non-coöperation.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

The Bombay disturbances.

28. The *Zamindar* of the 26th November deplores the Bombay disturbances, but exonerates the advocates of non-coöperation of all responsibility.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

Dacoit Tura and Granthi Balwant Singh: a contrast.

29. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 27th November [received on the 2nd December] writes that dacoit Tura, who had committed several dacoities and murders in the Attock and Shahpur districts, was sentenced to death by the sessions court, but on an appeal to the High Court the sentence was commuted to imprisonment. In the political cases tried by the special tribunal Granthi Balwant Singh, of Vancouver, was sentenced to be hanged on a charge only of conspiracy. There was, besides, no strong evidence against him. His wife's petition for mercy was rejected by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the then stone-hearted Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The contrast is sufficient to show how defective and ineffective the present law is.

LOYAL GAZETTE, (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

Maltreatment of political prisoners.

30. The *Zamindar* of the 28th November draws attention to the mal-treatment of Indian political prisoners in jails as proof of the racial discrimination that

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

exists in this country, a discrimination that Lord Reading is apt to deny. Verily the treatment accorded to the Ali brothers will bring disgrace upon the name of the Government It is the Government which is spreading hatred and unjustly trying to blame the patriots for this.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

Martial-law atrocities.

31. **Surat Singh** contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Akali* of the 28th November. Some of the verses are as follows:—

> "In some places, people were mercilessly flogged,
> (And) were hung by the tyrants after having been flayed.
> In some places, the faces of women were spit at
> After their veils had been removed by the tyrants ! Alas,
> In some places, innocent persons were beaten.
> What am I to say about the affair ?
> The tyrants forced the people to crawl on their bellies
> After enacting bad laws."

Zamindar (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

Oppression in the North-West Frontier Province.

32. The *Zamindar* of the 28th November criticises the present repressive policy of Lord Reading and says that there is unrest and tyranny everywhere. Muhammadans are being murdered, hanged and sent to prisons. The verses of the Koran are confiscated and the traditions insulted. The Prince of Wales is being invited to witness this final bloody sight of British prestige in the East. Let him come and see how badly his father's subjects are being dealt with.

Sufi (Pindi Baha-ud-Din); Muhammad Din, editor.

The confiscated *fatwa*.

33. (*a*) The *Sufi* for the month of November says that it may be right to protest against the policy of Government in current affairs, to unite with the Hindus, to feel impatient and restless over the Khilafat question, to hold meetings, to organise associations and to issue *fatwas* ; but it is far from desirable that when a *fatwa* is forfeited, Mr. Gandhi should be first consulted as to the course of action to be adopted. Does not this suggest that the *fatwa* itself was drawn up with his consultation and issued at his instance ? If such is really the case, then the day is not distant when we shall have to consult Mr. Gandhi even in respect of our religious injunctions about fasts and prayers. If Muhammadans wish to make progress, their foremost duty is to maintain their religious independence.

Islah (Ludhiana); Muhammad Shafi, editor.

(*b*) The *Islah* of the 19th November writes that every Muhammadan in India is declaring in these days that according to the unanimous *fatwa* of five hundred *ulema*, it is unlawful for Muslims to serve in the Military and the Police Departments, because those who serve in these Departments have to fire on their own brethren. But the Koranic verse quoted by the *ulema* in support of their contention has been wrongly interpreted. How surprising it is that the *ulema* have misled the Muslim public by wrongly interpreting the verse ? The paper then tries to prove that there are other verses in the Koran which permit a Muhammadan to kill another in special circumstances.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

Treatment of Indians in the Mayo Hospital.

34. **Ram Narain Vermani**, of Lyallpur, writes to the *Tribune* of the 1st December :—Through the medium of your much esteemed paper, I beg to invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Medical Department and the public to the treatment accorded to the Indians in the Mayo Hospital under the much-boasted Reformed Era. Will our Ministers, who are never tired of singing, in and out of season, the praises of the new regime, kindly explain how they are going to justify the racial discrimination in the treatment of patients in the Mayo Hospital ? One has but to go to the Albert Victor Hospital and the Indian family ward to be struck with the glaring differences as regards equipment, nursing and feeding arrangements, etc. While the former is equipped on a princely scale and has all the advantages of up-to-date appliances, the latter is even starved of bare necessities and has no operation room of its own. While each of the European patients has a nurse all to himself, the Indians are left to the tender mercies of students and

are made the ground of experimentation, sometimes much to the patients' inconvenience. The food supplied to the Indians is cooked in oil and is hardly fit for human consumption. As regards the courtesy and treatment meted out to the Indians, my own experiences bears a glowing testimony to them. The treatment accorded to other Indians is hardly better. Instances are not wanting in which indifference on the part of European staff has resulted in the serious detriment of the patients. This treatment is only intelligible on the ground that we are Indians and as such have no claim upon the courtesy and humanity of the Europeans. Is it too much to hope that the Minister in charge or failing him some of our public spirited M. L. C.'s. will do the needful?

Cantonment reforms.

Cantonment Advocate (Ambala); Mansab Ali, editor.

35. The *Cantonment Advocate* of the 10th November says:—"After all the Cantonment Reforms Report is out and a copy of it has been supplied by the Government to the All-India Cantonments Association. . . . We have made a careful study of the Report and we have no hesitation in saying that on the whole, it is no doubt a step forward and marks an approach to a definite stage in the onward march of the Cantonment people towards a complete control over the civil administration in Cantonments. . . . The reform recommended in the Report lifts the people from this position of helplessness and gives them something approaching to or at least smacking of, the status of a citizen . . . . But judging the Report in the light of the spirit of the time and the expectations of the public, we feel constrained to say that it will have to be altered and improved in many essential points by the Government in order to supply what is wanting and to divest what is recommended of its halting character, before it will arouse an enthusiasm of appreciation and cordial reception among the people of the Cantonments."

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The Golden Temple.

Sansar (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

36. The *Sansar* of the 16th November says that it is well known how the keys of the Har Mandir were forcibly wrested from Sardar Sundar Singh at his house by the slaves of the bureaucracy. If the latter desires coöperation from the Sikhs it should quietly return the keys to the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and inform it by letter that it will in no way interfere with the affairs of *gurdwaras* in future. It should also make over to the committee the *gurdwaras* which were removed from the possession of the Akalis and made over to Mahants. If, however, in its pride of rule, it pays no heed [to the matter], the Akali would measure his length on the ground [? lay down his life] rather than abandon his religion. He will sacrifice his body, wealth, land, etc., but will not listen to it in the matter. The Akalis are the brothers of those [Sikhs] who were entombed alive.

Kesari (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 18th November remarks that although there are hundreds of religious places of the Sikhs, to safeguard which they are ready to sacrifice their all, still the Golden Temple is undoubtedly their most sacred place of pilgrimage, to protect which they made great sacrifices No Government, whether Sikh or any other, should take possession of it: a non-Sikh Government in particular should never even dream of keeping the place under its influence. The British Government has announced on many occasions that it will never interfere in the religious affairs of the Indians, but the position taken up by it in relation to the Darbar Sahib is unintelligible. It is highly to be regretted that the Government should be bent upon making the mistake of having a hand in the affairs, of the Temple, unmindful of the fact that its conduct will produce a very bad effect on the Sikhs, who consolidated British rule in India by fighting against their own countrymen. It never interferes in the religious affairs of other people, notwithstanding the existence of grave religious differences among them. It has no right to follow a different course in the case of the Sikhs, although there may be some ordinary differences among them. We think that after the Nankana Sahib fair thousands of Sikhs will reach Amritsar to protect their religion and the Golden Temple. The situation will then become so critical that another mistake will lead to dangerous consequences. The Government should now act with great circumspection and leave the Sikhs to settle their own affairs. They should bear in mind, however, that they have vowed to observe non-violence, although if an opportunity occurs they should seal their rights with their blood.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The Government and Sikh *gurdwaras*.

37. **BHAI RAI SINGH** contributes an article to the *Akali* of the 28th December. When the clouds of misfortune, says the writer, are hovering over the heads of the Sikh community and when the flashes of the sword of the Tenth Guru are appearing in the dark clouds of oppression, the tyrants are continuing their oppression, nay, they are growing bolder and bolder. The Sikh community has now nobody to look up to, excepting the tenth Guru. It is time for us to offer our heads to the Tenth Guru. It is time for us to save our *gurdwaras* from the tyrants. What can be a greater sin than that the tyrannical bureaucracy, which drinks the blood of cows and the poor, has forcibly taken possession of the *gurdwaras*? Will the Sikhs ever like their *gurdwaras* being interfered with by anybody? O you flattering Siks! Do you not feel ashamed to call those tyrants and rascals Sikhs whom the Ninth Guru summoned? Think a little whom the Tenth Guru calls Sikhs. What are those bad things by doing which a Sikh is degenerated and becomes an un-Sikh The Sikh who eats *halal* flesh, who has abandoned Sikhism, who shows disrespect to long hair, who smokes tobacco, who enjoys others' wives and who turns his face away from the Guru, is a degenerate fellow. Now tell us what are those principles of Sikhism which these Feringhees, whom you go to *salam*, follow. Think for a little how the Sikhs are trying to bring under their possession the abode of the Guru, the Father, an abode which the Sikhs made over to the Panth after suffering much trouble.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sansar* of the 26th November remarks that not only the English [*lit.* you] but the whole of India and Europe also are in trouble since the first named interfered with the Sikhs. They were called the *topiwala* Sikhs of Guru Tegh Bahadur and have sought to display their Imperial grandeur by laying hands upon the same Guru's *gurdwara*. But they should remember that it was said by the same Guru "When this house of the Baba [Nanuk] is gone, no vestige of them would remain". The Sikhs can never tolerate that Government should, of set purpose and forcibly, take the affairs of Sikhs and their *gurdwaras* in its own hands. Again, it announced on several occasions that it had conferred an obligation on the Sikhs by permitting them to carry *kirpans* without any restraint whatever. The Police have, nevertheless, raided the *kirpan* factory of Sardar Kharak Singh of Sialkot. This means that the Government is again taking action in the matter under section 5 of the Arms Act. It should bear in mind that the affair concerns not the Sardar alone but the whole Sikh community, which is prepared to sacrifice itself for him.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

The attitude of Government and non-Sikhs towards the *gurdwara* reform movement.

38. The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 25th November writes that in respect of the *gurdwara* reform movement Government at first tried to divert the energy of the Sikhs into other channels and also to turn the Hindus and the Muhammadans against the Sikhs. But their efforts have all failed and it is Government alone which is now thwarting the movement. It is the common interest of all Indian communities to achieve the reform of the Sikh *gurdwaras*. If this is achieved, Hindu temples and Muslim mosques will also become free.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

Sikh grievances.

39. **SUNDAR SINGH** of Lyallpur writes to the *Akali* of the 25th November that the bureaucracy has forcibly wrested from us the keys of the Darbar Sahib which is the most sacred place of the Sikhs. It has also harassed the Sikhs, in matters relating to the *gurdwaras* of Teja and Hothian. In Nankana Sahib two hundred Sikhs were made martyrs in consequence at least of its carelessness. It has wrested the Khalsa College from us and thereby rendered our coming generation unmanly and slavish. It has pulled down the walls of the Rikabganj *gurdwara*. It insulted the Maharani of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab. It wrested the sovereignity of the Punjab from Maharaja Dhalip Singh and converted him to Christianity. It got thousands of Sikhs killed in the wars and when the time for granting

rights came it gave a flat refusal. Above all, it riddled hundreds of innocent Sikhs with bullets on the banks of Budge Budge. And now, in order to fill its cup of oppression to the brim, it has committed the disrespect of arresting at the birthplace of Guru Nanak Sardar Gurdit Singh, the most beloved of the Sikhs and the manager of the Guru Nanak steamer. There can be no other act so provoking to the Sikhs as this. Sardar Gurdit Singh is ready to sacrifice his life, but he remains peaceful in obedience to the behests of the Siromani Committee and the Sikh League. Nobody ever displayed greater bravery and courage.

The *kirpan*.

SWARAJ (Lahore).

40. The *Swaraj* of the 25th November is surprised to see that a Sikh has been arrested at Mianwali for carrying a *kirpan*. The *kirpan* is a religious emblem of the Sikhs and the Government has removed all restrictions in regard to it. Still it has arrested several respectable Sikhs for carrying *kirpans*. The Sikhs assert that the Government has no right to fix its size. We hope it will act wisely and refrain from interfering with the Sikh religion.

Gurdit Singh's message to the Sikhs.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

41. The *Akali* of the 26th November pupblishes the following message from Gurdit Singh. "I tell the *sangats* that Government has interfered with our *gurdwaras*. It has destroyed the Guru Nanak Steamer Company. It shot innocent Indians at Budge Budge. And it has now wrested the keys of the Darbar Sahib from the Gurupanth. It did not allow decorations to be arranged on Guru Nanak's birthday. It must bear the consequence of its sins. But we have neither cannon nor guns. It is our duty to follow in the footsteps of Guru Tegh Bahadur and lay down our heads for our religion and the liberty of the country. On our innocent persons being killed the cry of our blood will reach the heavens. And in this way, the funeral prayer of this satanic and irreligiuos rule will be offered in accordance with the adage 'Sin is very powerful in killing the sinner.'"

The Jhabhal brothers.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

42. SHAM SINGH, "who is in the know," contributes a note to the *Sansar* of the 25th November, asking the Sikhs to beware of the Jhabhal brothers. He states that the Jhabhal brothers have been responsible for the arrest of Sardar Gurdit Singh and a conspiracy was hatched in the writer's presence. The brothers believe that if any one else comes forward, they would lose their leadership. They are now including Sardar Mehtab Singh and Sardar Kharak Singh to observe *satyagraha*, so that the latter might go to jail and the brothers might take their places.

Complaint against the jail authorities in Hyderabad.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

43. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 26th November is informed by the Secretary, Mirpur Khilafat Committee, that Maulvi Abdul Karim, who is imprisoned in the Hyderabad (Sind) jail, has been forcibly deprived of the Koran. If the report is true, the jail authorities have committed a serious mistake. Their act is tantamount to insulting God's injunctions, which cannot but inflame the religious feelings of the Muhammadans. Preventing a Muhammadan from reading the Koran is clearly an act of interference with Islam and is opposed to the Government's announcements about non-interference in religious matters.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

A complaint.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

44. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 23rd November expresses surprise that the Hindu members of the Lahore Municipal Committee should have strongly opposed a resolution recently laid before the Committee for the conversion of a mosque outside the Shahalmi Gate into a double-storyed building. Theoretically the Hindus vigorously support Hindu-Muslim unity, but in practice they do not hesitate to interfere in the rights of the Muhammadans. If the Hindu municipal commissioners adopt an hostile attitude towards the Muhammadans before the attainment of Swaraj, it is not known how they will behave when self-government has actually been obtained.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

Colonel O'Brien.

45. (*a*) The *Vakil* of the 1st December protests against the appointment of Colonel O'Brien of martial law fame as Revenue Member of the Bahawalpur State [Council.]

Desh (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 3rd December is surprised to see that, in spite of public resentment, Government has appointed Colonel O'Brien to a high post in the Punjab. Has he got the present well-paid job in reward for his services during the martial law days?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Viceroy on Turkish affairs.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

1. (*a*) Commenting on the Viceroy's reply to the address presented to him recently by the Muhammadans of Delhi, the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 4th December says that His Excellency is of opinion that Turkey will be benefitted by an international control of the Straits of Bosphorus. We are unable to understand, however, what benefit that country can derive. Foreigners will be in possession of its gates and there will be no meaning in its capital's independence. It will not be free in the true sense of the term, and it is, therefore, impossible for the Muhammadans to feel satisfied at the decision. The Viceroy also stated that His Majesty's Government did not deny the importance of the sacred places of Islam being under the control of their Caliph. If this is so, why should not Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia be placed under the control of the Sultan? Lord Reading suggests that the agitation in the matter should be conducted on moderate lines. Does he mean that the Muhammadans should have contented themselves with only submitting petitions? Since their petitions and deputations failed to achieve their object, disappointment was bound to import extreme excitement into

the agitation. They cannot be blamed for this, while their agitation has not assumed a seditious or revolutionary form.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 4th December says that it was stated by the Viceroy that the solution of the Turkish question did not rest with him and his Government or with Great Britian alone. If, however, England alone is not responsible for the existing situation, why does she feel so much exasperated over the agreement between France and Angora? Again, when both Italy and France are in favour of the evacuation of Constantinople, the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna to the Turks and the withdrawal of the Greeks from Asia Minor, what Power is there which places obstacles in the way of the solution of the Turkish problem?

(*c*) In its issue of the 5th December the paper says that if the words used by the Viceroy are not empty words, the result should be a substantial decrease in the unrest prevailing in the Islamic world. But in case they are meaningless the Muhammadans will have no cause to feel ashamed of the agitation carried on by them. At any rate, they are most encouraging.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*d*) The *Kesari* of the 4th December says that on a careful consideration of it, Lord Reading's reply to the Delhi Muslim deputation appears to be most disappointing. It is to be hoped that his grand promise to Muhammadans will not fare like the previous pledges of the Government.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*e*) The *Siyasat* of the 7th December writes that the Viceroy observed that as regards Symrna and Thrace their efforts failed and that when the terms with Turkey are eventually settled, the Indian Muhammadan would find what regard had been paid to their sentiments. His Excellency added that, but for the revolutionary and absurd agitation of the extremists, their united efforts would have been more effective. No careful observer of facts and circumstances can, however, ever agree to this. Turkey ceased fighting in the beginning of the last three months of 1918. Since then till 1920 Muhammadan deputations several times waited upon the Viceroy and British statesmen and entreated that special regard might be paid to Muslim sentiments in shaping the treaty with Turkey. But they were not listened to and the Muhammadans were constrained to decide at Lucknow in 1919 to establish Khilafat Committees and strive every nerve for the integrity of the Khilafat. Perhaps Lord Reading characterises this as a revolutionary and absurd agitation by the extremists. The responsibility for it does not lie on the extremists but on the British statesmen and officials who have been always trampling upon the sentiments and demands of the Muhammadans. Lord Reading knows full well that the Turco-French agreement and the defeat of Greece have totally changed the political situation. His Lordship has for this reason assured the deputation that when the final peace terms are settled they will find what regard had been paid to their sentiments. This is what is called doing a favour which costs nothing. It would have been something if British statesmen had held out such a hope somewhat earlier, but all that has taken place or will take place should now be regarded as the result of the struggle by the Turkish nationalists, for which the Muhammadans can be under obligation to no earthly power.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

The Turco-French agreement.

2. The *Vakil* of the 7th December says that the chief reason for opposition to the Turco-French agreement is that, according to its provisions, the Mosul road will pass into the possession of the Turks, which will jeopardise British interests in Mesopotamia.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Persia and Turkey.

3. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 3rd December commends the Persian Government's conduct in assuring the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin of its support in the matter of the preservation of the Caliphate, and says that the same should be followed by the whole Shia community. The political interests of the Muhammadans—whether Sunnis or Shias—are identical and the latter should unite with the former in things calculated to ensure the safety of the Muhammadans as a whole.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

The Anglo-Afghan treaty.

4. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 2nd December says that India can learn from the Anglo-Afghan treaty the lesson that if she insists on getting her rights she also

will obtain swaraj. The treaty will also favourably affect the Turkish and Egyptian demands : it has set up a model for these Islamic countries to follow in achieving their object, provided they act with perseverance. The document makes no reference to the treaty of Sevres, against the unjust terms of which the Afghan Government had been protesting. In the other event, an immense good will have been done to the Turkish nationalists and their country.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhan editor.

(*b*) The *Vakil* of the 2nd December says that while the *ulema* of India have issued a *fatwa* to the effect that Muhammadan law forbids coöperation with the British Government, the Afghan nation has concluded a treaty with the same Government. This must have been done after consultation with the *ulema* of Afghanistan ; indeed, His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan does nothing without first consulting them. The Indian Muhammadans should consider why there is such a great difference between the *fatwas* given by the *ulema* of the two countries.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Royal visit.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

5. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 1st December says that all the elected members of the Lahore and Amritsar Municipal Committees were not in favour of the resolutions welcoming the Prince of Wales. The bureaucracy has had the resolutions adopted with the help of European, Christain and nominated members of the Committees. Such a welcome brings disgrace upon the Prince ; and if he comes to know of the matter he would refuse to get such a reception. The Government is also practising repression with great activity, and the result is that the boycott of the Prince is becoming still more complete. If it wishes that non-coöperators should not stand in the way of those who would welcome the Prince it should not coerce anyone to welcome him.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 7th December writes that it is commonly said that by failing to accord a reception to the Prince of Wales, India has shown disrespect towards the Royal family and her coming Emperor. The people had repeatedly pointed out to the Government that the time for the Prince's visit to India sould have been arranged when the wounds mercilessly inflicted on the country by the bureaucracy and British statesmen had been healed and the prevailing dreadful dearness become less acute. But just as Lord Chelmsford passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of strong opposition from distinguished Indian leaders, Lord Reading also has, without caring for the voice of the country, invited the Prince in its name. And while the people are bent upon according no reception to him, the Government has come to the contrary determination.

Lord Reading's policy.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

6. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 1st December says that before his appointment the Viceroy made many boastful remarks and tried to create an impression on the people that he was the very embodiment of justice, so that the world might concede to him the position of a Messiah. But His Excellency gradually has appeared in his true colours. He has announced his new policy of repression. We have proved to the world that the claim of the British Government that its rule is based on the consent of the people is quite false. We have also proved that if the Indians ever obtain liberty it will be obtained not through the kindness and generosity of the Government but at a considerable sacrifice of life and property. If we bear true love to our country, nation and religion, it is our duty to burn ourselves to ashes like a moth. If the majority of Indians come out successful in the present test, swaraj will be obtained before the 31st December ; otherwise a struggle will have to be made for it.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*b*) The *Siyasat* of the 3rd December has no doubt that it is an act of unjustifiable repression to declare volunteer organizations to be unlawful. The order is regarded with feelings of abhorrence by the public and every province is considering what means should be adopted to disobey such orders, which are opposed to the laws of nature. Lord Reading has stated in his reply to the address from the Punjab Chamber of Commerce that the Government will use every weapon to crush the movement. But did the enforcement of martial law in the Punjab kill the feelings of the public in this province ? There was undoubtedly a temporary lull but the Punjab rose to participate in political agitation with redoubled vigour.

SHANTI
(Rawalpindi);
Kishan Chand,
editor.

(c) The *Shanti* of the 4th December says that Lord Reading has entered the arena into which non-coöperators wanted him to step. A repressive policy can, however, prove useful neither for the public nor the Government. It might only suppress the present awakening for a time.

PARTAP
(Lahore);
Krishna,
editor.

(d) The *Partap* of the 2nd December is sorry to see that Lord Reading has identified himself with the bureaucracy. We used to regard His Excellency as a judge, but now he appears before us as an attorney holding a brief for the bureaucracy. In his reply to the address presented to him by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce he held out to the whole country the threat that the Government would use all its powers to crush the present movement. And it is no empty threat: His Excellency is translating it into action. Jails are being filled with political workers and volunteer organizations in Bengal, the United Provinces, Delhi and the Punjab have been declared to be unlawful, while the Seditious Meetings Act has been proclaimed in several districts of this province. We deplore the Viceroy's present policy, but do not feel surprised at it. A tug of war is going on between the people and the bureaucracy, and it behoves us to remain perfectly calm and persevering. The time is fast coming when every patriot will be in jail. We should, however, continue our demands, following non-violent non-coöperation in the event of the Government not listening to us. The Indians should manfully advance in the struggle for freedom and be prepared to make every sacrifice.

BANDE MATARAM
(Lahore);
Ram Parshad,
editor.

Repression by Government.

7. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th December says that Government has announced its policy of repression. The Bombay disturbances have been used as a pretext [for this], but the fact is that the boycott of the Prince's visit has made Government officers lose their self-control. The bureaucracy practises oppression, holds out all sorts of threats and is trying to cause breaches of the peace by affording provocation. And still it wishes to throttle the movement by laying the whole blame at the door of the supporters of non-coöperation.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdullah Minhas,
editor.

(b) The *Vakil* of the 7th December remarks that while the whole country with its aspirations and demands for an independent life is arrayed on one side, more than a century old traditions of rule are ranged on the other. On one side are the religious susceptibilities of communities and on the other the imperialistic diplomacy of the ruling race. In view of all this, every sensible person can understand that the remedy lies not in repression but in conciliation.

TRIBUNE
(Lahore);
K. N. Roy,
editor.

(c) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 9th December:—"We do not think there is any one who either believes or asserts that it gives pleasure to the Government to arrest men like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in the U. P. or Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab, or the wife of Mr. C. R. Das in Bengal. But the facts are there, and the Government cannot deny that it is as much their duty as that of any one else, perhaps more their duty than that of any one else, to find a way out of the situation of which they form a part. They do not and cannot find this way merely by reiterating their determination to maintain order at any cost. They can do it only by getting into touch with the non-coöperation leaders as the Premier got into touch with the Sinn Fein leaders under much more difficult circumstances. Nor is it easy for the Government to convince the public mind of India that all that it has done or is doing is really necessary for the protection of law-abiding citizens. One would like very much to know in what precise way persons like Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mrs. C. R. Das have been endangering law-abiding citizens or threatening the public peace."

(d) In its issued of the 10th December, that paper writes with reference to the arrest of the wife, sister and niece of Mr. C. R. Das:—"It has produced a most painful impression upon the public mind. The public will require the strongest and most conclusive evidence to believe that the three ladies were in any way endangering law abiding citizens or threatening the public peace and nothing short of such evidence could justify the proceeding. . . . One's regret and amazement is the greater because the action was taken at a time when His Excellency the Viceroy was in Calcutta. Nor can we omit to say a word about the Bengal Government's rectifying action. If they did not want to proceed against the ladies, would it not have been better and more graceful to have let them go without a warning? And if they did want to release them with a warning, why were they detained for so many hours?"

The leaders.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

8. Commenting on Lord Ronaldshay's recent speech in the Bengal Council, the *Tribune* of the 7th December writes:—"It is not possible for any 'leader' at the present time to successfully play the role of 'a champion of reconciliation, an advocate of re-union, the apostle of the religion of good-will' in the sense in which His Excellency uses those words, unless and until the Government has led the way. Those Indian leaders, who like an eminent *ex*-President of the Congress, whom it cannot be difficult to identify, have partially tried the experiment during the last two years have invariably found this out to their cost. Nobody listens to them. Even Mahtama Gandhi had great difficulty in persuading the Amritsar Congress to accept his view in favour of coöperation. The plain fact is that the leaders are the effect, not the cause, of the trouble. The Government has it in its power by causing the trouble to cease, either to transform the present leaders or to change one set of leaders for another. If there were nothing of a serious nature to complain of, the man who complained would obtain no hearing, no matter how loudly and strongly he spoke, and would soon, like Othelo, find his occupation gone."

The situation in India.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

9. The *Tribune* of the 8th December says:—"At last, and contrary to general expectation, peace in Ireland is definitely in sight. . . What an irony of fate, that the approaching settlement of this century-old feud in one part of the Empire should synchronise with the development of an actual crisis in another, and a situation which is rapidly approximating to a crisis in a third. We refer, of course, to the cases of Egypt and of India. ... In India the situation is undoubtedly less grave than in either Ireland or Egypt, but there is no doubt that it has been rendered far more difficult during the last few months, and more particularly the last few days, than it had ever been in the past. There is no need to apportion blame and responsibility. What is certain is that the Government must find a way out of the difficulty, or must be prepared to see things go from bad to worse, as they have done elsewhere. If an actual physical struggle in one case and continued martial law in another has not solved the Irish and the Egyptian problem, no more can the application of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act be expected to solve the Indian problem..... The Government is the party in power, and it is for the Government more than for any one else to devise the proper remedy and apply it. If the remedy is not devised or applied while there is time, then, however the verdict of history and of the impartial observer may go in other ways, it will be impossible for the Government to stand acquitted of the charge of 'failure of statesmanship.'"

The Viceroy on the situation.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

10. In noticing the Viceroy's speech at the dinner given to him by the Indians in Calcutta, the *Tribune* of the 10th December says:—"The reference to the [Bombay] disturbances is both unkind and indefensible, because the Viceroy cannot possibly believe that the disturbances were created by the non-coöperation leaders for the purpose of demonstrating their fitness for complete self-government. As a matter of fact, we expect no contradiction from any fair-minded Englishman, whether official or unofficial, when we say that nowhere are they more sincerely regretted than in responsible non-coöperation circles and by no one human being on the face of the earth are they more deeply deplored than by Mahatma Gandhi himself. But apart from this aspect of the question, is it historically true that an exhibition of loyalty has by itself in any single case been made the ground for the extension of complete self-government, whether within or outside the British Empire? .... But surely there are other tests than those of the sword on the one hand and an exhibition of loyalty on the other on which all who have held other people's destinies in their hands have hitherto insisted before parting with their power and responsibility. These tests are an intellectual comprehension of the difference between freedom and its negation, a passionate desire for the former, and a resolute determination to have it backed by a readiness to make all

the sacrifices that may be needed for it. . . . How great the misapprehension on this last point was in His Excellency's mind is shown by the remarks in which he drew a contrast between the cases of India and Ireland. . . . His Excellency cannot have read our recent history aright if he thinks that India has made this progress only by "'the assistance she gave in war and the loyalty and devotion which she then showed.' Undoubtedly these played a part and a necessary part, but a far more important part was played by the fact that India was determined to win her birthright of constitutional liberty and that her children were prepared, as some of them actually shewed, to make the necessary sacrifices. . . Another fact which the Viceroy clearly overlooked was that there can be no profitable comparison at this stage between the Indian methods—we mean the methods by which His Excellency wishes India to win her freedom—and those by which Ireland has actually won hers for the simple reason that there can be no comparison between what Ireland has achieved and the stage of development that India has reached. It is only when India has reached the same goal that a comparison of methods will be possible. . . . If His Excellency really wishes to convince the public mind of India, as we have no doubt he does, both of the reality of the progress made by India and of the possibility of further progress being made along the same road, he should not lose a moment in abandoning the policy which under the guidance of the Government of India the local Governments have been following during the last few days. That policy, we are constrained to say, is calculated to produce a very different impression to what His Excellency intends."

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The swaraj movement.

11. (*a*) The *Akali* of the 1st December publishes the following poem written by AYA SINGH, *Akali*, of Tarn Taran :—

Much time has passed in silence ;
O my mind, what are you now thinking of ?
Thy country is in the grip of tyranny,
Why are you neglecting its service ?
Awake and rise ! the time for sleep has passed.
Why are you asleep and snoring ?
The tyrant is doing his worst in oppression
And is throwing thy brothers in gaol.
Every day and night he acts in a high-handed manner.
India has fallen a prey to him.
He never thinks of mercy,
And thinks that he has always been powerful.
He whom you saved from the burning fires of Germany,
Forgets you and has turned your foe.
Nay, he is always in ambush for you,
Even though you have sacrificed your life for him.
Make sacrifices, says *Akali*, for swaraj is in sight,
And the sinful Government is engaged in lamentation.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Desh* of the 4th December publishes an article from the pen of MAULVI MUHAMMAD ZAHIR-UD-DIN, who says that swaraj and Islamic rule are two different things. It would be swaraj if the Indian politicians framed laws in conformity with the customs and conditions prevalent in India and the Government did not oppose the enforcement of such laws. But if the Indians are governed by the Koran, Muhammadan law and the *fatwas* of the *ulema*, they would be living under Islamic rule. Thus there is a great inconsistency in the acts of the Ali brothers, etc., or of Maulvi Muhammad Ali, who, on the one hand, condemn the Indian Penal Code and think that it is the Koranic laws that should be followed, but, on the other, cry for swaraj. The writer also questions the soundness of the *ulema's fatwa*, declaring it sinful for the Muslims to enlist in the British Army and fight against their co-religionists. Muhammadans killed Muhammadans in 60 A. H.: it is wrong to find fault with Muslim sepoys, especially as they are the servants of a non-Islamic Government. The *ulema* should also have explained the injunctions in the Koran enjoining allegiance to a non-Muslim king. It is nowhere stated in that scripture that Islamic rule and Koranic laws shall always govern the world. Much of the political teachings in it is meant for particular occasions and is governed by the exigencies of the times. To quote such teachings in order to inflame people is like asking a child to cry for the moon.

Mr. Gandhi and Swaraj.

ISLAH (Ludhiana); Muhammad Shafi, editor.

12. (*a*) The *Islah* of the 3rd December publishes an open letter to Mr. Gandhi from GHAZI MAHMUD DHARMPAL, of Ludhiana, who ridicules the former's idea of attaining swaraj by the end of December. In case swaraj is not attained by that time, Mr. Gandhi should not retire to the Himalayas, but should go to jail, which is, according to him, the gateway to heaven. While the Himalayas are meant for cowards, the jail is the abode of the brave.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore). Ram Parshad, editor.

(*b*) PINDI DAS, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 7th December, asks Mr. Gandhi to reconsider his announcement about the postponement of his programme owing to the recent Bombay disturbances. There is a probablity of such incidents taking place even in a true atmosphere for *Satyagraha*. What tactics cannot be employed by the party [bureaucracy] which, in spite of a universal *hartal* on the 17th November, could manage to show to the Prince a gathering of paid spectators? Guru Gobind Singh started his work with the help only of five *pyaras* [beloved ones]. Is it not fortunate for the country that the number of Mr. Gandhi's followers is not less than five? The country is prepared to act up to his wishes but it is difficult to expect the masses to digest the noble principles of non-violence as literate men and Congress workers can do. But in spite of this we should not give up our idea of swaraj.

Civil disobedience.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

13. (*a*) Writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 5th December, LALA LAJPAT RAI says that Government has gagged the people by enforcing the Seditious Meetings Act. It has also stopped the work of peaceful preaching by declaring volunteer bands to be unlawful. Should we close Congress offices or withstand the attack which the Government has delivered? By adopting the former course we would be committing suicide and ending our swarajic movement. This being so, our duty is clear, *viz.*, we should refuse to obey the orders of the Government. It has held volunteer corps to be unlawful. We should organise them on a still larger scale. The public should oppose unlawful orders by the Government in a quiet and peaceful manner.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 7th December says that we should obey the orders of Agha Muhammad Safdar, the new President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. Civil disobedience should also be practised by defying the Seditious Meetings Act and maintaining the volunteer corps. Enlistment is being made for these corps, and certain ladies, too, are prepared to work as volunteers.

The Sikhs and the swadeshi movement.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

14. The *Akali* of the 3rd December publishes a message sent by Sundar Singh Lyallpuri from jail, in which he reports that Sardar Harnam Singh, Zaildar, has been arrested merely for wearing *khaddar*. The Khalsas should tell the bureaucracy that all of them will obey the orders of the Shiromani Committee and wear nothing but *khaddar*. Give up using the blood-stained cloths of the Budge Budge and Jallianwala Bagh murderers and arresters of leaders like Sardar Gurdit Singh, Sardar Kharak Singh and Sardar Amar Singh, and gain credit in both worlds by wearing country-made cloth.

Fear a cause of slavish mentality.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

15. The *Bande Mataram* of the 4th December publishes a note from LALA LAJPAT RAI, who urges the Indians to consider the causes of their servitude. Fear is the main cause. This weakness cannot be removed if they do not realise that protection of life and property is necessary only in so far as their souls are not murdered and their faith is not lost. The best men have borne troubles in the cause of liberty. We should not be embarrassed, but should be prepared to put up with every hardship. It is ridiculous to cherish the desire for imprisonment and hope at the same time that Government will be lenient towards us. It is our duty to expose the doings of the Government.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Lajpat Rai, editor.

Famines in India.

16. (*a*) Continuing his remarks in the *Bande Mataram* of the 1st December, LALA MOHAN LAL, Vakil, Ferozepore, says that India has to supply grain not only for the British Colonies, but for the forty crore inhabitants of Europe as well. This is why foodstuffs have been steadily getting dearer in India ever since the establishment of British rule, although the country's produce of grain is now larger than was formerly the case. It was recently remarked by Mr. Harkishan Lal that the Government could not totally stop the export of grain from the country. This is true, for if it did so, other countries, all of which import grain from India, would stop their trade with Great Britain.

(*b*) In the paper's issue dated the 3rd December, the writer says that certain European firms in India buy standing crops, with the result that Europe gets "at a fixed rate as much grain as it may require." They also strike bargains with Indian grain merchants and secure their signatures to agreements under the Arbitration Act. The buying of standing crops has been held to be lawful under the law in force in India, for the reason that Europe is benefitted thereby. The Arbitration Act also, which offends against the very principle of arbitration, has been framed for the benefit of the firms referred to. Such trade tricks are the third great cause of famines in India.

III.—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

RAILWAY UNION NEWS (Lahore); Shamas Din, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

17. (*a*) The *Railway Union News* of the 1st December says that the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura has wholly deprived the people of their social liberty.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(*b*) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 3rd December is sorry that, like other provincial Governments the Punjab Government also has begun to practise rigour. By enforcing the Seditious Meetings Act in the Sheikhupura, Lahore and other districts it has taken a step which can lead to no pleasant result. The Indians have long been complaining of the rigour of Government officers. The Government should, therefore, have acted with caution and given them no cause for complaint. But its members are committing acts which are likely to make the people wholly distrustful of the Government. It thinks that the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements would be suppressed by repression. This is doubtful. On the contrary, repression has brought great support to the movement, and it is true that the movement will grow stronger in proportion to the repression practised by the Government. If the Government wishes to suppress the non-cooperation movement it should leave it to die of itself.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 4th December publishes the following poem by one MAHASHAI ROMESH CHANDAR GUPTA of Panipat :—

It is a pity that we lack a shroud at the time of death.

1. We are subjected to disgrace openly. We are a source of shame to our country ;
It is a pity that we lack a shroud at the time of death.

2. The fowler has plucked and thrown away all our feathers.
Although we are nightingales, we are, alas ! now thorns in the garden.

3. Where is our ancient glory left ?
We are to-day an object of envy for the world in name only.

4. Even the shadow of the *huma** has disappeared from this place,
And crows and kites hover morning and evening.

5. We have to-day become enamoured of the beauties of the West ;
It is a pity that we have forgotten old manners.

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* A fabulous bird commonly regarded in the East as a bird of happy omen.

6. Poverty and calamity are troubling us alone.
Grief and affliction have come into life for us only.

7. The vapour from the burning heart remains pent up,
As the tyrant has gagged our mouths.

8. O God, deliver us from this net of slavery;
The oppressed have to-day come to Thee alone for shelter.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(*d*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 7th December says that the object of the Punjab Government in enforcing the Seditious Meetings Act in certain districts of the Punjab and declaring the volunteer corps to be unlawful seems to compel the people to disobey the laws and thus to afford to the Government an opportunity of suppressing the [non-coöperation] movement. In these circumstances, only two ways are open to the leaders, either totally to stop their work or to bear the rigour of the Government. We are glad that they have very wisely and bravely decided to adopt the latter course. Every member of the Provincial Congress Committee attended its meeting with special enthusiasm and Mr. Santanam and Lala Lajpat Rai averted their arrest

The arrest of the Punjab leaders.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

18. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 6th December says that Lala Lajpat Rai has been arrested for no fault. The people of Lahore have seen that their real leader has been placed under arrest and they have, nevertheless, remained perfectly quiet. They deserve our heartfelt gratitude and congratulations for the restraint and forbearance exercised by them. The Lala would be glad if his countrymen busied themselves in carrying on his mission.

(*b*) Elsewhere the paper states that in the course of an interview which its editor had with Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt, the latter told him that they were not at all frightened by the recent arrests. On the other hand, the arrests had emboldened them and they would do their work with still greater zeal.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 7th December writes that the arrest of the foremost Punjab leader affords proof of the change of policy announced by Lord Reading at Delhi. The time has gone by, however, when the nation used to deplore such arrests. The present is, on the other hand, a time for congratulation: so far from being forced into jails, people are going there willingly. These arrests also afford no cause for complaint. It is a principle with the non-coöperators that the larger the number of persons sent to jail the sooner will swaraj be obtained. Again, Government is putting the people to the test: it is now trying them in order to see whether or not they are fit for swaraj. Every nation which obtained self-rule had to pass through this ordeal. We should feel thankful to the Government for affording us an opportunity for the purpose. It has not, however, been wise in arresting Lala Lajpat Rai under section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Apparently it had already decided to arrest the leaders and the Lala's arrest was, therefore, but natural. The Government has commenced fighting on a wrong front, in which it will sustain a defeat. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar made a mistake in declaring the Sikh *diwans* political meetings, with the result that the Sikhs had to disobey his order. In the beginning the Government went on arresting the Sikhs, but now *diwans* continue to be held without any arrest being made. Its Lahore representative, Major Ferrar, also gave it wrong advice to declare unlawful a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. This is a step which the Government will not be able to maintain. It is fortunate for it that non-coöperators are unwilling to contest Major Ferrar's order in court; otherwise it would have assuredly been set aside by the High Court. The Government may retrace the step, though it is not expected to do so; but the people cannot feel at ease so long as the four arrested leaders are in jail. Only one course is open to them, namely, to continue their work and be prepared to suffer imprisonment for this. Lala Lajpat Rai's arrest has thrown a special responsibility on the Punjabis, and they should take care to prove themselves equal to it. There come times of ordeals in the lives of nations as well as individuals. The people of the Punjab have now to pass through such an ordeal. The work for which our leaders have gone to jail should continue and the whole public should remain peaceful and non-violent.

SHANTI
(Rawalpindi);
Kishan Chand,
editor.

(*d*) The *Shanti* of the 7th December apprehends lest the Government should lay its hands on the greatest leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

SIYASAT
(Lahore);
Wajahat Husain,
editor.

(*e*) The *Siyasat* of the 8th December hopes that although the four popular leaders in the Punjab have been arrested, the public will still bear all such repression and oppression in silence and not allow any idea of violence to enter their minds. The Punjabis should not be frightened or overawed by the arrest of any leader. They should become the more active in their work. If national movements die with the arrest of the leaders, all that has been done during the last two years will be undone and the sacrifices made will go in vain. A time may come when we might be left without a leader, but we should not relax our work even then. Every individual should realize his duty and should leave no stone unturned in doing what he can for his nation and country.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Ram Parshad,
editor.

(*f*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 7th December says that the distinguished leaders of the Punjab have after all been arrested. The brave Sikhs of the Punjab have already gone to jail in the performance of their religious duty; and thousands of them are ready to follow suit with their heads on their palms. Government seems to have decided to spare no pains in suppressing the movement and will not hesitate to use the weapon of repression for the purpose. The question arises why it has lost its self-control all of a sudden Lord Ronaldshay remarked in his recent speech that seditious and destructive things could not be tolerated and that the Government would try to suppress. them in every possible way. It seems that the unprecedented *hartal* observed in Calcutta on the 17th November has opened the eyes of the Government to the fact that it is not its rule that prevails in the country but Gandhi's.

(*g*) In its issue of the 8th December the paper reproduces a manifesto issued by Ram Bhaj Datt Chaudhari, President of the Congress Committee, Lahore, to the people of the Punjab in connection with the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai. Addressing the public of the province, the Chaudhari says that while at Lahore the President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee has been arrested along with Pandit K. Santanam, Dr. Gopi Chand and Malik Lal Khan, at Amritsar the Sikh leaders have been sent to jail and taken across the Indus. The Punjabis should not get excited over these incidents: they should remain calm and quiet. A war has now been declared [? between the people and the Government]. Liberty is man's birthright and it is his duty to maintain it. As regards our duty, see what Guru Gobind Singh has said:

If you are a true warrior fight for religion,
Be hacked to death, [but] never leave the field.

We should show, not to the interested and inebriated bureaucracy, but to the whole civilized world that our Rishis did not chant Vedic hymns on the Punjab rivers for nothing We—Hindus and Muhammadans—are Punjabis, descended from the sages who received endless and undying spiritual power from the Almighty. We belong to a common nationality and the same heart beats in us. We Punjabis should again display our soul force and bring back the golden age. The writer appeals to all classes of people to wake up, saying that the sun of freedom has risen. We are free from this day and no one can deprive us of our liberty of speech and writing and the right of association. Every town and *mohalla* should have a *panchayat* and watchmen of its own. No bodily harm should be caused to any European or other foreigner. No Punjabi should attack another. Do not touch any Englishman, Christian, Hindu or Muhammadan who may help the bureaucracy against us.

SANSAR
(Amritsar);
Thakur Singh,
editor.

The Ajnala arrests.

19. (*a*) The *Sansar* of the 29th November refers to the arrests and remarks that when the Deputy Commissioner announced that no meeting should be held, what right had he to hold meetings of his own and spread misunderstandings?

PAISA
AKHBAR
(Lahore);
Mahbub Alam,
editor.

(*b*) Writing under the heading "Government interference in religious matters," the *Paisa Akhbar* of the 1st December refers to the Ajnala arrests and says that on being asked by the Superintendent of Police what the object of the meeting was Sardar Jaswant Singh Jhabbal stated that it was being held merely in connection with the Golden Temple keys affair. And when it was pointed out to the Deputy Commissioner that he was applying the Seditious Meetings Act to a religious gathering, he made the reply that even such meetings were not exempt from the operation of the Act. But it was after the enforcement of the Act in Lahore that the local Arya Samajes held their anniversary meetings without being interfered with in any way. The Sikhs are, therefore, justified in objecting to the arrests in question.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Giani, editor.

(c) The *Akali* of the 1st December writes:—At 4 P. M. several members of the Shiromani Committee arrived at Burj Kalian, where five leaders [*lit.* servants] had been arrested. The President, Sardar Kharak Singh, also sent a challenge to the Deputy Commissioner to go and arrest as many Sikhs as he liked, saying that he had tried to stop a religious Diwan, but that the Sikhs would not tolerate this insult while there was life in them. After 19 lecturers had spoken, the Deputy Commissioner arrived accompanied by the police. He sent his Superintendent of Police and got six of the speakers — Sardar Kharak Singh and others—placed under arrest. Why did he spare the rest? Did they not similarly disregard the law? Only those were to be arrested who were sharp thorns in the side of the bureaucracy. What fine law and justice! Would not other Khalsas come forward in place of those arrested? When the arrested leaders reached the police station Bhai Mangal Singh, Akali, Sardar Mehtab Singh's orderly, joined them, and asked since the holding of the meeting had been proclaimed by him why they had not arrested him. The Superintendent of Police replied that he had delivered no lecture. Upon this he turned his face towards the Deputy Commissioner, the Superintendent and other policemen and said, "May the Government perish which interferes in our religious affairs." But he was not arrested even then. He stayed on, however, and when the arrested leaders were put into a motor car, he seated himself on the foot-board but was forcibly and cruelly dragged by the hair and removed by order of the Superintendent of Police, after which he was sent at once to the lock-up.

(d) SUJAN SINGH, Pleader, writing to the *Akali* of the 1st December, says that the Shahpur Khalsas held a Diwan in Sargodha and passed a resolution that the arrest of the leaders, who were engaged in religious services, was tantamount to challenging the Sikh community to display its power of self-sacrifice and to save the Darbar Sahib from the dishonour to which it was being subjected by the new Massa Ranghars* The writer requests every Sikh to show that he lives for the sake of his religion. So long as a single Sikh, male or female, is alive, he or she will not allow the management of the Darbar Sahib to pass away from the hands of the Siromani Committee elected by the Panth.

(e) The *Akali* of the 2nd December writes that the beloved of the Gurus and the hopefuls of the community are going away in motor cars to the Royal Hotel (jail)† as guests of the bureaucracy in order to secure religious liberty. On the one hand, after the wicked plunder of the *kirpan* factory belonging to our beloved Sardar Kharak Singh, his family and friends in the whole city [Sialkot] are saying that they will not allow the factory to be closed. On the other, the Sardar has parted from all and become a guest in the crystal palace of the bureaucracy. Now witness another scene. The messenger of Death is standing trembling at the Diwan [? at Ajnala]. The religious warrior asks why he is in trouble and what he wants. He stammers out "Sardar Mahtab Singh." As soon as the brave man hears this he joins both hands and puts them forward to wear the ornament of liberty. O enemies of the community and wicked ones! If you offer your services for the blood-besmeared place which your brave brother has spurned may a curse be on you! Accursed are also those who give votes to degraded persons like you! Remember that the boat of sin is already full and is about to capsize. If you share it you, too, will be drowned. O Khalsas, who are the right hand of the bureaucracy! Are you true Khalsas? Have you taken the *pahul* [*lit.* tasted of the *Amrit* of Guru Gobind Singh]? Have you any sense of self-respect? If you have, then spurn this paltry and slavish service. Join

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*Massa Ranghar dishonoured the Har Mandir by holding *nautches* and bouts of wine drinking in it. He was killed by a Sikh.

†The brackets are the papers own.

your brothers and do not become a part of the tyrannical bureaucracy. Begging or starvation is better than this service. The Feringhees are forcibly interfering with your religious places. Gird up your loins to sacrifice yourself for religious liberty.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor,

(*f*) Writing under the heading "Prosecution or persecution?", the *Khalsa Advocate* of the 2nd December says:—"To the Sikh his religion is the be-all and end-all of his existence..... He would even give his life for it. He would readily go to the scaffold with good cheers for it.... But the Government perhaps thinks that it can kill the movement with oppression and repression. Under this erroneous belief the Government seems to have embarked on an indiscreet campaign of repression by arresting Sikhs and then sending them to jails, while they are engaged in pursuits which are mainly, if not purely, religious. Up to the time of writing this about a score of them have already been arrested and locked in jail to take their trial under certain sections of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act. But we say these repressive measures will not be able to suppress the movement.... Now in the matter of the keys meetings affair, the Government has undoubtedly acted in a manner which the Sikhs regard as provokingly outrageous. It seems they have proclaimed the Seditious Meetings Act in the three Sikh Districts of Amritsar, Lahore and Sheikhupura as if with the set purpose of killing the agitation against the keys affair. The arrests of such eminent persons as Sardar Kharak Singh, B.A., LL.B., a premier Rais of Sialkot, the President of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mahtab Singh, Bar.-at-Law, late Public Prosecutor and Government Advocate and Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council, and other equally respectable gentlemen of position and high station in life, are not only unedifying but also wholly unwarranted by the very law which has been requisitioned to secure their arrests. From the evidence of Mr. Dunnet, the Deputy Commissioner, it is as clear as daylight that the first batch of the gentlemen arrested was arrested without any legal justification whatsoever for it. The Deputy Commissioner ordered their arrests on mere presumption and assumption and not on any definite acts of commission. Even in the case of the 2nd batch the acts of commission were beyond the jurisdiction of the Seditious Meetings Act, the Diwans being purely religious ones and as such exempt from the scope of the Seditious Meetings Act. All along we have been expecting that Government would show a humane, 'thoroughly impartial and unprejudiced higher mind, calm and patient and by it a perfect understanding of the seriousness of the situation.' For it is not with them that the country is fighting but with their bad system. But so far we have been sadly disappointed in our expectations. The Government has miserably failed in rising equal to the necessity of the occasion. The much vaunted brag of His Excellency Lord Reading to do justice ended in a smoke. Let us still hope the Government would soon discover its mistake in breaking away with the Sikhs.

(*g*) Elsewhere the paper writes:—"So the farce of trials of 11 of the Sikh leaders arrested in connection with a religious meeting held at Ajnala has resulted in their conviction and sentence to the maximum punishment allowed by the law. We honestly believe both their arrests and conviction denote the very travesty of the law and therefore all the brothers convicted have fallen willing martyrs to the cause of *gurdwara* reform, which is decidedly a purely religious movement. There was nothing unexpected in the punishments awarded and we understand all brothers recieved the awards without showing any signs of either nervousness or moroseness. We are inclined to believe that justice in this case has been tempered with relentless repression. But repression is the father of freedom and we hope the Government will have to thank itself if the Sikhs brave the repression to a successful issue. The sooner the Government and the Sikhs make peace the better for both"

Siyasat (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

(*h*) The *Siyasat* of the 2nd December says that the recent arrest of the Sikhs by the Punjab Government has added to the alarm and unrest prevailing in the Province. Government is under the impression that if the leaders of the country are arrested the public will be overawed into silence and order will be restored in the country. The actual result, however, has always been the reverse. The public is not overawed but in consequence of the arrests and convictions it begins to view the authorities with contempt. It is difficult to find in the history of this country a parallel to the present situation. Hitherto a particular community became the object of the wrath of Government; but now no community is immune from action. The Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs all are being arrested and sent to jail. May God have mercy on the country and the people.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

(i) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 4th December refers to the arrest of the Sikh leaders and says that it sincerely desires even now that the Government may come to an understanding with the Sikhs in connection with their *gurdwaras*. It is a serious mistake [on the Government's part], however, to resort to rigour to bring about a settlement. It has a right to stop, in a constitutional way, the political agitation carried on to end its days, but absolutely none to interfere in religious matters. The first mistake made by it consisted in taking over the keys [of the Golden Temple] by a show of police force. Its second mistake was the arrest of Sardar Dan Singh and others. The Deputy Commissioner would have been legally justified in arresting Sikh leaders in case their speeches had been on political subjects. It is an infringment of the law to make arrests on the supposition that the speeches would be political. Everyone's mind was filled with anger at the arrest of a harmless speaker like "Master" Sundar Singh. Arrests and the prohibition of religious meetings cannot end the *gurdwara* movement. That result can be brought about if the Government passes a law and makes over the *gurdwaras* to the Sikhs.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(j) The *Partap* of the 1st December writes that one aspect of the Ajnala arrests deserves attention from all religious societies. The meeting convened there had to discuss the question of the Golden Temple keys and Sardar Jaswant Singh Jhabbal told the Superintendent of Police that it had nothing to do with the non-coöperation movement. Nevertheless, several men were arrested and the Deputy Commissioner said that even religious gatherings were not exempt from the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act.

(k) In its issue of the 5th December, the paper writes that by holding a Darbar at Ajnala to explain the Golden Temple keys affair, the Government became a party to the controversy. This being so, decency demanded that it should not have prohibited the other side from explaining their position. If the meetings held by the Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee are treated as political and banned, the Government may be said to have picked up a quarrel with the entire Sikh community. There may be Sikhs who take no interest in political agitation, but there can be hardly one who will not willingly go to jail on finding the rights of his Panth in danger. The Government is committing mistake after mistake. It has offended the whole country, and the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs individually. Was the Khilafat dispute a small one that it has gone to loggerheads with the Sikhs over their *gurdwaras*? The paper congratulates the Sikh leaders and others who have gone to jail in safeguarding the right of free speech. The ideal for which they have done so is religious in character, but it will have a healthy effect on the political movement also.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(l) The *Kesari* of the 5th December affirms that the Sikhs are prepared to make every sacrifice to maintain the splendid traditions of their community. This Government thinks that it can intimidate them by repression, but it is mistaken in this.

DESH (Lahore); Dina Nath editor.

(m) The *Desh* of the 5th December says that of the Sikh leaders arrested at Ajnala, Kharak Singh and Mahtab Singh are among the noblest members of society. They are neither fond of breaking the law, nor is their struggle being carried on in the political field. Why should they, then, have a place assigned to them in jail rather than in the free world? The whole secret lies in the inability of the Government to understand the point of view of these Sikh gentlemen in connection with the *gurdwara* movement, and this accounts for all misunderstandings and trouble. The Sikh leaders and the Sikh public consider it their right to give expression to their views on the *gurdwara* movement with perfect freedom. The Ajnala meeting is regarded by them as a religious gathering and they are prepared to go to the gallows over it. Not only in theory but in practice the Sikhs have afforded proof of their truth and enthusiasm. Daily meetings are being held in Amritsar in which at least two or three hundred Sikhs make speeches and challenge the Government to arrest them. What a critical aspect of the struggle! The Sikhs have thrown down a challenge to Government to arrest them; but it is unable to take it up. If the Government does not arrest these Sikhs it loses its prestige; but if it does arrest them there are no jails to accommodate them. It is evidently on the horns of a dilemma. In our opinion while the condition of the Sikhs is pitiable, the attitude adopted by the Government is reprehensible. The latter has brought about this state of things through its own mistake. How could the Seditious Meetings Act be applied to meetings in which religious matters were being discussed? The Sikh struggle has reached its most critical point and the Sikh public has begun to display that spirit of sacrifice which manifested itself in the history of India two hundred years ago We would strongly advise the Government that if it cannot withdraw the Act from the Amritsar district it should not at least be applied to meetings which our Sikh brethren honestly consider to be religious and from the holding of which no fear of imprisonment or trouble can deter them.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act and private meetings.

20. The *Vakil* of the 7th December contends that the meetings of associations and committees, attendance at which is confined only to members, are private meetings. It is a mistake to hold them to be public gatherings, and the arrests recently made under this impression are illegal.

ARORBANS SUDHARAK (Lahore); Salig Ram, editor.

Censorship on newspapers.

21. The *Arorbans Sudharak* of the 3rd December refers to the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in certain districts of the Punjab, and says that next the Government will place newspapers under censorship. The step may be taken sooner or later, but it is certain to come. We cannot deny that certain papers overstep the boundary line and publish writings which, according even to the injunctions of the Hindu *Shastras*, should not receive publicity. We wish that these journals may cease indulging in such writings, so as to make it unnecessary for the Government to take the step referred to.

PARTAB (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

The Civil Guards.

22. The *Partap* of the 4th December says that while the national volunteer corps in Bengal have been held to be unlawful, Anglo-Indians and Europeans there have begun to organise a very dangerous body, called the Civil Guards. And it has also been announced that the Government has approved of the new movement. Is this just? Does not the existing law apply equally to all? Lord Reading, who has been raising the cries of law and justice ever since he left England, should attend to the matter.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Pandit Neki Ram's case.

23. Writing about the conviction of Pandit Neki Ram under section 153 A, Indian Penal Code, the *Partap* of the 2nd December makes bold to say that the case against him was the weakest of its kind. It is the Government and not the English nation which has been criticised and whose atrocities have been described in every part of the speech complained of. It is inexplicable, therefore, how he has been convicted under section 153 A. As to the punishment inflicted on him, it has in no way surprised us. In these days punishments are not inflicted for any offence, but people are selected to be punished. We congratulate Pandit Neki Ram on his conviction, which shows that he has life in him. We deplore the treatment accorded to him by the Police from the time of his arrest to his conviction. Non-coöperators must be prepared to suffer all hardships, but these hardly become a Government claiming to be civilized.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

Mr. Stoke's case.

24. The *Kesari* of the 6th December is surprised that one who improved the morals of innumerable people by his lofty character is to-day called upon to furnish security for good behaviour.

High Courts and cases against non-coöperators.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

25. The *Tribune* of the 9th December says :—" During the last few days we have been asking the Executive Government to reconsider its position and revise its policy. That appeal must now be suplemented by an appeal to the High Courts in the several provinces. It is true that the High Court has and ought to have nothing to do with questions of policy. . . . But the administration of law and the meting out of justice to the people is the common interest of the Government and the High Court, and is, indeed. the interest of the High Court even more than that of the Government. . . . The High Court must see as laymen like ourselves do that with the decision of the Government to prosecute non-coöperators for alleged defiance of executive order, a situation has arisen which calls for a more active intervention on its part in the administration of justice by courts subordinate to it. Two of the greatest safeguards against injustice being done by subordinate courts are the legal aid which the courts receive from the accused's counsel both by way of cross-examination of prosecution witnesses and of argument, and the right of appeal. These safeguards are all the more needed in cases in which the Crown is a party, and the courts themselves are presided over by officers belonging to the very service from which the members of the executive are drawn and steeped in the traditions of that service. And they are exactly the safeguards which do not exist in the case of the non-coöperators. . . . That the High Court has the power to intervene of its own motion both during the hearing of a case by a subordinate court and after it has arrived at a decision is a matter of common knowledge. . . . And once this general proposition is accepted, the absolute desirability of the High Courts exercising their power in the present case in the direction we have indicated becomes self-evident. Justice is their watch word—it is what makes them what they are—and justice in this case is clearly dependent upon their taking the step we suggest in all cases of flagrant injustice and of violation of law by its accredited guardians. "

The case against the *Swaraj* newspaper.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

26. The *Siyasat* of the 4th December announces the arrest of the editor of the *Swaraj* of Lahore and says that the public is unable to understand the object of recent wholesale arrests. The *Swaraj* is a newly-started paper and has only a small circulation. The fact that editors and publishers of newspapers are being arrested even before the repeal of the Press Act betrays the present Viceroy's sense of justice.

Some doings of the bureaucracy.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

27. The *Sansar* of the 29th November publishes a poem, some verses of which may be translated as follows :—

" With the Prince has come the misfortune of the bureaucracy, overawing the people.

Even before his arrival flour began to sell at the rate of three seers for a rupee.

In some places [the bureaucracy] fires showers of bullets and in some places it overawes the people by showing its teeth.

In some places it claims to be truthful and in some places it utters falsehood.

In some places it says that it will not interfere with religious affairs and in some places it carries away the keys.

Now that it has begun to awaken the sleeping people,
Will not the bow of its oppression break ?
No one can stem the tide when the river is in flood.
The sword of oppression will be of no avail ; it began to harass the distressed Indians.

The poet says : " O white [the *Gora* community] ! Turn back. Why hast thou begun to awaken the sleeping lion? "

The martial law prisoners.

SAT YUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

28. The *Sat Yug* of the 23rd November says that the Viceroy, who raised the cry of justice in England, has after much deliberation and rumination releases only 20 out of the 86 innocent martial law prisoners. And these are the convicts whose sentences were either about to expire or the unexpired portions of whose sentences do not exceed four years.

Hamdard (Lahore); Hakim Azhar, editor.

How Patwaris and Kanungos can improve their lot.

29. **M. A. Ghani**, writing to the *Hamdard* of the 1st December, addresses Patwaris and Kanungos as follows:—Do you know who can check capitalistic pride and put an end to the daily-growing atrocities of the Revenue officers? Do you know who can have the rights of the poor and helpless Patwaris conceded to them? Do you know who can evoke a spirit of self-respect among the Patwaris, whose condition is simply unspeakable? Do you know who can have your pay raised to Rs. 50? Do you know what is the means of improving the principles of employment? If you do not know, I should like to inform you that you can achieve all this through union and organisation. So organise associations in your respective Tahsils and Girdawar circles. Organise yourselves. Raise a strong harmless army of your own, and if Government does not yield to supplications, declare war, *viz*, organise a *hartal*.

Gulzar-i-Hind (Lahore); Ahmad Ali, editor.

A complaint.

30. The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 3rd December publishes a communication from a Saharanpur correspondent who says:—I attended the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* held at Lahore in November last. In the first place, I saw a Muhammadan Magistrate subjected to insult, incidents like which lower the prestige of the Government. The last-named gets work out of Muhammadans everywhere and still reposes no confidence in them. Why was not a Hindu Magistrate deputed to the meeting, so that the Government might have come to know of the state of Hindu-Muslim unity? The C. I. D. reporters at the meeting were also Muhammadans and a Muslim like me could not tolerate the abuse showered on them. It is a pity that in a state of excitement we Muhammadans should lose sight even of Muslim fraternity. I saw that Government had made no arrangements for the protection of these reporters. Once an enthusiastic Afghan assulted them with his stick, and they had a very narrow escape. I enquired from them after this whether any of their official superiors was present there. They put me off, however, with 'a yes, sir.' It appears that an officer was present there, but he must have been hiding in some corner to save his own skin. Cursed be such an officer and may a thousand and one curses rain on his cowardice! I regret the action of the Government and pity the helpless condition of the poor Muhammadans who see that while the Government grants rewards and ranks to the Hindus, it entrusts tasks of responsibility to the Muhammadans. I think that this cruelty on the part of the Government is disheartening its Muhammadan servants still further. Commenting, the editor remarks that he agrees with the correspondent that the Government is really indifferent to its well-wishers. The loquacious and flattering Hindus are the favourites of the higher authorities, while there is no appreciation for good-bearetd, true and loyal Muhammadans. Will the Inspector-General of Police give the matter consideration?

Railway Union News (Lahore); Shamas Din, editor.

Government and its servants.

31. **Mr J. B. Miller** writes to the *Railway Union News* of the 1st December that at the present critical time it behoves the Government to accord a most sympathetic and generous treatment to its servants. Some of its short-sighted counsellors, however, are determined to convert every individual into its enemy in order to preserve the unjustifiable prestige now enjoyed by them.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

The *gurdwara* movement.

32. (*a*) **Uttam Singh** contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Akali* of the 30th November. Some of the lines are as follows:

"Let some one go and ask the fowlers why they have begun to practise oppression.

Who has done them any injury?
Why have they begun to shoot arrows?
We pulled them out of the jaws of death by sacrificing our lives;
They have begun to catch and engage [us].

O friends! this is an excellent requital for doing good.
They have begun to take possession of *gurdwaras.*
O Sikh members [? of the Council]!
Why have you begun to sprinkle salt on wounded and consumed hearts?
They have wrested the keys of the Guru's treasury,
You have begun to make friends with them!
When honour is gone there is no use for life!
Heads and bodies have been staked,
No fop can now come forward.
The flame of national honour is burning,
All Sikhs will fall in it like moths.
They may place a hundred thousand chimneys round it;
[But] what obstacle will they place in the way of sacrifice?
The flame goes up in the dark night of oppression,
There will be heaps of persons sacrificing themselves."

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 2nd December writes that in the early days of the *gurdwara* movement the Government tried to set Sadhus and Mahants against the Sikhs by convening a conference of both parties under the presidentship of Sheikh Asghar Ali. Having failed in this attempt, however, it has tried to achieve the end by filing a civil suit regarding the management of the Golden Temple. Its object in doing so appears to be to compel Sadhus, Mahants, Udasis, Nirmalas, Nihangs and other sects to oppose the Sikhs. We may, however, tell it that there is no difference of opinion between these sects and the Sikhs in this matter and that even its present attempt to create a division between them will prove unsuccessful. It turned the attention of the Sikhs to the *gurdwara* movement to wean them from the non coöperation agitation. Again, it tried to inflame the Hindus and Muhammadans against them, but all sister communities are now with them. It is making arrests over the *gurdwara* movement, but it should know that the number of Sikhs willing to be arrested is so large that it will become tired of the game and will have to release them in the end.

The Golden Temple.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

33. (*a*) The *Akali* of the 1st December remarks that all friends know that the bureaucracy has practised unbounded oppression on the country. But in *gurdwara* affairs it has dealt with the Sikhs in a manner which history will ever remember, and it has further sprinkled salt on unhealed wounds by taking away the keys of the treasury of the Darbar Sahib. It now appears to be engaged in ruining the Siromani Gurdwara Committee elected by the Sikh Committee.

(*b*) The *Akali* of the 3rd December says that the sun of the bureaucracy is about to set, but it is still so arrogant that it has begun to practise savage oppression even though it is at its last gost. The Indians who have witnessed Dyerism do not, however, mind this, being under the protection of the tree of non-violence. The drunk and maddened bureaucracy sometimes attacks the Hindus, at other times crushes the Muhammadans and again belabours the Sikhs. The editor says to his co-religionists that their sacred trust [the Golden Temple] is to be wrested from them and handed over to toadies and slaves of the stomach. See, O Baba Dip Singh, what tyranny and oppression the tyrant is practising on us at the place for which you sacrificed your life. O 5th Guru, thy *sangat* is waiting for the time when thou wilt make thy appearance and we shall immolate ourselves, like moths, in this sacrificial fire to maintain the honour of this sacred soil, the Har Mandir.

BHARAT (Amritsar); Balia Ram, editor.

(*c*) The *Bharat* of the 3rd December says that the Golden Temple keys affair has assumed a strange form. It seems that the Sikhs are losing their self-control. The Government has taken over the keys not because it wishes to keep the Golden Temple in its own possession, but because the committee which now manages the Temple is not a representative body. The Sanatanist and *Shajdhari* Sikhs, as also some [Sikh] States do not view the committee's ideas with approval. We request the Punjab Government to pay regard to the rights of all Sikhs and ask the Sikh leaders to keep these rights in view in arriving at a settlement with the Government, so that the affair may not take a serious turn.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

A Sikh's poetic appeal.

34. **MUL SINGH** of Sangla contributes a poem, headed "We sacrifice ourselves at the altar of religion," to the *Akali* of the 3rd December 1921 :—

* * *

"You should pester to death this narrow-minded, white-faced, hypocritical mimicker. His hold from the seat of Government will be now relaxed and your blood will loosen his grip.

* * *

"We are ready to sacrifice ourselves for our religion and our heads already appear to be separate from our bodies.

* * *

"Oh tyrant! you may do your worst; we have not yet forgotten the burning of our brethren in the kiln.

* * *

"Do not be taken in by the simple looks of these officers; many have been entangled in their mesh.

* * *

"They oppressed us to their heart's content, and we became used to tyranny.

"Their guns, arms, rifles, swords and scimitars had been all worn off by constant use in falling upon our breasts.

"If you do not believe this, then listen carefully to what the land of Lahore loudly proclaims :

"I no longer want red colour," as it is admiring the blood of the Khalsa [for its redness] which has been shed in torrents."

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

An *Amir-i-Shariat* for India.

35. The *Vakil* of the 5th December deprecates the settlement of the question of appointing an *Amir-i-Shariat* for Muslim India in a hurry. The question involves far-reaching consequences and unanimity of public opinion is also essential.

VI.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

SAT YUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

The Lawrence statue.

36. The *Sat Yug* of the 23rd November says that the officers of the bureaucracy should have themselves removed the Lawrence statue away from the eyes of the Indians, which would have ended the matter in a quiet manner. The bureaucracy is, however, arrogant and wants to tell us that although we may raise ourselves in our own estimation it continues to regard us as being low. But it does not know that the Indians want to end its arrogance. If the people cannot bring the bureaucracy to its knees even in the matter of the removal of this mischievous statue, they need far greater preparations to obtain swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi has ordered us in clear words that we should remove the statue at the sacrifice even of our lives. The bureaucracy will undoubtedly strain every nerve [to prevent this] : it will terrorise, threaten and fire, too ; but since we have to die why should we fear death ?

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Government interference with the Mewar State.

Rajput Gazette (Lahore); Sukh Ram Das, editor.

37. The *Rajput Gazette* of the 3rd December says that Government interference with the Mewar State has caused feelings of uneasiness and discontent among the Rajputs at a time when the Prince is touring in India. If this interference does not end soon and the Government of India makes no satisfactory announcement on the point, the anxiety prevalent among the Rajputs will lead to some untoward result. Interference by the Government in the affairs of a leading Rajput State will swell the wave of agitation against it which has been passing over the country at a rapid pace.

A complaint against the Maharaja of Bikanir.

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

38. (*a*) The *Partap* of the 8th December is unable to understand why the Maharaja of Bikanir made remarks against the Nationalist party in India in proposing the health of the Prince of Wales. His Highness said that with the exception of a few misguided persons the Indians had become firmly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor owing to the arrival of the Prince. The Maharaja has, like other men, the right to hold any opinion he likes; but it is a pity that the existing law begins to throttle Indian newspapers in case they criticise in the least the policy of the Native States. What right have these men who live under the shadow of the British Government to spurt venom against the patriots of the country, who in the present war for swaraj do not care for their lives and property and are risking the lives of their children?

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(*b*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 8th December takes exception to the Maharaja's remark that political agitation in India was confined only to a few persons and that those engaged in it were a misguided people. This view is not only wrong but even deplorable. The Maharaja has insulted the popular workers by calling them misguided. Political struggle is a noble object and patriotic persons cannot mislead people.

Kesari (Lahore); Shamlal Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 8th December writes in the same strain and regrets that the Prince should have listened to the Maharaja's remarks in silence and expressed a hope in his reply that the Maharaja would help the Empire at the present juncture as His Highness did during the European war. Is not this an unnecessary and deplorable interference in the political affairs of India?

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:
The 14th December 1921.

183 SB—189—14-12-21—SGPP Lahore.

[illegible] the [illegible] country feel [illegible] the facts [illegible] the true [illegible] what the [illegible] report is believed to be.

[illegible] in the matter [illegible] the removal of this [illegible] greater [illegible] to obtain [illegible] words that we should remove the status [illegible] bureaucracy will undoubtedly [illegible] terrorise, threaten and fire on [illegible] death?

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

Ireland, Egypt and India.

1. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 10th December 1921 expresses satisfaction at the termination of the quarrel between Ireland and England. In her long struggle for independence the former had to make great sacrifices, while during the last two years she had to make sacrifices in life also. When the inhabitants of the country could not obtain their object by lawful means, they resorted to unconstitutional methods. They established a parliament of their own, raised their police and army, established their own courts and began to settle their own affairs. They became so much displeased with Britain that they openly fought with British officers, troops and police. Since, however, they displayed a spirit of perseverance they have achieved success in the end. In addition to Ireland, there are two other countries which are connected with the British Government and in which a struggle for freedom and independence is in progress. One of these is Egypt. Although it is not under Britain, still the reins of its administration have been long in her hands. The other is unfortunate India, which is under the rule of Britain. The struggle for freedom which is going on in Egypt is almost similar to that carried on by the Irish. A great deal of bloodshed has taken place there also. The agitation in India, however, has so far been peaceful, for the reason that the Indians have neither any police nor an army of their own. The Indians' fight for liberty is wholly free from the methods which Ireland followed to

obtain independence or which the Egyptians are now practising. The fight in India has assumed the form of passive resistance. While violent methods are used in Ireland, and Egypt, the Indians are employing non-violent methods. Indeed, the adoption of these methods befits India. The independence of Ireland will certainly favourably affect the question of the freedom of Egypt and India and will lend further strength to their demand for liberty. As India has been strongly supporting the Irish demand, it is now the turn of the Irish to support India's demand and extend the same sympathy and moral support to the Indians as the latter did in their case. As every Indian believes in his heart, his country will certainly get lawful liberty and independence and a time, which is not distant, will come when Britain will feel compelled to grant swaraj to India. The Indians have now only to carry on their struggle for liberty in a constitutional and peaceful manner. The Indians should, however, display full strength and boldness in acting with perseverance and unite in pressing their demand.

Masihi (Lahore); B. L. Rallia Ram, editor.

The Khilafat.

2. The *Masihi* for November takes exception to Mr. Gandhi's view that the Khilafat question is a national one for the Indians. Two-thirds of the country's population is non-Muslim, while the Shias do not recognize the Khilafat. The Khilafat movement has also exceeded all lawful limits.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

Virat (Lahore); Banke Dial, editor.

The Royal visit.

3. In the course of an article on the Prince's visit, the *Virat* of the 5th December refers to the recent action against the volunteers and says that the Government has come to realise its weakness and begun using mean weapons to throw a veil over it. India should have enjoyed greater freedom and comfort during the Prince's visit, but the Government has sealed peoples' lips by enforcing the Seditious Meetings Act in many places. If the Congress had now ordered the people to resort to civil disobedience, this improper law would have been violated everywhere, seeing that the people now prefer death to an accursed life. Mahatma Gandhi was thinking of launching civil disobedience in two districts, but the Punjab has already begun to practise it. The imprudent authorities are interfering even in religious matters and the world will see what this will lead to. We can only say that swaraj is hastening towards us and that the recent happenings are in honour of its advent. No one should, therefore, feel disturbed in his mind.

Panch (Lahore); Ram Singh, editor.

The Swaraj movement.

4. KISHAN SINGH CHIMA contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Panch* of the 30th November (received on the 8th December). He says that the people are bitterly crying in distress There is neither the learning, nor the sense, nor the wealth of the past, and they are being kicked on all sides. They are also being dishonoured in other countries. When other lands are enjoying the pleasures of liberty, why do the Indians love slavery? They should promptly raise the standard of swaraj, relying on God. Let the Hindus and the Muhammadans unite, for if disunion is not banished India will be ruined. The beloved ones of the people are in jail and repression is being practised with might and main. The time has come when India will become free.

The Sikhs and Swaraj.

5. "MASTER" SUNDER SINGH of Lyallpur contributed the following four articles, headed "Two views", to the *Akali* of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 9th November, respectively. The writer and the editor-publisher of the paper are being prosecuted under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code in respect of the articles:—

No. 1.

"Many of the people who were acknowledged during the last twenty years to be well-known preachers, hymn singers and leaders have now left the field. The five or seven old men who still remain continue to strike the old tune. The times are moving fast. New things strike these people as strange. They, poor people, are not to blame. Flattery and slavery have taken such deep roots in their minds and they have lost so much hope about and confidence in themselves, and the Indians that they consider non-co-operation, etc., [illegible] waves of liberty to be child's play. Among us Sikhs the organisers and managers of old Sabhas and Diwans generally hold this view. These people still cling to the old parties, even though the latter are now dead, as if all the new developments are merely a dream, and they hope that all this swarajic and reforming zeal is only a watery bubble, which is of a transient duration. The men of new thought claim that while remaining staunch to their respective faiths, they will bring about Hindu, Muslim and Sikh unity, because our well-being lies in this. We have suffered considerable dishonour and disgrace by remaining disunited for 150 years. We have no longer the power to lead a more degraded and shamefully bruitish life than this. It was natural that reactionaries, pro-Government people and the enemies of the nation should have risen from sleep against this claim of the nationalists. But besides these, there are a few persons who feel for the Panth and who are perhaps sincerely opposed to our swarajic wave. There are two dangers for them : (1) The Hindus and Muhammadans will be stronger than us under swaraj and we shall suffer loss ; and (2) the Hindus and Musalmans will put the Sikhs in the front and get the latter killed, themselves receding, or they will obtain something from the Government and make peace with it and leave us alone in the thick. We reply to the first objection in two words, *viz.*, if Hindu-Muslim rule be established even then our condition will be a hundred times better than at present, because a purely indigenous rule as such is a thousand times better than a foreign rule. If, however, we undergo as much sacrifice as the Hindus and Musalmans will do for swaraj, nay, if we make more sacrifices than they, then we find no reason why and how the Hindus and Musalmans will dispossess us from our share of swaraj. On the other hand, if we make greater sacrifices we shall be justly entitled to greater rights. Moreover, even if the Hindus and Musalmans commit such a mistake we shall not be at the time wearing glass bangles like girls. But even the entertainment of such a thought is a sign of want of faith and mutual love. This weakness will gradually pass away by mutual intercourse. In the days of Emperor Akbar and Maharaja Ranjit Singh also we used to live together in mutual amity. It is the bureaucratic rule which has increased distrust among us to this extent.

"The other objection relates to the getting of the Sikhs killed. This is tantamount to simply fearing the shadow. At present the Hindus and the Musalmans are more forward than we are in sharing imprisonment and bullets. How will they then become so base as to keep all their words and promises aside and make all such arrangements for getting only the Sikhs killed ? What harm have the Sikhs done to them that they will get the Sikhs killed ? Let us admit for the sake of argument that in this religious war the Sikhs die in greater numbers and that lakhs of them give up their lives. But we ask whether this bargain is dearer than the useless destruction of thousands of lives for the sake of the British Government in the German war ? If nothing else, the distressed, hungry and unhonoured among the Hindus and Musalmans will at least be happy and will bless the Sikhs till the end of the world. O brothers ! Look back a little ! Did our Father, Guru Gobind Singh, await the coöperation of the Musalmans before taking action to destroy such a grossly sinful rule ? No, no. He sought the protection of one God (Akal) and began to act upon the text : 'Honour the saints and punish the wicked.' He did not wait for anybody, nor did he desire to enjoy any fruit. You, too, should try to follow in his footsteps."

No. 2.

"Among us there are some highly learned men, rich hymn-singers and preachers who can be counted on one's fingers' ends and who are opposed to the wave of swaraj passing over the Sikhs from a strange consideration. I do not consider all these people to belong to the ordinary hostile party. Nay, all those people among them whose views I have had an occasion of hearing thoroughly understand the present wave of non-coöperation, are hypercritical and dispute at every step. In spite of their English learning and thorough experience of the world, they are not less astute than others, because they have undergone all sorts of experiences and have seen much of the world. Every kind of energy has now subsided in them and they are now hopeless, or astute and old and aged parrots as it were. They oppose very cleverly and effectively the wave of the liberty of religion and country. They offer their sweets to eat, whether they sing hymns or recite discourses from the scriptures or deliver speeches or carry on conversations. These sweets contain pills, by swallowing which their patients after a little while vomit non-coöperation and throw it outside. What do they say? They say: "The Sikhs have undertaken big political matters. But the Sikhs have no need of worldly things. Their swaraj as well as rule consists in this; 'I desire not sovereignty. I desire not salvation. The lotus-like feet is my love.' Dear reader! This goal is truest and the loftiest of all and our Sat Gurus and Sikhs reduced this ideal into practice. If we arrive at this goal then the expression 'The arrival of the time when the blessed crescent of the *Id* will appear' will become applicable to us. Its clear meaning will then be that we shall oppose the present Government like our ancestors as a matter of our religion and duty. They uttered the grand saying 'Honour the saints and punish the wicked,' and after acting upon it, they left footmarks for us. See if our Sat Gurus and Sikhs waited for the (*lit.*) other Hindus and Musalmans in order to destroy the sinful rule of the time by the roots. Never. Seeing the creatures of God distressed and dishonoured they could not bear, and, like the moth, they suffered themselves to be roasted to death by the lamp! Their condition was this: 'Their life in this world is blessed who utter the name of God (*Har*) with their mouths and think of war in their minds.' But the modern wise men of the Iron Age (*Kaljug*) advise us from the above point of view that our religion consists in 'only reciting the name (of God) and not doing any work.' But we declare in conformity with the wishes of the Guru Sahib that our religion consists in 'only reciting the name (of God) and also doing work.' Will the coming generation carry on the religious war? I, however, submit to you that the only mission or message of the Sat Guru for the present time is that we should take the most leading part in carrying on a non-violent war against the existing sinful rule, because the Sat Gurus, the crowns of our heads, have, by their utterances and also in their practical lives, acted upon this very principle:—

"'We are born for the work of disseminating religion, encouraging saints and extirpating all wicked persons.

"'All saintly persons should understand this in their minds.'

"The question now arises that when such is the state of affairs why are deceptions being practised by such clever and astute persons, who are experienced in worldly things, to induce the people to swerve from this straight path? The right reply to this question befits the mouths of those persons only. But I, too, shall make some effort to disentangle this tangled skein. There may be several reasons for it—

"(1) It is possible that they do not sincerely believe that the present system of Government is irreligious.

"(2) Perhaps Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh unity appears to them a mockery only, and owing to this distrust and want of confidence they may have become hopeless and distrustful.

"(3) It is possible that they may have been patted on the back by the Government and they may be hungering for the Judgeships of the High Court, squares of land, *jagirs* and titles, and they may be offering interested opposition. The discussion of these questions to-morrow.

Sundar Singh of Lyallpur."

No. 3.

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"The way in which the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs have been split up into parties for its (the Government's) own ends has no parallel on the face of the earth. When from among the Sikh Panth, who had sacrificed lakhs of lives for the sake of this British rule and who had themselves become its slaves and made the rest of the world its slaves, Sardar Gurdit Singh, accompanied by his 376 companions, went to Canada in the Guru Nanak steamer—a steamer which sailed with the sanction and permission of the British Government and to a place that formed another part of the British Empire—the Canadian Government there displayed brutality and stone-heartedness on the shores of Canada; and the King and Parliament of England and the Government of India maintained complete silence with absolute (*lit.* such) indifference and heartlessness on seeing the Indian subjects ill-treated by the Canadian Government; and, again, when the passengers, who had sold themselves for their religion and country and who, after performing a six months' sea voyage and having wasted their all, spent their capital, lost every hope and were in a state of utter distress, returned to their dear motherland, they were welcomed with bullets instead of flowers on the shore of Budge Budge. Dear readers! Place your hands on your breast and say what stronghold of Gibralter belonging to the British Government these unfortunate beings had wrested (from that Government) on the sea that they were shot? Can you refer to any instance of tyranny like this which might have been perpetrated by the past tyrannical rules in India? If the Government regarded them with suspicion owing to the war they might at the most have been placed under surveillance. But under what law and justice were they shot with bullets? I challenge any inveterate coöperator to point out an instance of tyranny and injustice like it from the past history of India. There are so many painful stories, such as the wresting of the Khalsa College from us, the pulling down of the sacred walls of the Rikabganj *gurdwara*, Government interference in Har Mandir Sahib, the massacre of two hundred Sikhs in broad daylight at Nankana Sahib, notwithstanding the (present) peaceful rule and the fact that oil was poured on them and they were burnt, the present interference with Sikh *gurdwaras*, etc., that it will take years to hear their recital and require volumes to write about them. Besides, it becomes the British Government alone to interfere again with the affairs of the Khilafat, in spite of promises made with our Musalman brothers. Then the martial law of last year (*sic*) became applicable to all alike, whether Hindus or Musalmans or Sikhs, in accordance with the adage: 'When the blanket fell from above all became alike.' Veils were removed from the faces of our sisters and their faces were spit at. They were addressed as bitches, she-hogs and flies. On the macadamised roads of the streets of Amritsar, all, whether old or young, were made to crawl on their bellies. Through fear merely of being laughed at the sinful Dyer killed thousands of Indian lives and wounded them! Dear readers! Have not your hearts begun to writhe with pain and sorrow? Do you not shiver? Does not the command of Guru Gobind Singh prevent you from coöperating with an irreligious Government like this? The Guruji says that the goal of life is this: 'Fame is life and infamy is death.' Are our lives the lives of fame and honour? Does a native (Indian) receive as much to drink and eat as the dog of an Englishman does? Are we not considered to be the most worthless and degraded nation in the world? If we coöperate with Government even in these circumstances, then tell me whether we have any trace of the sense of honour left in us. The condition of that man is pitiable who even now professes to coöperate with the Government, in spite of the fact that his sisters were spit at on their faces and in spite of his seeing his elders made to crawl on their bellies and his innocent brethren shot with bullets. Do not complain against him. Nay, seeing the depth of slavery, you should develop more energy in you for rendering service. At the same time, keep yourselves aloof from the distributors of such hopeless and poisonous sweets. 'If one uses utensils black (with soot), one will receive some (black) stain.'"

No. 4.

"I stated yesterday that the present system of rule is in no way less irreligious and bad than past rules and that it is the command of the Sat Gurus to oppose such a satanic rule. Hence, no Sikh with a sense of honour, who has understood the mission or ideal of Guru Gobind Singh, can coöperate with such an irreligious rule as this. I claim that there is perhaps not a single young man or woman in India who is sincerely in favour of the continuance of the existing irreligious rule. All desire a change, because when people converse together, the most bigoted coöperationist and even the members of Council and Ministers complain against the treatment of English officers and consider the present rule as irreligious and worthless. It should, however, be borne in mind that some people do not wish to oppose the (present) rule openly. In short, there is no sincere coöperationist. There are certainly many outward coöperationists. As stated in my previous contributions, there are two clear reasons for this. Firstly, many people have no faith in Hindu, Muhammadan and Sikh unity. In reply I shall merely say that, in the first place, the sensible leaders have come to an agreement and, as compared with the past, there is considerable change (*lit.* difference) even among the common people. But we should not be afraid even if mistakes and quarrels take place among the common people, because sensible persons can approach (them) and settle their disputes. Let us admit for argument's sake that this sort of unity is very weak. Even in these circumstances, say whether there is any other way of our safety than making an effort to arrive at a mutual agreement. In short, the panacea for all our ills is Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity. If this unity is weak, let us unitedly try to strengthen it. Let us respect each other's religious views, and if mistakes occur, let us try to settle our differences together. So, this is the only way which leads straight to heaven. He who tries to lead you to another by-path or way is a misguided (person) and will hurl you into the deepest hell.

"The other cause is our excessive poverty. It is owing to this that the common people among us enter the Criminal Investigation Department or secret police and continue to cut the throats of their countrymen in opposition to their religion and sense of justice. Besides these, some rich people oppose non-coöperation for the sake of honours, *jagirs* and medals or paper sanads. It is the law of the world that good is always attended by evil. So we should not be upset at the sight of these hostile persons. Come! Let us jump into this non-violent (*lit.* peaceful) war of non-coöperation by considering it to be (our) religion and let us make our lives fruitful by sacrificing all our lives, bodies and wealth.

Sundar Singh of Lyallpur."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore): Ram Parshad, editor.

A swarajic lyric.

6. The *Bande Mataram* of the 15th December publishes a poem headed, "The lyric of swaraj." The following is a literal translation of the opening stanza:—

"We shall get grain at cheap rates,
"We shall take back our rule,
"Of course, we shall take the throne and the crown,
"We shall take a tribute from Europe,
"When we shall obtain swaraj."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

Civil disobedience.

7. (*a*) The *Liberal* of the 5th December says:—"The struggle for independence commenced last year on the lines chalked out by Mr. Gandhi has entered on an acute stage, and the country is at the present moment in the midst of a crisis the like of which it has not experienced ever since it came under British rule. That the struggle, in its present form, has been sought for by the leaders of the national movement is not denied and the non-coöperators further profess that they are prepared for the consequences. After the unfortunate events in Bombay that followed the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in India, it was expected the programme of civil disobedience enunciated by Mr. Gandhi would be suspended, if not given up entirely, for it was proved to the satisfaction of Mr. Gandhi himself that the spirit of non-violence was lacking among the common folk of the country who formed its majority. What was true of Bombay was true in even a larger measure of the less cultured provinces like Behar and Orissa and the Punjab. The Government, as could have been expected, took time by the forelock, and the best men, and we regret, the best women of the country, are in jail to-day, fondly hoping that by their wilful sacrifice they are further-

ing the cause of nationalism and independence. Such noble sacrifices which the country is prepared to make to-day are worthy of a nobler cause, and we wish they were not wasted in the fond hope of realising aims based on erroneous assumptions. The crisis having come, the duty of the non-coöperators as well as the Government is clear. The former should in honour [feel] bound [to] see that the struggle does not lead to any sort of violence, though for our part, we cannot believe that even Mr. Gandhi would be able to keep a control over the elements of rowdyism, when they find full play under strong provocation. But what Mr. Gandhi cannot do, the Government ought to be able to do both in its own interest as well as in the interest of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. There are two ways by which this can be achieved. The direct and the safer way is, of course, by trying to give as little provocation as may be possible consistently with the maintenance of peace and order. And, secondly, when provocation has been caused consciously or unconsciously, the Government ought to keep a strict control over its officers and not allow them or itself to lose their patience in the midst of confusion. It is only by means like these that violence can be prevented on both sides and the country allowed to have its peace disturbed as little as possible. With provocation on the one hand and violence on the other, there is bound to be bloodshed and much loss of innocent life, which both parties to the struggle may find it impossible to replace when the arrow has been shot."

Partab (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(b) The *Partap* of the 9th December writes that the 6th of December will remain a memorable day in the history of India, when regular civil disobedience was started in Lahore. We are firmly of opinion that the Government is responsible for this state of affairs. Things would not have come to such a pass if the Government had removed the grievances of the Indians. Government should even now reconsider the matter and undo the wrongs done. If it is not prepared to do this, it should test the strength of the people in a non-violent way. There should be no show of police force. Meetings should be allowed to be held; but those responsible for them might be arrested and sent to jail. In this way it can gauge the public feeling. If it is unjustifiable to promulgate repressive laws in the name of law and order, we can appeal to the Government in the name of law and order to prevent its officials from practising violence upon the people by a show of arms and force. Its officials are now under the impression that Government will overlook all illegal acts on their part. We would ask the Government to end the present struggle in a peaceful manner.

The Sikhs and civil disobedience

Akali (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

8. **Shamsher Singh**, *Khanjar*, B.A., writing in the supplement to the *Akali* dated the 4th December, says that they are mistaken who assert that the Sikhs will be unable to observe *Satyagraha* and that these brave and martial people cannot control excitement and will be certain to cause bloodshed in a state of anger. They are ignorant of the old history and practices of the community. The writer refers to the peaceful mission of Guru Nanak and continues: "O beloved Panth! We are passing through a religious ordeal to-day. The reform of *gurdwaras* is no political question: it is that of our religious liberty. But rest assured that so long as we do not obtain swaraj, we are the slaves of the foreigners in our own country. So long as others rule over us, so long as we are not independent in our own home and so long as we are not masters of our own things, our religious liberty is in great danger. What right has any one to interfere with another's religious liberty? The history of the world, especially our own, shows that whenever a nation tried to deprive others of their religious liberty, it was involved in ruin. Will this imperishable principle be falsified [now]? O Khalsas! If you desire to be free, do not wrest others' liberty. Let the tyrant enjoy the liberty of practising oppression. Do not lift your hands [against him] . . . Remain peaceful. . . . Rest assured that sin itself has the greatest power to destroy the sinful. God cannot tolerate injustice and oppression."

Government's policy of repression.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

9. (a) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th December regrets that in pursuance of their new policy the Government and its officers should have felt the need of enforcing the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It is a matter for surprise that these laws, for the repeal of which a committee has already submitted a report, should have been pressed into service. There can

be no doubt that the Government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of law-abiding people. It should not, however, resort to a policy of repression, which, instead of suppressing agitation, has the effect of increasing it. If different causes, some of which are the mistakes and weaknesses of the Government itself, have led to a disturbance [at Bombay] the Government is by no means justified in enforcing repressive laws, which are commonly known as mean weapons. It is no wonder if people should feel compelled to disobey such laws, which they consider antagonistic to their constitutional claims and the inherent right of freedom. Again, while the Government enforces repressive laws as a matter of necessity, its officers are sometimes led to abuse them. For instance, religious gatherings should be exempted from the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act; but although the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar was told in clear words that the Ajnala meeting of the Sikhs had been held in connection with the keys of the Golden Temple and had nothing to do with politics, still he arrested respectable Sikh leaders and sentenced them to inprisonment and fine. Such incidents have the effect of increasing mistrust against the Government itself.

JAT GAZETTE (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Jat Gazette* of the 7th December writes that the Government of India has embarked upon a policy of wholesale repression to crush the non-coöperation movement. We have been opposed to the movement from the outset but we are opposed to the present policy of the Government also. No exception can be taken to the object of the Government, yet the means adopted to gain it are wholly improper. The Government is entitled to take every lawful step to check all movements likely to endanger the public peace; still such measures and policy cannot be justified as affect the guilty and innocent alike and take away the liberty of whole provinces. Let those be punished who deliver seditious or inflammatory speeches, but we disapprove of a policy which strikes at the root of the fundamental principles of freedom.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(*c*) The *Siyasat* of the 9th December refers to the present repressive policy of the Government, and says that it is a year and a quarter since people have been expressing their readiness to go to jail. Since they have become so fearless and bold it follows that British influence and prestige in India have begun to decline. The only result of the repressive policy of the Government has been that people have lost all fear of the jail. The measures so far adopted by it have entirely failed. The only step which remains to be taken is the promulgation of martial law throughout the country. Some short-sighted officers are exciting people to violence in order to afford the military and the police an opportunity for opening fire. If the public is anxious to achieve complete success, it should continue its struggle with perfect zeal and enthusiasm. We should not be afraid of rigour. If one man goes to jail ten should come forward to fill the gap. It does not matter much if a few lakh Indians go to jail for the sake of their country. But we should strictly adhere to non-violent non-coöperation and never think of violence.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 11th December says:—"The really important question is the result of the policy. We invite His Excellency the Viceroy to calmly consider it even now. Let him take only the two most conspicuous cases that are not *sub judice*, the cases of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru at Allahabad and of Mrs. C. R. Das in Calcutta. . . . . Pandit Moti Lal might, at a later stage, if such a stage would have come at all, have led a movement of *mass* civil disobedience, but there would have been no question of his resisting any one or any thing at this stage, if it had not been for the Government's prohibitory orders. Those orders are inspired by a desire to prevent intimidation and violence. Surely it would be preposterous to assert that a man like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru could resort to either. If, therefore, the Government had confined itself to dealing with cases of *actual* intimidation or violence, instead of issuing general orders directly affecting the movement of which Pandit Moti Lal is one of the foremost leaders, there would have been no occasion for it to proceed against him, at any rate at this stage. And what is true of Pandit Moti Lal is exactly true of Mrs. C. R. Das and many others in all the four provinces affected. In all these cases the action taken by the authorities has had the undoubted effect of further embittering the relations between the Government and large numbers of people, especially Congressmen, and in all these cases this exceedingly regrettable result could easily have been prevented by the Government refraining from taking the action it did."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy,

(e) Commenting on the speech delivered by Sir Harcourt Butler in proroguing the U. P. Legislative Council, the *Tribune* of the 11th December writes:—"As far as we are aware, this is the strongest and frankest statement of the new policy that has been made on the official side so far. And yet what does it come to? Nothing more than this, that the Government is determined to protect loyal and peaceful citizens and to prevent criminal intimidation. Had the Government confined its endeavour only within these limits, we do not think any fair minded person could have had any reasonable ground for complaint on the positive side . . . . We say on the positive side, because on the negative side the Government would still have had to answer the question whether, after all was said and done, the maintenance of law and order was not merely a part of the duties of the Government instead of being its only duty, whether it was not equally necessary for it to take away the *matter* of the public discontent and give the people that interest in the Constitution which in every country has been found to be the strongest safeguard against disorder and confusion. But can any one reasonably say that the Government's orders have not gone very considerably beyond the limits prescribed by its desire to maintain peace and order? Can His Excellency tell us that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and his associates had resorted to criminal intimidation? Was that even the charge against them?"

(g) The *Tribune* of the 13th December says:—"It was the simultaneous prevention of public (and in some cases private) meetings and the orders issued against the volunteers in as many as four provinces to which all that has subsequently followed must be definitely traced. . . . The plain fact seems to be that at the root of the orders is the anxiety on the part of the authorities to secure 'a calm atmosphere' for the Prince's visit. . . . And yet if this was the object which the authorities had in view how short-sighted have they proved! Far from their having secured a calm atmosphere for the royal visit, the atmosphere has never before been so disturbed since the non-coöperation movement began. . . . It will be said that the sole responsibility for all this rests with the non-coöperators, that the Government would have done nothing if the non-coöperators had but obeyed the orders regarding public meetings and volunteers. But to this the reply of the non-coöperators, as far as one is able to gather, is that this reasoning is not materially different from that of those who hold Hampden responsible for his refusal to pay the ship-money and all that followed in its train. Undoubtedly there is this distinction between the two cases that what Hampden opposed was a purely arbitrary executive order; whereas the present orders have been issued under powers lawfully vested in the Executive Government by the Legislature. . . . . There can be no comparison between laws which represent the general will of the community and, indeed, of civilised humanity, and the obvious object of which is to protect society against aggressive and anti-social acts, and those which are the outcome of peculiar circumstances and which must change with those circumstances. In the present case public meetings and the enlistment of volunteers *was* lawful only until a fortnight ago in all the provinces; it still continues to be lawful not only in other provinces but so far as the first, at any rate, is concerned, in parts of the very provinces affected. What conceivable comparsion can there be between such orders and the laws against theft and dacoity and arson which are illegal at all times and in all places? . . . . The offences for which hundreds of persons in the four affected provinces have been already sent to prison are offences not against moral laws, but against laws which, if the Government and the Legislature so please, can cease to be laws to-morrow and which the non-coöperators have, from the first, declared it to be their intention to get rescinded by all legitimate and peaceful means, which with them only means suffering and sacrifice."

The moderates and the policy of Government.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N Roy, editor.

10. (a) The *Tribune* of the 14th December says:—"It is a matter for sincere congratulation that the Liberal press has lost no time in condemning the policy on which Lord Reading's Government has entered. . . . Nor have Liberal public men been lagging behind . . . . All this is undoubtedly a happy

augury. We can only hope that it will not prove evanescent and will not stop until the present policy has been abandoned. This is the more necessary because the key to the present situation is in a peculiar sense in the hands of the Liberals. If they will make common cause with the Nationalists in condemning a policy of repression, the Government will clearly have no choice left except to try the only alternative to this policy, a policy of conciliation. On the other hand, if they will stand aside or falter, then the struggle is bound to be long and bitter, and only goodness can say whither we shall be led. We hope in the interests of the country they love so well, if not also in their own, our Liberal friends will choose the better part, as they have done in the past on all similar occasions."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(b) The *Partap* of the 15th December writes that all nationalist leaders, except Mr. Gandhi, have now been placed under arrest. The challenge thrown down by the bureaucracy is meant for no party but for the whole country. If it succeeds in crushing the National Congress with the aid of its army, police and jails, the shackles of slavery will have been riveted, not on any particular party but on the country as a whole. This is why before his arrest Mr. Das sent a message to the moderate leaders to step into the field. We are fully confident that they will respond to his appeal: they feel as much for the country as the nationalists do. As regards Mr. Malaviya, now that the Prince of Wales has left Benares, he will come forward and show to the people that he remains the same man who helped the Punjab during the martial law days. It is incredible that he can tolerate the oppression on which the bureaucracy has launched. We have reason to believe that the moderates will soon rise and show to the Government that they are with the country in its demands and will side with the nationalists in the event of the latter being sought to be crushed for their demands. At all events, Mother India expects them to prove themselves to be her worthy sons in her hour of trouble.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The moderates and the Congress.

11. The *Tribune* of the 14th December says:—"Referring to Mr. Jayakar's presidential address at the recent Akola Conference. . . . . Mahatma Gandhi says in the latest issue of 'Young India' that there is no reason whatever why nationalists should not practise as lawyers or send their children to Government schools or seek election to the Councils and still belong to the Congress. . . . . This is, of course, the only valid position constitutionally, the only position consistent with reason and commonsense. . . . . We are on the eve of what may, for aught one knows to the contrary, be a momentous session of the Congress, a session to which it will once again fall to determine whether the Congress is to justify its old title of the country's non-official Parliament, or whether it is to be only the organ of the most 'advanced section' of the nationalist party. . . . The only result of following the policy which the Congress has been following for some time is that the dissenters gradually fall off and seek other platforms. . . . The leaders must go out of their way to secure that the best men of all Congress parties, all, that is to say, who are prepared to work for swaraj on peaceful constitutional lines, may have a place in these bodies [the Provincial Congress Committees and the All-India Congress Committee] in a fair and equitable proportion."

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

Boycott of foreign cloth.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th December writes that at the present time the question of the use of swadeshi cloth and the boycott of foreign fabrics is not merely an economic question, but one of life and death for us. If we fail to display sufficient courage and perseverance in solving it and the prevailing dearness continues to increase with dreadful rapidity, flour will not sell even at one seer for a rupee. If the Indians wish to save themselves and their countrymen from the coming starvation, they should boycott all foreign articles, especially cloth, and totally prevent the drain of money, grain and raw produce from the country.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

Indian Government officials and the non-coöperation movement.

13. The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th December states that in order to gain victory in the peaceful spiritual war now in progress in the country the Government has issued a secret circular letter, asking its slaves employed in the higher posts in different offices to instruct their subordinates to betray the nation and

help the bureaucracy in the struggle. We believe that if the faith of Indian officers drawing handsome salaries is shaken from considerations of lucre, at least the starving clerks and other subordinate officials, who get a very small remuneration for using their pens, receive threats and are called d—d fools, will never fall into the trap. They know the worth of the promises of the bureaucracy.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

Famines in India.

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 9th December publishes a communication headed "God Indra and famine" from MOHAN LAL, Vakil, Ferozepore, who says, in continuation of his previous remarks on the subject, that dearness or serious famines in India are ascribable to the following causes:—

(1) Territorial aggrandisement on the part of Great Britain.

(2) Her commercial greed.

(3) Trade tricks of the Europeans.

(4) The use of beef by Europeans and the slaughter of cattle on a large scale.

India is the bread-giver not only of England but of Europe as well. Britain depends on it for her trade and territorial aggrandisement. If India were to cease supplying grain and rendering help to Europe, British strength could be broken and Great Britain made to agree to any terms.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The Ajnala arrests.

15. (*a*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 4th December says that although Sardar Jodh Singh and other moderate Sikhs differ from the majority of the members of the Parbandhak Committee in the matter of non-coöperation, still they too will not hesitate to make every sacrifice for the sake of their religious freedom. Indeed, when the Sardar saw Dan Singh and others arrested even before they had begun to speak he was led to remark that if the delivery of speeches at religious meetings was an offence he would always be ready to commit it. Accordingly he and several other moderate Sikhs also made speeches at Ajnala.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 8th December affirms that the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar stated in his evidence in the case against Dan Singh, etc., that he had been told that the meeting held at Ajnala was purely religious, but that he doubted this and thought that a political meeting was being held under the cloak of a religious gathering. Probably it was on the basis of this doubt that the Punjab Government issued the groundless statement that the meeting had been convened by the District Congress Committee. This is the sort of information on the strength of which the bureaucracy, in its pride of extensive powers, claims to be all-powerful and omniscent.

KESARI (Lahore); Sham Lal Kapur, editor.

(*c*) The *Kesari* of the 9th December writes that the arrest of the Sikh leaders has resulted in an awakening in the Sikh community to which there is no parallel in the history of India. The great patience and calmness displayed by the arrested leaders and their followers at Amritsar and other places is a source of pride and gratification for all communities in the country. The Sikhs have made the right start to take the programme of civil disobedience to a successful issue. It is now the duty of other communities to follow suit.

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

(*d*) The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 9th December says:—"The farce of a trial of the remaining nine prominent workers of the whole lot of twenty arrests has also resulted, as was a foregone conclusion, in their conviction and sentences to various terms of imprisonment together with fines. But with the prosecution evidence before us we regard all our brothers to be quite innocent. The offence of Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal was that he said to the *Sangat* before Takht Akal what else sacrifice he could expect when they could not clad themselves in *khaddar* and black turbans, and the offence of Master Tara Singh, B.A., was that he read out the resolutions passed in the general meeting of the Shiromani Committee. And all this they did in the discharge of their religious duty in the meetings which were purely religious. Similar were the offences of many others. What the Government seems to be in earnest about at this time is not its anxiety to dispense justice or vindicate the majesty of law, but to re-establish its almost lost prestige and authority. So justice has been tampered with gross injustice and repression, at any rate in the case of the Sikhs. It is a sad commentary on the mentality of the Government."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

16. Referring to the press *communiqué* issued by the Punjab Government embodying a number of extracts from 'recent speeches made at public meetings in Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura districts prior to the proclamation of the districts under the Seditious Meetings Act,' the *Tribune* of the 11th December says:—We do not know if the extracts are from C. I. D. reports, and whether the reports from which they are taken are faithful and accurate. Nor do we know anything about their context, and whether there was anything in other parts of the speeches to counteract or modify the impression calculated to be produced on the mind of the hearer by the passages referred to. Subject to these necessary reservations, we do not think there can be two opinions either about the objectionableness of the remarks or about the serious disservice done to the country and the cause of political progress by speakers who indulge in such remarks But the Government clearly does not see the point of the public protest when it says that it was speeches of this kind which 'necessitated the proclamation of the districts.' That point is and has always been that the Government is not justified in punishing a whole population for the faults of individuals."

KHALSA ADVOCATE (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

Sikh defiance of the Seditious Meetings Act.

17. The *Khalsa Advocate* of the 9th December asks.—"Is it not a disgusting spectacle to see that in spite of Shiromani Committee's clear definition of its line of action to be purely religious, the trend and tone (of) some of the speeches in the meetings which are being held at Amritsar under the auspices of the Shiromani Committee is hardly in conformity with the spirit of its decision ?"

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A complaint against some Lahore policemen.

18. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 15th December:—"An extraordinary story of alleged high-handedness on the part of certain policemen in connection with the arrest of a batch of volunteers on Tuesday night has reached us from several sources. The allegations are that the volunteers were going on their usual round singing songs, that they were asked by the Police to disperse and on their refusal the policemen in question gave a severe beating, not only to them, but also to certain passers by and others collected to see what was going on. Indeed, even if there is only a substratum of truth in the accounts we have received, it is perfectly clear that these guardians of law and order were guilty of the grossest lawlessness. We have no desire to prejudge them or to express any definite opinion at this stage, but clearly the matter calls for an immediate and sifting enquiry. The issue is a simple one. If the volunteers refused to disperse, that was a sufficient reason for arresting them. . . . It could afford no justification whatever for the use of any force except what was barely necessary for effecting their arrest. . . . We appeal to His Excellency the Governor and Sir John Maynard to institute a prompt enquiry into the matter, and, if they find the allegations proved, to inflict exemplary punishment upon those concerned. We cannot for a moment believe that such proceedings as are alleged against the policemen in this case can have the sanction of superior authority, and we trust that the Government will show by its action in this case that while insisting upon the maintenance of law by the public it will brook no lawlessness on the part of its own officers and men."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

A complaint.

19. The *Liberal* of the 5th December writes:—"A keen disappointment prevails among the Civil Assistant Surgeons in the Punjab who volunteered for military service during the last war over the failure of the Government to meet them even-handed justice in the matter of promotions in grade and pay. . . . . The Government letter, which is already public property, issued by no less an authority than the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab, clearly states that preference will be given over all other temporary Assistant Surgeons to those who volunteered for military service. And the promise thus held out was perfectly legitimate and sound. Is it fair then in the face of these facts, leaving all other considerations aside, that a very

respectable class of people, who contributed so largely to British success in the great war, and at such considerable risk and inconvenience, should be so thrown overboard and disregarded ?"

The Gandhi cap in Bengal.

Bande Matram (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

20. The *Banda Mataram* of the 9th December remarks that Lord Ronaldshay's Government is bent upon outdoing even O'Dwyer's Government and is gaining its object by distorting the law. *Young India* reports that the Sub-Divisional Officer, Brahmanbaria district, has issued a notice that the Government has decided the wearing of the Gandhi cap to be an offence under section 228 of the Indian Penal Code and that a volunteer has been fined Rs. 10 under this order. It appears that British statesmanship has already become bankrupt and the Government is in a state of increasing perplexity.

The Moplah riots.

Bande Mataram (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

21. With reference to the appeal issued by Lala Khushal Chand, Assistant Secretary of the Pradeshak Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, for funds for the relief of the distressed Hindus in Malabar, the *Bande Mataram* of the 9th December states that the bureaucracy, which boasts of its conquests in the European war, could not protect the Malabar Hindus against the oppression of a handful of men. Again, Mr. Stokes has been put into jail for having contributed a few articles to the *Tribune*, but the Government is incapable of punishing the *badmashes* who are practising such oppressions in broad daylight. Does such a Government deserve to be called by that name ? Is it not the duty of every well-wisher of the country to try to bring about a change in the present Government ? What is the Government doing for the distressed in Malabar ? If it has become so helpless that it cannot punish the Moplahs, it can at least protect the Hindus If it cannot protect the Hindus of the district where the Moplahs are powerful, it is its moral duty to help in every way all those who have fled to Calicut or other places.

Complaints of military men.

Jat Gazette (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

22. The *Jat Gazette* of the 7th December summarises the grievances of the Indians employed in the army. They are as follows :—

1. The recent increase in their pay and pension is quite inadequate and unsatisfactory. Some of the officers, for instance, the Risaldars, have had their pay reduced.

2. The land grants made to them bear no comparison to their services and sacrifices.

3. Many of the lands are, moreover, of inferior quality and with very unsatisfactory means of irrigation

4. A very unbecoming treatment was accorded to them at the time of demobilization.

5. On the demobilization of several regiments, such sepoys and officers as were to become entitled to pensions after only a few months were forced to retire without pensions.

6. No effective means were employed to find employment for the disbanded sepoys.

7. Much delay was caused in settling the accounts of the retiring men and several cases are still pending.

8. Some scholarships were sanctioned for the sons of the military men, but, thanks to the negligence and carelessness of the Education Department, they have been given to only very few boys.

9. Civil officers frequently treat military men with scant courtesy.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

The *gurdwara* movement.

Loyal Gazette, (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

23. (*a*) The *Loyal Gazette* of the 4th December concurs with Mota Singh's remark in the *Akali* that it would be a serious mistake to postpone the *gurdwara* movement, as after all Mahants also are the co-religionists of the Sikhs. The movement has now reached a stage that to stop it would be tantamount to applying the knife to the throat of the community. This is the time to settle the *gurdwara* question one way or the other. The Government

should either pass a law about the *gurdwaras* and make them over to the Sikh community or fill its jails with the Sikhs.

BHARAT (Amritsar); Rallia Ram, editor.

(*b*) The *Bharat* of the 10th December says the policy adopted by [the Sikh] nationalist newspapers to rouse the Akalis involves gross injustice to the sects which have superior claims to the *gurdwaras*. Such journals as support the illegitimate demands of the Akalis simply because these people are at war with Government or are engaged in embarrassing it are a source of disgrace to the country. The nationalists [among the Sikhs], whose number is small, should recover their senses and pay consideration to the rights of the Udasi, Nirmala and Sanatanist Sikhs also.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, Giani, editor.

The Golden Temple.

24. (*a*) The following article was contributed to the *Akali* of the 10th November by "MASTER" SUNDAR SINGH, of Lyallpur. The writer and the editor-publisher are being prosecuted under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code:—

"The bureaucracy has taken away the keys of the Guru's treasury from our hands? Have courage! Victory to religion and destruction to sin.

"'To the Secretary of the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

"'I beg to say that at nearly 3 o'clock to-day Lala Amar Nath, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and the Police Kotwal in official uniform came and showed (me) an order of the Deputy Commissioner to the effect that the Government had ordered that the keys of the treasury of the Darbar Sahib, which the Government had given (to us), should be made over to these officers. After showing this order they asked where the keys were. I pointed out by a sign that (the keys) were in this drawer. They brought out from the drawer two bags containing keys and were about to go away, when I asked for a receipt. Thereupon they counted the keys and went away after giving a receipt.

Your Servant,

Sundar Singh (Ramgarhia),

Vice-President of the Siromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.'

"(A) copy of the Government's order:

"'In obedience to the order of the Deputy Commissioner, I have received to-day 53 keys from Sardar Sundar Singh, Ramgarhia, which it is said belong to the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. I have taken these keys to make them over to the Deputy Commissioner.

(Sd.) Amar Nath,

Dated 7th November 1921.

Magistrate, 1st Class, Amritsar.'

"Dear readers! The above irreligious and high-handed proceedings took place yesterday at 3 o'clock. There were also 40 or 50 police constables, who stayed outside with the Burra Sahib. The reason for all these tyrannical proceedings is the resolution of the executive committee of the Siromani Committee which was passed on the 29th October and in which it was decided that Sardar Sundar Singh, Ramgarhia, should hand over the keys of the Darbar Sahib to Sriman Sardar Kharak Singh of Sialkot, President of the Siromani Gurdwara Committee, because many people still suspected that it was Government which gave the keys to Sardar Sundar Singh, Ramgarhia, and that Government still held possession over the treasury of the Darbar Sahib. Although this resolution was not generally published, still the omniscient Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, who can read hearts, promptly received information of this resolution due to the kindness of some one among our lost brethren! We do not feel the least regret that that officer received information. But we feel considerable grief that the resolution of the Siromani Committee, dated the 29th October, was kept in secrecy. We should not do anything in secret; because if you try to keep any proceeding secret for any advantage, good or opportunity, information about it will reach even in that case the bungalow of the bureaucratic officer through the all-knowing Criminal Investigation Department of the omnipotent bureaucracy in India, or the omniscient secret police even before you reach home. Besides, it is a sign of our weakness, if we act in secrecy, because it clearly means that we do not wish to strike straight against the heart of the powerful and sinful. Well, it is to be hoped that in future all proceedings will be adopted in the belief that the black messengers of the bureaucracy, our worldly God, are present among us. Dear readers! Tell us in what well is lying the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 that nobody's religion will be interfered with. But, brothers, this is not the first occasion when this irreligious rule has evaded its pledges. . . . Readers! Do you know how Government has got this pretext of taking the keys? This is due to the kindness of that committee of our inveterate coöperating brothers which consisted of 36 members and which they formed under the seal of the Government. When last year the Sikh community (Guru Panth) took the entire management of Takht Akal Sahib in its own hands, these non-coöperationist brothers were filled with anxiety. They went about daily, sometimes to Lahore, sometimes to Amritsar or Patiala or Simla. At last, as a result of this bustle and hurry (*lit.* running about) astute persons like Sardar Harbans Singh of Atari, Principal Sardar Jodh Singh, Sardar Nihal Singh of the Patiala *raj* and Sardar Shiv Dev Singh of Sialkot, taking with them a simple-minded person like Kehar Singh for saying ditto to them, jumped into the representative committee of the Sikh community (Guru Panth) which was in the act of formation. They said that the Government was (in the place of) parents and that it was not good to quarrel with the father! When it was giving them everything and was prepared to become a support for their weak loins, why did they then make the effort of standing on their own legs? O Khalsaji! Be amenable. Mend the broken parts. Otherwise, the community will be split into pieces. By shedding such crocodile tears they succeeded in fusing the committee established by the Government into the committee that had been elected. Owing to the clever leaders of the nationalists not attending on account of Sardar Mangal Singh's arrest, the illness of some, the absence of others, their helplessness and carelessness and the idea that the nationalists were now in the majority—owing to these three (*sic.*) causes, the non-coöperationists obtained an excellent opportunity of securing the interference of the Government. This bears bitter fruit to-day, in that the slave Amar Nath, Magistrate, wrested the keys of Sri Darbar Sahib, the most important *gurdwara* of the Sikh community, of the Takht Akal Sahib and of the Guru's treasury of Amritsar! Alas! O Amar Nath! If our brothers had erred, you might have refused to obey such an impure Government order as this. Coöperationist brothers and members of Council! Look into your own sleeves. Think at least a little! Remember the honour of Sikhism! Rise, O lions, and come forward. Has not the Sikh community (Guru Panth) been so disgraced by the bureaucracy as to awaken you? Well, brothers, if you will evade (the opportunity) even now by relying on your being honestly in opposition, then we will have nothing to do with you. Alas! let my mouth burn [for saying this]! Those brothers of ours call themselves the sons of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. They will not allow the matter to reach the stage of (mutual) severance and separation. Beloved Khalsas! According to the adage, 'At the time of destruction one's intelligence becomes perverse', the bureaucracy has lost its senses. It has become mad. Beware lest you, too, should become mad on seeing them so. The brain of the bureaucracy has given way on finding that it is losing its sovereignty. Like crazy persons, it is now picking in a state of anger quarrels with passers by. You have to wrest from their tyrannical hands your lost sovereignty and religious liberty. If you, too, become mad, your objective will be left aside and perhaps Japan or Kabul will come over our heads in place of Englishmen! Besides, the mad armies of the Government are equipped with arms, cannon, machines, bombs and swords! You mad persons do not possess even an iron axe of two inches. How will you face them? In the end you will be defeated and swallowed up (*lit.* eaten up raw). If you want to win, then remain peaceful at the present moment. Keep the head cool. Do not take part in this non-violent (*lit.* peaceful) war with any intention of shedding blood or any feeling of repugnance. On the other hand, according to the grand saying of the Guru 'If the powerful lions kills a herd of cattle, their master will be held responsible (*lit* enquired after),' you should rely on God (Wah-i-Guru). Pray to Him to bring the guilty to their senses. Stick to truth. Suffer beating, but consider it a sin to beat.

Sundar Singh of Lyallpur."

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Akali* of the 4th December refers to the resolution passed by the Sikh Professors of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, about the Golden Temple keys affair and congratulates them on the boldness displayed by them in adopting the resolution. It was also the duty of every student and Professor calling himself a follower of Guru Gobind Singh to honour the Shiromani Committee's order and assemble in a big *diwan* on the 4th December to deliver lectures on the tyrannies practised by the bureaucracy and to pray to the Omnipotent God to please 33 crore hearts by extirpating the oppressors of our Akali religion. "Professors and students! The hour for the test of your national honour has arrived. Brave men, step into the field fully prepared and show to the bureaucracy that its stringent laws and their sections will avail naught in depriving the Sikhs of their religious liberty. Tell it that we shall bow our heads before its sharp sword. We shall be cut to pieces and go to heaven, shouting *Sat Siri Akal*. But remember, O tyrant, that thy sword will at last become blunt. We shall remain non-violent, make ourselves the targets for thy bullets and cheerfully fill jails. Go and hold out threats of imprisonment to others. The Khalsas are going [there] in large numbers."

(*c*) "**MASTER**" **MOTA SINGH**, Akali, contributes the second contribution of his article "Akali Dal and Sikh Missionary Society" to the *Akali* of the 4th December. We have among us, he says, such Mahants, members of Councils and filth-eating and back biting grantees of squares (of land) as strengthen British rule in India. But our non-violent war is not against any particular nation or race. It is against tyrants and hypocrites. In my opinion when you have reformed the Mahants living on other people's money Mujawars, back-biting policemen in the C. I. D., traitors to the country,, filth-eating Councilors, recruiting buffoons and the admirers and toadies of the Government, then, believe me, you will have obtained three-fourths of swaraj. I would strongly appeal to Baba Gurdit Singh fully to concur in the above views in connection with his fight for the destruction of the *goreshahi* rule [of the Government] and improvement of the component parts of the bureacracy. The Sikhs will not accept the rule of the whole universe if it were offered to them in return for forsaking religion even for a second or for giving up efforts to banish sin from their religious places. We will not obtain swaraj by selling our religion or religious places. It is for the protection of religion that swaraj is being sought after. No member of the Shiromani Committee or the Akali Dal should say even inadvertently that the *gurdwara* movement should be stopped to obtain swaraj. We should rather put forth still stronger efforts to liberate India by emanicipating our *gurdwaras*. The Shiromani Gurdwara Committee and the Akali Dal should establish district committees and appoint inspectors and missionaries to raise supporters for the movement in every village.

SATJUG (Lahore); Nidhan Singh, editor.

The Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

25. The *Satjug* of the 30th November remarks that, according to the Government, the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee does not represent all Sikh interests. No impartial Sikh can deny that the Committee is defective in this respect. The defect had better be removed, in which case not only will all Sikhs be satisfied, but the Government also will find no opportunity of complaining against the Committee.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

Sikh grievances.

26. The *Akali* of the 5th December publishes the following Punjabi poem, headed "O brave one, awake!":—

"O Khalsa! Why hast thou gone to prolonged sleep?
"Do not remain locked up in sleep.
"Some one has plundered thy house.
"It is light now, O sensible man.

* * * * *

"Where is thy dignity and honour now?
"(The authorities) are confiscating the *kirpan*.
"The tyrants are destroying thy garden,
"(They) have rendered the flower-garden desolate.

"Two hundred of thy brethern have been martyred.
"O bad fellow, give up worldly pleasures now.
"(They) have wrested the keys of Har Mandir.
"O Lion! Awake and know thyself now!

* * * * *

"If no spark has [yet] touched [thy] heart,
"When will this happen? Thy honour is gone.
"(They) are arresting thy leaders and consigning them to the Royal Hotel (jail),
"All the elders are now hastening to the Crystal Palaces (prisons).
"O young man! If you have sense of shame, then come forward.
"The leaders are eating gram in jail.
"Give up eating good food in the house now.
"The lamp of religion has been lighted. Let the moth come.
"The time has come, sacrifice thyself now"

What the Sikhs should do.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

27. The *Akali* of the 4th December writes that that day was the anniversary of the martyrdom of the beloved Guru, who sacrificed his life for the extirpation of tyrants and thus showed the way to peaceful martyrdom. Now was the time when crores of God's creatures were suffering pangs of hunger, while the 'firangi', mad in his power, was throwing poisonous arrows at the helpless people, nay had gone further in his tyranny by forcibly wresting the keys of the holy Darbar Sahib from the Sikhs. If the latter show any sign of resentment, he throws their chosen into dirty dungeons, shamlessly violating the oft-repeated pledges of non-interference in religious affairs. The feelings of the Sikhs were outraged by this tyrannical deed and they should now rise, and, by recollecting those of their martyrs who suffered tortures and were butchered for their religion, should sacrifice their lives. They should not, however, lose their peace of mind and forbearance and, following the steps of Siri Guru Tegh Bahadur, calmly bow their heads before the tyrant's sword. On this sacred day, the Sikhs in every village and in every house should pray to Almighty God for the extirpation of the tyrants and then should all go to jail. The 'firangi' should open the gates of the jails and place his machine guns there.

A Sikh's prayer.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

28. "PHULERA" contributes to the *Akali* supplement dated the 4th December "A complaint in the court of Wah-i-Guru by helpless persons." The writer makes a fervent appeal to God for help in these days of trouble. He says:—"O Father! come. The poor, the helpless and the distressed have been subjected to the greatest trouble. The cup of sin has been filled to overflowing. . . . May this irreligious and unjust rule be destroyed and that of truth and religion established in India."

The Arya Samaj and politics.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

29. In its combined issue for the 1st and 8th December, the *Arya Gazette* reports a lecture delivered by LALA DEVI CHAND, M.A. (at the recent anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj). The speaker expressed the opinion that the Arya Samaj should organise a political body of its own which should, while protecting the Samaj, try to obtain swaraj.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Executive Council in Kashmir.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

30. The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 7th December takes exception to the proposal to appoint only one Muhammadan to the Executive Council in Kashmir. The arrangement involves a palpable disregard of the rights of the Muhammadans in the State, who number 26½ lakhs out of a population of 31½ lakhs.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

A *jagir* for Lala Sri Ram Sud.

31. Writing about the Government proposal to confer a *jagir* on Lala Sri Ram Sud, the *Tribune* of the 16th December says :—In our opinion the matter is certainly one of "public concern," and we hope some member of the local Council will give notice of his intention of interpellating Government in the next session of the Council.

* * * *

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

LAHORE:
The 17th December 1921.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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I.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

India and the Irish settlement.

1. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 10th December sincerely congratulates Ireland on the attainment of swaraj. The Indians also should now continue their struggle: they too will gain swaraj in the end.

KESARI (Lahore).

(*b*) The *Partap* of the 10th December says that the Irish had long been trying to liberate their country. Is there any one who will not sincerely congratulate them on their splendid success?

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partap* of the 11th December observes that England has saved both herself and Ireland from a useless struggle and bloodshed. It is strange, however, that she is pursuing a policy of repression in India, which cannot lead to good results. The reason for this is obvious. Ireland has made unique sacrifices to free herself, while India is still in the first stage of the struggle. It is after years that the Indians have lost all fear of jail. The goddess of liberty will appear before them only when they are ready to sacrifice their lives and property for their motherland. England will grant them liberty if they prove to her satisfaction that they are prepared to make every sacrifice. England does not recognise the freedom of any country without testing its fitness. The sending of the Indian leaders to jail is a sort of test, and if India emerges successful out of it there will be no obstacle in the way of its becoming free.

KESARI (Lahore).

Egypt and India.

2. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 10th December says that the present is the best opportunity for the British Government to free Egypt and India. The event will serve as a balm to the wounds of the Indians and relieve British statesmen of their present anxiety.

(*b*) Writing about the situation in Egypt, the *Kesari* of the 12th December sincerely sympathises with the Egyptians and expresses the hope that they will soon gain their object.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

The Anglo-Afghan treaty.

3. The terms of the Anglo-Afghan treaty, writes the *Zamindar* of the 19th December, indicate the cleverness of the Afghans in securing very favourable conditions for their country. For this they are entitled to be congratulated, especially for the political and economic advantages gained through the treaty. The English appear to fear the Bolsheviks and have managed to obtain a modification of the Afghan treaty with Russia, the Amir having agreed not to allow any Soviet agent near the frontiers of India. But it is difficult to see how Afghanistan will make the Bolsheviks agree to the modification. India, however, needs neither Afghan help nor Bolshevik assistance. It hopes to secure its own Government by the spiritual agency of peaceful non-coöperation. At the same time, we may remind the Afghans of their Islamic duty and tell them that Afghanistan should unite the Islamic States of Central Asia in bonds of brotherhood, strengthen Muslim rule in Muhammadan countries and promote mutual good will and coöperation.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

A Bolshevik conference.

4. The *Siyasat* of the 14th December states that a Bolshevik conference is about to be held at Angora, and the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs will take part in it. It is reported that representatives from Turkey, Persia, India, Afghanistan and the Caucasus will also attend the conference. The object with which the conference is being held is that the nationalists in Central Asia might express their views and devise means for protecting the integrity of their countries. The territorial aggrandisement of Europe has opened the eyes of the Asiatics and they wish to safeguard their freedom and independence. The date on which the conference will meet has not yet been announced.

II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

The Royal visit.

5. The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th December thinks that the arrest of the leading Indians in connection with the Royal visit will raise no controversy in England, seeing that people are likely to endorse the action of the Government of India.

AHL-I-HADIS (Amritsar); Sana Ullah, editor.

Repression by Government.

6. (*a*) The *Ahl-i-Hadis* of the 9th December asserts that repression cannot crush the present (non-coöperation) movement. With the happenings in Ireland before its eyes, can the Government believe that the public will feel at ease after its beloved leaders have been sent to jail? It should think over the situation and adopt a policy of conciliation.

KHALSA AKHBAR (Lahore); Sardar Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Khalsa Akhbar* of the 9th December asserts that in its desire to crush the non-coöperation movement the Government has embarked upon a policy of repression. Repression cannot, however, last long, nor should it be understood that up till now the Government has ruled India by force. It is their internecine feuds which have kept the Indians in a condition of slavery. Otherwise, there was no reason for a nation of six crores to control 29 crore Indians from a distance of 6,000 miles Now, however, there are no disputes or dissensions among us and we are becoming united. This being so, it is a serious mistake to think of governing us by force. We are bound to gain liberty in the end, although only union among ourselves cannot liberate us. On the other hand, our liberty depends upon disunion among the British. When we become one and resolve to obtain swaraj, our determination and perseverance will frighten the weak-hearted among the British and cause disunion among them. It is now useless for the British to try to create dissensions among the Indians. They should set their own house in order and see that Scotland does not aspire after freedom like Ireland and the Germans do not inculcate ideas of independence in the Colonies. The Indians do not fear the jail, but they should afford the officials no opportunity to open fire on them, for which the latter are trying to find an excuse. At present we have to disobey the Seditious Meetings Act and to continue enlistments for the Khilafat and Volunteer corps. We should hold meetings in the districts of Sheikhupura, Amritsar and Lahore and continue the system of volunteering. If we afford proof of perseverance in these tests, it will constitute a great victory for the country and a crushing defeat for the Government.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(c) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 10th December 1921 says that one may suppose that the Government is practising repression on the non-coöperators by throwing them into jails and has enforced the Seditious Meetings Act in some places. But one should also take note of what is being done on the other side. Are not the non-coöperators ridiculing the Government and its laws and doing things which clearly show that they are setting it at naught? The Government is blamed for using its authority, but one might ask in what other way it can put an end to the present mischievous activities of the non-coöperators.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(d) The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th December asks the Indian Members of the Punjab Government to resign as a protest against the repressive policy of the Government.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(e) The *Partap* of the 15th December writes to the same effect.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(f) The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th December says that women appear to have been required to throw the last stone into the sinking boat of the bureaucracy. The very idea of women being chosen for this sacrifice sends a shiver through one's frame. The only son of Mr. C. R. Das has already ascended the altar of freedom; his wife, sister and daughter have now been placed under arrest. The bureaucracy has perhaps used this last weapon to turn India mad. Her sons, howsoever shameless they may be, have always sacrificed their lives for the protection of their womenfolk. But the question is whether they still have the sense of shame which characterised them in days gone by. Will Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya see the aged mother [? Mrs. Das] and these estimable young ladies go to jail and still accord a reception to the Prince in whose name this abominable deed has been committed? The rumour daily circulates in Lahore that, being sick of the bureaucracy's acts of high-handedness, Lala Harkishan Lal has resigned the office of Minister. But if his sense of honour has not been touched by the arrest of his friends and co-workers, will not even the disgrace of these ladies produce any change in his heart?

(g) **MOHAN LAL BHATNAGAR**, writing to the *Bande Mataram* of the 12th December, says that the nationalists are sworn not to use even abusive language, let alone arms. The Government has, however, armed the police with bamboos in addition to rifles and swords, and is making arrangements to make arrests on an extensive scale. The nationalists also are making preparations to suffer imprisonment on the same scale and would like the Government to punish the innocent and practise repression to its heart's content by depriving them of their lawful rights Apparently the Government has no hesitation or disinclination in meeting this wish, while the nationalists assert that they will not bow before its physical strength and destroy it by spiritual force. In short, while the Government feels proud of its guns and rifles, the nationalists rely upon their soul force. Certain gentlemen do not, however, approve of this state of affairs and would like the nationalists to oppose the Government strongly, if they do so at all, and not to bring ruin upon the people by talking of spiritual force.

(h) Continuing his remarks in the paper's issue of the 17th December, the writer says that although the wife, sister and niece of Mr. C. R. Das have been set free, still their arrest clearly reveals the madness of the police and the foolishness of the executive. Has the Government really lost its senses that it has begun to raise its hands against the female sex also? The people are thinking within themselves whether Lord Reading is the same man who was the Chief Justice of England. The policy of repression has just been initiated and the arrests so far made are only the most ordinary illustration of it. Let us see what happens in future. In the *Shastras* such acts have been held to be the grossest sins. The forefathers of the Indians used to lay down their lives even on a finger being raised at their women, not to speak of the latter being arrested and kept in police custody, especially when the women so treated happen to be the members of the family of a highly-placed man like Mr. Das. The charge on which they were arrested consisted of selling *khaddar* and inducing people to accord no reception to the Prince of Wales! The offence is most novel and the arrest seriously criminal. If Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya remains silent it is not known what suspicions the public may entertain about him. The arrests constitute an insult for the Indian Ministers also. While the police act with such high-handedness they can only look on. They should obtain an apology from the Government or tender their resignations or adopt some other means to express their feelings of indignation. The Benares and Aligarh Universities should move in the matter, and the moderate leaders, who could not sufficiently praise the reforms scheme and used to assert that the bureaucray would be unable to practise high-handedness under it, should say what section of the Reforms Act can help them now. The Indian members of the Legislative Councils should move resolutions protesting against the disrespect shown to innocent women. As for Mahatma Hans Raj, the public expects him to raise his voice against such treatment of women and use all his strength and eloquence to expose the oppression. It will also see how many meetings of protest are held by the conductors of the D.A.-V. and other semi-national colleges, and what protest is made by the Arya Pratinidhi Sahbas. The students of the D.A.-V. colleges and schools should at least hold protest meetings if they cannot do anything else. If they are not permitted to do so in the school compound, they had better meet at some open place. Congressmen, too, should hold meetings of protest.

KESRI (Lahoro).

(*i*) The *Kesari* of the 11th December writes that by bringing about her arrest Mrs. Das has added a most magnificient chapter to the history of India. She has also proved that the country is still capable of producing women who are the embodiments of self-sacrifice like Padmani, Sita, Gargi and Krishna (? Kumari). The officers who arrested her do not know that they have dealt Britain a blow which will make the British Government reel. The conduct of the Bengal Government constitutes a downright insult to the Prince.

(*j*) In its issue of the 11th December the paper says that so long as the people were afraid and tried to escape imprisonment and internment, Government carried on its work successfully. That fear has now been shaken off. The Government enforces an Act but the people openly disobey it. It threatens them with imprisonment but they offer themselves to be put into jails and Government officers hesitate to arrest them. Lord Reading's Government has met with failure in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit to India. To convert its failure into success, it is pursuing a policy of repression, which has brought about the present state of things in the country.

SHANTI (Rawalpindi); Kishen Chand, editor.

k) The *Shanti* of the 12th December says that the Government can undoubtedly suppress non-coöperation by pursuing its new policy, but it is impossible for it to crush the movement for good. Can unrest disappear while its causes are allowed to remain?

VIRAT (Gujranwala); Banke Dial, editor.

(*l*) The *Virat*, dated the 12th December, argues at some length that the prestige of the British Government in India has disappeared and the hollowness of the belief that the Government existed for the good of the people has been exposed. No rule can continue with the help of physical force and Government has dug its own grave by adopting a policy of repression. The country has irretrievably lost all confidence in the Government.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*m*) The *Partap* of the 12th December says that the Government is practising repression in the name of law and order. We would ask, however, whether Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Parshotam Das Tandan, J. L. Banerjee, Mrs. Das, etc., intimidated any law-abiding citizens. The fact of the matter is that the Government is convinced of the success of non-coöperation and wishes to crush the movement by force.

(n) In its issue of the 14th December the paper admits that Government is strong enough to crush the present nationalist party. Will, however, order be restored and will British officials feel at ease then? In Ireland peace was restored only when England recognised her rights and granted her independence. Why does she not realise, then, that it is in some other way that she can restore peace in India and cement the latter's relations with Britain? When repression failed in Ireland how can it succeed in India, which is far bigger than Ireland and lies at a distance of thousands of miles from England. It is hardly possible to control India by force. How can she know rest while her dearest sons are in jail?

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(o The *Jat Gazette* of the 14th December asserts that a policy of repression can never succeed. Conciliation is the need of the hour. The authorities should first extinguish the fire and then extirpate popular grievances. It is also necessary for the Government to control the temper of its hot-headed officials.

Jat Gazette (Rohtak); Molar Singh, editor.

(p) The *Siyasat* of the 15th December is disappointed with Lord Reading's policy. He has falsified all expectations of the Indian people.

Siyasat (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(q) In its issue of the 17th December the paper condemns the wholesale arrest of the Indian leaders and the policy of repression of which the arrests are the result. The policy will defeat its very object.

(r) According to the *Vakil* of the 17th December, the Government is following the wrong path in embarking on a policy of repression with the object of creating a calm atmosphere at places which the Prince of Wales will visit.

Vakil (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(s) The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 17th December:—"In the course of one of his many impressive and few impassioned speeches Mr. Gokhale addressed to the then Viceroy the famous words 'My Lord, conciliate Bengal.'..... Then as now the Government, confronted by a determined agitation, with defiance of arbitrary authority as its principal feature, sought to suppress it by force. Then as now arrests, prosecutions, convictions and sentences were the order of the day. In fact the only two differences between the two cases are, first, that the present problem is incomparably larger and more important than what faced Lord Minto's Government, and secondly, that the question for the Government is no longer one of conciliating a particular province, but the whole country.... That problem, or rather the root of that problem, was nothing else than this, that the country wanted to be governed according to its own ideas and not according to the ideas and views of English officials ... exactly the problem for which the Government of India have to find a solution to-day. The one road on which it can be confidently said that this solution does not lie is the road which the Government in India are pursuing to-day That is a road which in every country in the position of India has been found to lead only to an aggravation of the trouble, a further complication of the situation..... We had fondly hoped that we in India, both the Government and the people, were going to profit by the lessons of the history of Russia and China outside the Empire and of Egypt and Ireland within it, and not to wait for a repetition of that history in our own country before learning the lesson..... The Government, in particular, has only to change its viewpoint, to cease to think exclusively in terms of law and authority, and begin to think in terms of the wishes of the people, of their inherent right to govern themselves. If the reforms are real, if the Government in India is not merely British to-day but British-Indian, now is the time for the authorities to show that this is so. They do not surely show it by throwing the most prominent leaders of the country's greatest political organisation into prison for what, after all, is neither more or less than their determination to win complete self-government for their country within the shortest time by peaceful but direct methods .... Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu have only to be statesmen enough and to exercise the gifts of judgment, sympathy, courage and imagination that have just stood Mr. Lloyd George in such excellent stead in the case of Ireland for the Indian problem to find an easy solution. The longer this step is delayed the worse things in India will inevitably become."

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*t*) The *Tribune* of the 18th December writes:—"We cannot congratulate either the Viceroy or the country on the speech His Excellency made in reply to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha's address. It contained little or nothing beyond a reiteration of the Government's determination to maintain law and order. . . . What did need emphasising was how His Excellency and his Government hoped to restore the *status quo* and pacify the country, and it was exactly on this aspect of the matter that he was virtually silent. . . . If 'lawful opposition' means opposition which does not touch the basis of the Government and expresses itself in forms not entirely unpalatable to men in authority, and by 'legitimate grievances' are meant grievances which affect no fundamental issue, then, in spite of all that His Excellency says, prosecutions and arrests do sum up the policy of Government, and the struggle will continue until one of two things happens: either this policy succeeds and the non-coöperation movement definitely collapses for the time being, or the Government finds itself exhausted and abandons the policy. Either is bound to take time, and in either case the mutual relations between the Government and a large portion of the governed are in the meantime bound to become more and more strained How much better would it be if the Government could be induced to take its courage in both hands, to cry a halt and to try the only policy that in all similar situations has ultimately answered the policy of large-hearted conciliation, of giving to the people that place in the Government which would make any struggle against it a struggle against themselves."

(*u*) LALA DURGA DAS writes to the *Tribune* of the 21st December:—It is equally the duty of the Viceroy and the Governor General to allay the widespread unrest and ease the present situation. Mere enforcement of authority will not prove of much avail. Something wise and striking must be done to tide over the crisis and to keep the foundations of Government unimpaired. . . . The Government should see that by the pursuit of its present policy, it adds to and does not lose its present supporters. But unfortunately the signs are the other way. . . . Non-coöperators are neither criminals nor felons. They may be misguided in their conduct and wrong in their methods of work, yet they are lovers of their country with pure minds and high characters. Some of them are among the best products of the combined culture of the East and the West. However strongly one may differ from their politics, no self-respecting Indian can tolerate for a single moment that these gentlemen be persecuted or dealt with unfairly. . . . It cannot be forgotten that the executive is a party to the present struggle. However upright and honest its officers, they have their weaknesses and prejudices. The non-coöperators do not defend themselves and, by their very principles, are debarred from availing of all those facilities which, under the law, are open to the other accused. This makes it doubly necessary that their trials should be conducted in a way to inspire full public confidence. . . . It is the duty of the High Courts in India to rise up to the occasion and to see that the administration of criminal justice in these political cases is not brought down to the level of the Martial Law administration in the past. Without going into the merits of individual cases, one cannot help feeling that no steps are being taken to avoid this serious danger. . . . The magistrates who have never had any legal training, whose minds are full of administrative notions, and who are incompetent to appreciate the viewpoint of those arraigned before them, are hardly fit for such work. In my humble opinion, the non-coöperators should be tried by the judges to be specially selected by the High Court. Before them the prosecution be represented by the most fair-minded counsel available to the Crown; and these courts be directed to fully avail of the legal assistance offered to them by the representatives of the Bar who may offer their services *amicus curia*. Not only this, but all the decisions of these trial courts should be revised by the High Court *suo moto* in the exercise of powers vested in it under Sections 435, 439 in the Code of Criminal Procedure."

KESARI (Lahore).

Government and the Ahmedabad Congress.

7. (*a*) The *Kesari* dated the 16th December does not believe that Government can succeed in postponing the Ahmedabad sessions of the Indian National Congress. Such an idea is based on a wrong estimate of the situation.

(*b*) The *Kesari* of the 17th December is responsible for the statement that the object of Government in imprisoning the non-coöperators is to bring about their severance from the National Congress and thus enable the old party of moderates to capture that body. The paper thinks that the authorities will not stop the Ahmedabad Congress but will allow the moderates to capture it and thereby stop the non-coöperation movement. But Government is bound to fail even in this.

Civil disobedience.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

8. (a) The *Partap* of the 10th December says that a spiritual, non-violent national war has begun in India. Those Indians who are devoted to their country are resorting to civil disobedience and gladly going to jail. The series of soul-stirring sacrifices that are being made are not confined to any particular province. It is necessary now that just as young men enlisted (in the army) and went to the front during the recent Great War to replace the regiments wiped out of existence, so here also twenty patriots should come forward in case ten are sent to jail. In short, the number of persons prepared to offer their heads for their country should be endless, so that even their opponents might feel surprised.

(b) Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter from MUNSHI RAM, *Sewak*, ex-editor of the *Sahayak* newspaper of Lahore. The writer addresses the patriots who feel for mother India and says that she demands their sacrifice. They should get up, sacrifice their bodies, souls and wealth for the liberty of their country and prove themselves true to their word. A life of freedom can now be led only in jails: every Indian, who feels for his country, has admitted this. The object the Indians have in view can be realised only if they consider it a Divine order to go to jail in large numbers. The lips of those who are anxious for the country's freedom are being sealed by the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act. They should, however, always give expression to the pain they feel for their country and acquaint their fellow-countrymen with its troubles.

AKHBAR-I-'AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(c) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 14th December thinks every thoughtful person will agree that the Indians have not been wise in stepping into a path which is beset with difficulties and presents a dreadful scene of ruin and destruction. Some non-coöperators are undoubtedly proving that they are the embodiments of sacrifice and are prepared to undergo all sorts of hardships for the attainment of swaraj. Most of them have, however, joined the movement only to win martyrdom. Besides, even if the present state of affairs continues, there is no great hope of success, seeing that the majority of the Indians hold conflicting opinions and do not possess the requisite spirit of sacrifice and renunciation.

"The conditions of peace."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

9. (a) The *Partap* of the 21st December publishes a leading article headed "The conditions of peace." Being disgusted with the disturbances at Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi had postponed civil disobedience and the leaders of the non-coöperation movement were at their wits' end as to what they should do. Lord Reading, however, lent them help and declared the volunteers an unlawful body. No sooner did the Government take this false step than the leaders heaved a sigh of relief, decided to start civil disobedience and followed one another to jail. The position of the Government is becoming extremely critical. Government was under the impression that the arrest of the leaders would make it impossible for *hartals* to be observed in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales. But actual experience at Allahabad and Benares has proved that *hartals* receive further impetus from such arrests. Victory is on the side of Mahatma Gandhi and if non-violence is observed and people are prepared to go to jail the hollowness of Lord Reading's boast will be exposed in two weeks' time. Lord Reading says that Government cannot think of withdrawing its orders about the volunteers. Mahatma Gandhi, too, is not in the habit of retracing his steps. It should, therefore, be understood that there will be a trial of strength for some time between the two parties. Let the Government and the non-coöperators remain engaged in war, but the moderates cannot sit still, as, like the rest of the country, the question of their life and death is also involved. They may have their differences with the Congress, but they cannot tolerate that Government should crush the Congress with the help of "unlawful laws." We think that there are no prospects of peace at present. The primary condition of truce should be that not only those who have been arrested but all those who are rotting in jails in pursuance

of the non-coöperation movement should be released. The precedent of Ireland is before us. When truce was declared in that country, the Government released all political prisoners, including a convict who had been guilty of murder. The time is gone when Mahatma Gandhi asked for an interview with Lord Reading. The spiritual condition of the country at the present moment will not allow Mahatma Gandhi to take such a step. Nor after his experience of Lord Reading will he repeat his mistake. The Mahatma afforded Lord Reading full opportunity to prove his veracity and experience has taught that Lord Reading has not escaped being thoroughly influenced by the bureaucracy. Peace is a very good thing. We also desire it. But we cannot help saying that no truce can be effected so long as all political prisoners are not released and permanent peace cannot be brought about so long as nothing real or definite is done to attain swaraj. Mahatma Gandhi has rightly remarked that the nation has had a taste of swaraj and will not rest until it gets swaraj. If people are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the country, who can deprive them of swaraj?

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 21st December says:—"We do not believe a round table conference at this precise stage will do any material good. So long as Philip, the master, has not given any indication of his mind as to the date on which and the manner in which he is prepared to transfer his authority to the people, there will not be wanting men who, whatever their real feeling, will continue to philippise, and it is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that any conference that may be called at this stage will include a considerable proportion of such men. . . . The broad issue must first be settled at a small conference on which the two parties that really matter more than the others, we mean the Government on the one hand and the Congress and allied bodies on the other, should be strongly represented, but which should also contain prominent Liberal leaders as well as others occupying a more or less middle position, and that it is only when this issue has been settled that a round table conference in the proper sense of the term should be called for the actual formulation of a scheme. But there is something to be done even before this small conference meets. It cannot possibly meet before a truce has been arranged, and no truce seems at the present moment to be within the range of practical politics unless two preliminary points have been settled. These are, first, that the whole issue of self-government, which was considered closed for the time being by the passing of the Government of India Act, is to be reopened, and secondly, that all the persons who have been recently sent to prison in connection with the campaign of civil disobedience are to be unconditionally released."

GULZAR-I-HIND (Lahore); Ahmad Ali Chisti, editor.

The present situation.

10. The *Gulzar-i-Hind* of the 10th December avers that the present movement is not a fight for swaraj but an attempt to drive the English out of India. It is a sort of mutiny without the use of arms, but more fatal than an armed rebellion. Great Britain's position in India is now similar to that she occupied in 1857. The Government should rally the loyalists once more. It should extend education, but limit the scope of journalism. It should not be in a hurry to grant concessions: otherwise, it will have to lose India.

KESARI (Lahore).

The Viceroy on the situation.

11. (*a*) The *Kesari* of the 12th December writes that no effort whatever was made in Lord Reading's speech at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, to soothe the excited feelings of the nation. On the contrary, His Excellency has made the mistake of adding to the excitement. The Viceroy made another mistake in comparing the situation in India to that in Ireland. The success achieved by the latter country has brought us the hope that the Indians also will succeed one day. Lord Reading said that it had taken Ireland a long time to get her liberty. But is this a source of pride for Great Britain? She should rather feel ashamed of it, in that she had usurped the rights of the Irish for the last six centuries.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(*b*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th December writes that it was stated by Lord Reading in a recent speech that swaraj could only be obtained by the sword or be given by Parliament. It would have been more appropriate if His Excellency had said that swaraj could be had by the sword alone, seeing that Parliament will consent to grant it only when it has had sufficient proof of the sharpness of the sword, just as has happened in the case of Ireland. In fact, no one can ever believe that a country can get its rights by following peaceful methods. So far our rulers had been saying that the rule of India had been given to them by God as a trust; that it was their sacred duty to make the Indians fit for self-government and that they would make over the burden of the administration to them on their becoming fit to manage their own household. Now, however, that the country is prepared to manage its own affairs, the Viceroy says that swaraj can be attained by the sword. The Viceroy is justified in saying so; he has said what is true. He has admitted that the claim about making the Indians fit for Government is nothing more than a claim. He is also justified in giving expression to this idea, because the whole past history of the world is replete with this lesson.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(c) The *Siyasat* of the 15th December says that in a Calcutta speech Lord Reading has pointed out that swaraj can be attained either by the Indians requesting Parliament to grant it or by taking up the sword. If any Indian leader had employed such language an outcry would have been raised in all official circles that the Indians were being egged on to violence, and extreme measures would have been taken against the speaker. The fact is that the Indians used to convene meetings, pass resolutions, organise deputations and ventilate their feelings in the press to get their grievances redressed. But this has proved ineffective and the times have changed. People have been forced to adopt a different method for the satisfaction of their demands. The entire responsibility for this rests with the authorities, who have wilfully shut their eyes and are not influenced by constitutional agitation. The Indians have given up the policy of mendicancy. The second method of attaining swaraj as suggested by Lord Reading is that people should take up the sword. But the authorities should bear in mind that the people of this country will not follow this method. They have adopted a different method, *viz.*, non-coöperation.

The National movement and private schools.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

12. The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st December publishes a communicated article, the writer of which regrets that the managers and students of private schools and colleges in the Punjab form a stumbling block in the way of the national movement and set a very bad example to the public by using foreign cloth, etc.

Mr. Gandhi and his followers.

WATAN (Lahore); Insha Ullah, editor.

13. The *Watan* of the 9th December contends that it is absurd and meaningless on the part of the admirers and followers of Mr. Gandhi to assert that he is a Mahatma, and that no other leader in India is popular and influential like him. Hot-headed people at Bombay caused a disturbance there and beat those who had gone to welcome the Prince. This clearly shows what worthy men the admirers and disciples of the Mahatma are and what sort of popularity he enjoys.

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The proscribed *fatwa*.

WATAN (Lahore); Insha Ullah, editor.

14. (*a*) In examining the proscribed *fatwa*, the *Watan* of the 9th December says that a little reflection will show that the document is the work of men wholly ignorant even of the form in which a *fatwa* should be drawn up. It is intended to dupe the common people and, barring one exception, quotes no authority from the Koran, the traditions and Muslim theology. The paper also cites some other irregularities committed by the writers and says that the place of religious men is occupied by infidels, seeing that it is written at the bottom of the *fatwa* that Mr. Gandhi and other prominent Hindu, as also Muslim, leaders have issued a similar declaration. The fact is that this so-called *fatwa* embodies political injunctions, which men of new light have drawn up to convert the public to their view and which have been presented to the Muhammadans in the garb of a *fatwa*. There are many lawful things which we are declaring unlawful for the whole of the Muslim community to please others. *Fatwas* have already been issued to stop cow-killing, while mosques are being allowed to be polluted by the unclean bodies of infidels. The paper criticises the injunctions embodied in the *fatwa* and says that a Koranic verse and a tradition have been quoted in support of the view that it is particularly a very great sin to serve in the police and the army. All com-

mentators are agreed that the verse referred to relates to infidels and not Muhammadans. In the battles at Kerbala, as also in the innumerable wars that have occurred in Islamic countries during the last thirteen hundred years, Muhammadans have killed their co-religionists. In maintaining peace and quelling disturbances it is no sin, in certain cases, to fire on the Muhammadans who have been guilty of sedition or have committed a sin. This will happen even under swaraj.

LIGHT (Lahore).

(b) The following is taken from an article published in the *Light* of the 16th December over the signature of SADR-UD-DIN :—"No less than forty millions of Musalmans bless the memory of Jesus. But to our horror and surprise, all this is ill repaid. The Christians, who follow gentle Jesus, who are commanded by him to behave like harmless lambs, and who are also told to love their enemies, are acquitting themselves in a very undesirable manner. To proscribe what has been prescribed in the holy Koran is interference in religion on the part of a Government; and very recently the Christian Government in India prevented from publication the Koranic pronouncement that a Muslim who kills a fellow-Muslim dies the death of an infidel and is consigned to hell. This is tangible interference of the gravest nature, and no wonder it has shocked and alarmed the Indian Muslim. Instead of showing respect to their Muslim subjects, who fought in France and elsewhere as their allies and supporters, they outraged their religious feelings by shattering the Khilafat into small, petty, and powerless states, thus rendering them incapable of defending the Khilafat or protecting the holy city of Mecca. This is how solemn pledges made by Mr. Lloyd George in the hour of sore need have been redeemed; this is how the reputed proclamation of Queen Victoria of good memory has been respected!"

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

The Punjab and volunteering.

15. (a) The *Partap* of the 17th December calls upon the sons of mother India to respond to her call. The young men should enlist as volunteers and go to jail. The Punjab should not lag behind other provinces in the patriotic struggle. The honour of their motherland is in danger. Will they not try to save it? All differences between the nationalists, moderates, coöperators and non-coöperators should be brushed aside and every Punjabi should enter the battlefield and fill up the gap caused by those who have been sent to prison.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(b) The *Bande Mataram* of the 17th December states that, according to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, some professors at Calcutta, who were followed by batches of students, have enlisted as volunteers. Will not the event make the Punjab students hang down their heads in shame and think over the situation again? Is it not their duty to take a manly part in the present spiritual war for national liberty? It remains to be seen whether they will bring disgrace upon themselves or help in the speedy attainment of swaraj.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore) Ram Parshad, editor.

Police ill-treatment of voluntrers.

16. (a) The *Bande Mataram* of the 16th December asks the Ministers to study newspaper complaints about the high-handedness of the police and make personal inquiries into the more serious allegations.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdullah Minhas, editor.

(b) Commenting upon the alleged police high-handedness in Amritsar the *Vakil* of the 17th December affirms that it is the police and not the volunteers who break the law. It calls upon the Government to institute a prompt inquiry and award deterrent punishment to the offenders.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(c) RUCHI RAM SAHNI writes to the *Tribune* of the 18th December:—"In all our discussions and talks, while upholding jealously the popular rigths, I have invariably favoured the opposition of purely repressive laws, but *not too often nor by large bodies of men at a time*... This was my opinion upto the morning of the 14th instant. The brutal treatment which our brave young men have received at the hands of the police under the very eyes of their senior European officers at Lahore and Amritsar, combined with the admirable self-restraint exercised by our men as well as by the crowds around them, who had also more than their share of the beating, has quite altered the situation for me. I have personally made some enquiries and seen the statements of some eye-witnesses. I know that according to the reports, the European officers are also said to have taken some part in the ill-treatment and, at Amritsar, at least, in the rough handling of the youths. In any case, it is admitted that they failed to restrain their men. In the circumstances that have now arisen, it will be cowardice on our part to leave our young men alone. I consider it an honour to suffer any hardships along with the fine fellows we have in our volunteer corps. I have, therefore, informed the President of the Provincial Congress Committee that I shall be glad to join and lead a *small* body of volunteers through the streets of Lahore or Amritsar. Our position as non-coöperators demands that we should not court hardships and suffering, but that we should accept them cheerfully when they come while we are upholding what we consider the cause of truth and the honour of our country."

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*d*) The *Tribune* of the 20th December writes:—"The beating of volunteers at Lahore and Amritsar and the rough handling of them in Calcutta had created a most painful impression in the public mind, and that impression is not likely to be softened by the Viceroy's unfortunately apologetic remark in his recent speech that 'some consideration should be shown to those who have to keep order in very difficult and trying circumstances.' In not a single case in which complaint has been made so far were the circumstances either so difficult or so trying as to afford even a plausible excuse for the alleged action of the policemen concerned."

The conviction of Mr. Stokes.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

17. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 13th December 1921 says that Mr. Stokes has been prosecuted for contributing certain articles to the *Tribune*. In his arguments in the case against the editor and publisher of the *Zamindar*, it was urged by the Public Prosecutor that although the offending article had not been written by the accused, they could not be absolved of responsibility, and that, according to law, the printer and copyist were as much liable as the writer of an article, as also the editor and publisher of the paper concerned. The question arises, therefore, why the editor and publisher of the *Tribune* have been left alone, while Mr. Stokes has been prosecuted for the articles referred to. The editor and publisher of the *Zamindar* were prosecuted in respect of an article not written by the former. We fail to understand the reason for this differential treatment. There is one law for all and such a distinction goes against the spirit of the law and is an insult to it.

WATAN (Lahore); Insha Ullah, editor.

(*b*) The *Watan* of the 9th December writes to the same effect.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*c*) The *Tribune* of the 21st December writes:—"We deeply regret to learn that Mr. S. E. Stokes has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. We have not before us the Magistrate's judgment, but having followed the proceedings in the case with all the interest and attention of which we are capable we have no hesitation in saying that there has been a grievous failure of justice in this case."

Sardar Mehtab Singh's imprisonment.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, editor.

18. The *Sansar* of the 15th December urges Sikh legal practitioners to attend courts in *khaddar* and black turbans and wearing the *kirpan*, as a mark of respect to Sardar Mehtab Singh.

History of the *Komagata Maru*.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

19. The *Akali* of the 8th December reports that on the 10th instant Mr. Beaty, Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, raided and searched the local Onkar Press in consequence of its having undertaken the printing of the painful story of the passengers of the Guru Nanak steamer. "O, Khalsas, place your hands on your hearts and consider a little what our condition is. This wicked and tyrannical Government does not allow us, with the sole object of concealing its sins, to hear and read the painful story, spreading over seven years, either of people who suffered troubles in foreign countries and some of whom were riddled with bullets on the shores of Budge Budge or were hanged and imprisoned, or of Baba Gurdit Singh who has now been placed under arrest. We should either die of shame, or if we have any sense of self-respect, we should, by following non-violent methods, put the myrmidons of the bureaucracy on the straight road to London in such a way that they may neither fire bullets at Budge Budge again nor may any new Dyer shoot [*lit.* roast] our old men and children at the Jallianwala Bagh, nor may heart-rending incidents take place at Nankana Sahib."

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdullah
Minhas,
editor.

The Bombay disturbances and the Parsis.

20. Adverting to the Bombay disturbances, the *Vakil* of the 12th December says that the Parsi rowdies, hundreds and thousands of whom were gathered on the ground between Grant Road and the Dhobi Tank, assaulted every Hindu and Muhammadan passer-by. But while Hindus and Muhammadans are being arrested, the *Nusrat* writes that not a single Parsi has so far been interfered with. Is it a fact that the Parsis caused no disturbance or is the Government deliberately overlooking their conduct? If this is so, it is opposed to justice to accord a differential treatment to different classes of the people? It is also to be hoped that the Bombay Government will not endanger the lives of Hindus and Muhammadans as well as the country's peace by allowing the Parsis to keep arms, which it is reported it intends doing.

VAKIL
(Amritsar);
Abdullah Minhas,
editor.

The Moplah train tragedy.

21. The *Vakil* of the 11th December would like His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales personally to enquire into the Moplah train tragedy. This regrettable incident puts to shame those blind historians who denounced Siraj-ud-Doula for the perpetration of the alleged Black Hole incident.

ZAMINDAR
(Lahore);
Said Ahmad,
editor.

Law and the Anglo-Indian press.

22. The *Zamindar* of the 19th December complains of the partial attitude of the Government towards the Anglo-Indian papers. The latter are really responsible for straining relations between the communities and creating feelings of contempt and hatred in the minds of the authorities. And yet no action is taken against them. Is this just? Government should take up an attitude of strict impartiality and protect the sentiments of the public. Otherwise, a proclaimation might be issued stating that the Anglo-Indian papers are above law.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

BANDE
MATARAM
(Lahore);
Ram Parshad,
editor.

Religion and politics.

23. The *Bande Mataram* of the 10th December says that the church forms part of the Government and the ecclesiastical staff is paid from the public treasury. The King of England is the supreme head of the church, and every ecclesiastic is, like other Government servants, expected to remain loyal to His Majesty. The British rulers, therefore, consider every religion and place of worship to be under the Government and a source of help to it. This was why the Government had prayers offered in temples and mosques for success to the British arms in the recent war. It struck no one that religious places were thus falling away from their high position and being brought under secular power. In these days the Muhammadans emphatically claim that politics form part of their religion; in other words, that what others regard as politics is religion from their point of view. No Muhammadan can, therefore, keep himself from political work through fear of the bureaucracy. It is necessary for him to bow before the secular power to whom he has agreed to render allegiance, but no worldly power can stand in his way of obeying Divine orders. The Sikhs also hold the same view. They regard politics as part of their religion. The fact is that Asiatics never learnt to shut up acts of virtue in different compartments. According to the Vedas, one should do one's duty for its own sake without caring for the result. Sinful, therefore, are the communities which are lowering the spiritual dignity of their religious places by placing them under a secular power.

SANT SAMACHAR
(Amritsar);
Swami Ram
Sarup,
editor

The *gurdwara* movement.

24. (*a*) MAHANT GOPAL BAKHSH of Akbarpur, Rajauli, writing to the *Sant Samachar* of the 6th December, says that the Sadhus had been asleep for a long time. The result was that the irreligious Akalis, who are most hostile to the Udasi Sadhus, have been trying to suppress the latter. They began to beat Sadhus and Mahatmas and took forcible possession of *gurdwaras* like Nankana Sahib, etc., which have properties worth crores of rupees attached to them. They also desecrated those *gurdwaras* by placing them under sweepers, chamars, bhangis and other untouchables. Further, they treated the cenotaphs of ancient Mahatmas and pictures of gods with the grossest disrespect, wiping them out of existence. The Akali Dal is now increasing its strength and taking possession of the places of the Sadhus. If the latter organise

to protect themselves their troubles will soon come to an end. They should attend the Behar Udasi Mandal to be held at Gya on the 15th, 16th and 17th December and adopt measures to promote their welfare.

BANDE MATRAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(b) The *Bande Mataram* of the 12th December pleads for the control of Sikh shrines to be made over to the Sikhs.

AKALI (Lahore); Partab Singh, editor.

(c) The *Akali* of the 14th December refers to the recent sudden attack of Sadhus on the Darbar Sahib's attendants and says that the Pujaris at Tarn Taran are also hatching some further conspiracy. The question arises how these Sadhus and Pujaries have been so emboldened as to make preparations for attacking the Khalsa Panth. In the first place, having been incited by some traitors to the community these people are resorting to such mean acts under the belief that in these days the Government is very kind (sarcastic) to the Sikhs. The other reason consists in indifference on the part of the Government. Is it not the moral duty of the Government, which is responsible for the country's peace and is filling jails by saying that this is being done to maintain peace, to set these wicked and faithless persons aright who attack the Sikhs with the set purpose of causing a breach of the peace? If it does not perform its duty in spite of the Sikhs being killed and wounded in broad daylight, what right has it to display its anger over the complaint by the people and newspapers that it alone is responsible for all these things? We warn it beforehand that it will be held responsible for the commission of any violence at the Tarn Taran or any other *gurdwara*.

(d) The *Akali* of the 15th December says that, according to report, the Government intends to appoint the following five persons to the committee which is to be enstrusted with the future management of the Golden Temple:—*viz.*, (1) Bhai Jodh Singh, M. A., (2) Gyani Sher Singh, (3) Sardar Gurdit Singh, (4) Sardar Nihal Singh and another person. We have every hope that no one will act on the committee while their brethren are going to jail to bring *gurdwaras* under the sole control of the Panth. Will it not be an act of ingratitude on our part to go on serving the purpose of a Government which continues to interfere in our religious affairs, and that also at a time when our brethren have sacrificed their lives, minds and wealth for the sake of the *gurdwaras* and are lying in jails? The question now before us is not one of the keys: it aims at bringing all the *gurdwaras* under the management of the Panth. No power in the world can take these from us. How can we tolerate a foreign Government's interference in such matters?

(e) In its issue of the 16th December the paper states that the beloved of the Panth now in jail are not prepared to come to a settlement [with the Government] unless the following conditions are fulfilled:—

1. All *gurdwaras* should be placed under the complete management of the Panth.

2. The keys of the Darbar Sahib and other big *gurdwaras* should be returned unconditionally, the Sikhs arrested in connection with the keys incident being similarly released and an apology being made for the arrest of these innocent persons.

3. No restrictions to be placed on the use of *kirpans*.

4. (a) All the prisoners convicted in connection with the *gurdwara* movement, including Sardar Sardul Singh, should be released.

(b) The conditions on which some prisoners have already been set free should be withdrawn.

5. The defamation case against the *Akali* should be withdrawn.

Although we are non-coöperators, yet we would advise the bureaucracy in its own interests to release the beloved of the Panth and to come to a settlement with them on the above conditions. The Government still thinks that its prestige is yet intact. We assure the authorities, however, that the Khalsa shattered it to pieces when our religious Diwans were stopped. The result was that the rest of the country also came to hold the view that the only way to an early attainment of swaraj consisted in following the example. But the Government feels so proud on the score of its prestige that it does not consider even the Gurdwara Committee to be a representative *jatha* of the Khalsa and regards the (Sikh) members of the Councils and the Sikh Rajas as representatives of the community. One at least among these Rajas cut off his long hair long ago and is now engaged in spurting venom (against the Sikhs). But the Government still looks upon him as a representative of the community.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

The Golden Temple and the *gurdwara* movement

25. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 11th December writes that the Government has committed another mistake in picking a quarral with the Sikhs over the Golden Temple keys. By keeping the keys with itself or by withholding them from the Sharomani Parbandhak Committee it cannot but cause religious excitement among the Sikhs and thus add to its difficulties. If the Parbandhak Committee makes a wrong use of the Temple funds, every Sikh has the right to call for an account from it. Besides, if it spends some of the funds on political purposes, it can thereby do no harm to a powerful body like the Government. The Government should come to an understanding with the Sikhs, pass the Gurdwara Bill, recognise the Parbandhak Committee as a representative body of the Sikhs, release Sikh prisoners and hand over the keys to the said Committee. It should have no connection with the *gurdwaras*.

SANT SAMACHAR (Amritsar); Swami Ram Sarup, editor.

The Golden Temple.

26. (*a*) The *Sant Samachar* of the 6th December says that the Govrenment took over the keys of the Darbar Sahib not to keep the place in its possession, but to show that the committee, which is taking the management of the temple in its hands, does not represent all the Sikhs. The Sanatanist Sikhs, people residing in the Sikh States and the Sahajdhari Sikhs do not share the ideas of that society. We would request the Government to pay due regard to the rights of all sections of the Sikh community.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Sansar* of the 14th December writes :—We now openly say to the Government that if it wishes to enjoy itself by remaining in India it should follow in the footsteps of the world. It should act upon what the people may say, thereby making them its willing subjects and itself the true ruler. In the other event, it should endure what has befallen it, while the people are enduring and are prepared to endure that which has fallen to their lot.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*c*) The *Partab* of the 16th December is of opinion that the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is a fully representative Sikh body and the Government should hand over to it the keys of the Golden Temple. It should at the same time release all Sikh political prisoners.

VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

KESARI (Lahore).

A circular by the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

27. The *Kesari* of the 11th December 1921 refers to the circular in which the Maharaja of Kapurthala says that no one among his subjects has any right to meddle with the affairs of the State at the instigation of outsiders and that offenders shall be brought to book and dealt with as conspirators. This means that the people of Kapurthala are not entitled to demand their rights from His Highness. The poor men are gagged by force like animals.

RAJPUT GAZETTE (Lahore); Sukh Ram Dass, editor.

Government interference with the Mewar State.

28. Continuing its remarks in its issue of the 10th December, the *Rajput Gazette* writes that the Government and its Political Department maintain perfect silence over the question of its interfence with the Mewar State. This has had the effect of confroming the people in the conviction that all is not well. Some plan had better be devised to combat the danger with which Udaipur and its ruler are threatened. The best way to do so would be to place this matter before the Council of the Ruling Chiefs. If British interference gains its object in Udaipur other Native States also will fall victims to it. It is sorely needed that strong protests should be entered in evey part of the country to impress on the Government of India and the Political Depratment the importance of the opposition. The Rajputs should pay special

attention to the matter and communicate their views to the Government after holding meetings everywhere.

High prices.

Khalsa Advocate (Amritsar); Gian Singh, editor.

29. Commenting on a press *communiqué* issued by the Punjab Government in regard to the amount of foreign wheat imported by the 22nd November last, the ***Khalsa Advocate*** of the 16th December writes:—"But in spite of the influx of fascinating and illuring *communiqués* issued by the Government the situation remains as acute as ever. What has been the effect of the large imports of foreign wheat on the Indian prices? The *atta* is selling practically at the same rates as before. . . . . The only way in which the paternal Government can help the people is that Government should fix the prices of wheat and thereby allow no more speculators or greedy importers to feed their fat on the distress of the people."

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,
Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

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II.—LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

The Prince's visit.

1. Referring to the recent arrests, the *Arya Gazette* of the 15th December wishes that the Prince of Wales had not been invited to India at this juncture or the present sight should not have been presented to him. No enemy of India will assert that the arrests were necessary to ensure His Royal Highness's safety.

ARYA GAZETTE (Lahore); Khushal Chand, editor.

Repression by the Government.

2. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 18th December foretells complete failure of the Government policy of repression. The Government has lost all self-control and does not care for the laws made by itself. To spread such lawlessness is the forerunner of its defeat. The present policy has also roused the cold hearts of the moderates and infused fresh spirit among the students.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

(*b*) The *Zamindar* of the 21st December suggests that in the interests of public peace the Government should abandon its policy of repression. Except a few sycophants no responsible person views its present attitude with approval. It is to be hoped that Lord Reading and the Governors of the various provinces will save the British Government from a collision in India of which it has had an experience in Egypt and Ireland.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

AKHBAR-I-AM (Lahore); Gopi Nath, editor.

(c) The *Akhbar-i-'Am* of the 21st December doubts the soundness of the methods adopted by the Government to crush the non-coöperation movement. The Government cannot ignore the facts that a new spirit has been created in India and there has been a general awakening in the country, a majority of the public being at the back of Mr. Gandhi's movement. It would be better to win over the exrtemists by reasonable action and by the removal of Indian grievances.

KESARI (Lahore).

(d) The *Kesari* of the 21st December avers that the present policy of repression pursued by the Government will give further impetus to the non-coöperation movement. The Government is testing the Indians by sending them to jails, and if they fail in this test, they will go down the abyss of degradation; but if they stand the test, the goddess of liberty will kiss their feet. Indians cannot tolerate, inspite of differences of opinion, that the Congress and the Khilafat should pass out of existence, and the present policy will be opposed in every part of the country.

PAISA AKHBAR (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

(e) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st December writes that in his reply to the address from the Mahajan Sabha the Viceroy stated that the recent Bombay disturbances justified the adoption of a repressive policy. No fair-minded person would endorse this view for a moment. The fact is that whenever the Indians have demanded their rights, the bureaucracy has resorted to repressive measures.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain editor.

(f) Writing under the heading "Lord Reading's failure," the *Siyasat* of the 17th December says that the wholesale arrests that are being made in the country have led to a complete collapse of the prestige of British courts. Repression will never succeed in restoring order: it is impossible for the people to budge an inch from their position.

(g) Continuing in its issue of the 19th December, the paper writes that the arrests that are being made in every part of the country are the last weapon taken out by the Government from its armoury. The authorities were under the impression that if all the national workers were arrested there would be no one left to incite the people to organise *hartals* and a warm reception would thus be accorded to the Prince everywhere. The general public is, however, prepared to respond to the call of the country and the nation without being persuaded by any one.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

(h) In its issue of the 21st December the paper states that Lord Reading is impressed by the opinion of the English press and is anxious to please it. This shows that His Excellency takes very little trouble to think over matters, but acts mostly on the suggestion of others. In these turbulent days, India needed a steady, prudent and wise Viceroy, who could satisfactorily solve the present intricate political problems of the country. But Lord Reading has proved himself to be a man of policy and the Indians can expect no good at his hands. The old agents of the bureaucratic Government have moulded him in their own cast and he has enforced throughout India the very measures that Sir Michael O' Dwyer had employed in the Punjab in 1919, though the Empire is not at war as it then was Men are being arrested in large numbers in every part of the country. Great leaders are being shut up within the four walls of prisons. People have the right to raise their voice about the Punjab and the Khilafat questions. If it is an offence to cry in the hour of trouble the Indians will go on committing this offence. These oppressions and arrests are not a novelty for the Indians. But Lord Reading's Government has worked wonders. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and others are personalities who are greatly honoured by the public. If the Government thinks that by arresting these chosen men peace will be established in the country, it is mistaken. The present unbearable repression has made the Indians still more mistrustful of it and most moderates, too, are sharing the views of the nationalists. The public mind is also made up. There are reasons to believe that Lord Reading's policy of repression is bound to fail in the long run.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. K. Roy, editor.

(i) The *Tribune* of the 23rd December writes:—"Mr. Mantagu's declaration in the House of Commons that there is nothing in India which should be described as repression is intelligible on the hypothesis that he and we do not understand the same thing by the word. . . . About the very tim when the Secretary of State was speaking, a neighbouring Government was declaring the security of one of the foremost newspapers in the country to be forfeited, not under any ordinary law, but under the Press Act, which is an admittedly repressive measure.... But the most amazing part of the thing is Mr. Montagu's failure to see that the very measures under which most of the actions have recently been taken have never been regarded as ordinary laws. They are the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, both of which are admittedly emergency measures and both of which are admittedly repressive, as shown by their inclusion in the scope of reference to the Repressive Laws Committee, which all but recommended their repeal. With all but one or two of the provinces proclaimed under one of these measures and parts of several of them also proclaimed under the other, it is more than idle to say that there is 'no repression in India'."

Arrests in the United Provinces.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

3. According to the *Zamindar* of the 20th December, the recent arrests in the United Provinces are not likely to strike terror into the hearts of the people On the other hand, imprisonment will lose its terrors. Would that the officers of the Government knew the feelings of the people and had not tried to render the present notorious system of administration still more infamous!

Repression in Bengal.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad editor.

4. The *Zamindar* of the 20th December deplores the failure of the Bengal Government to learn a lesson from the consequences of its policy of repression. Instead of pouring the water of justice and mercy on the flames of oppression and tyranny, it has arrested Mr. C. R. Dass and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to excite the public. The arrests of these national leaders are no unimportant event. Not only the inhabitants of India but the people of every other country will be thunderstruck on hearing the news. The Government sees that no disturbance has taken place anywhere; but if the arrests had taken place before the inauguration of the movement of non-violent non-coöperation, God alone knows what would have happened in the Frontier Province and in the trans-frontier territories. The nation has now realized that the secret of success lies in non-violent non-coöperation, and that is the reason why no untoward incident has occurred. So many arrests have taken place and so many repressive measures have been adopted that one might well say that the last weapon of a resort to martial law is alone left untried. The Bengal Government should, however, remember that even martial law cannot help in the realisation of its object.

The deputation to the Viceroy.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K N. Roy, editor.

5. The *Tribune* of the 24th December writes:—"The Viceroy had anticipated that the knowledge that he had consented to receive this deputation would draw forth from Mahatma Gandhi and his associates the assurance that if the Government suspended its activities in view of the proposed conference, they, on their side, would suspend those activities in connection with which the recent measures of Government had been adopted, and that it was just because no such assurance was forthcoming that the proposals of the deputation could not be seriously considered, far less entertained. . . . . Had the Government taken the step proposed by the deputation, much of the present activities of the non-coöperators would have automatically come to an end. One has only to compare the state of things to-day with the state of things barely three weeks ago to see that much of what has happened would not and could not have happened if the Government had not taken the action it has. . . . If the Government will rescind its recent orders, things will naturally go back to the original order, not immediately perhaps, but in a short while, with this difference that the memory of the last few days will remain, until it is wiped out by conciliatory measures On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi cannot but see what it is that he is expected to do for his part in order to secure the atmosphere necessary for a pacific settlement. At the root of the recent activities of the Government lies the deep resentment which the Government and perhaps most Englishmen feel at the decision of the Congress to boycott the Prince's visit, and it is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that no conference is possible at this stage without the Congress calling off the *hartal* and the boycott of the Prince's visit. . . . The Viceroy's speech is throughout couched in conciliatory language, and the anxiety to terminate the present state of things is only too visible in it.

The only mistake His Excellency made was in making even the brief reference he did to the Punjab and the Khilafat wrong and the question of swaraj. It is this reference which, inspite of the tactful language in which it is couched, is likely to do harm, because it is liable to produce the impression that His Excellency considers that he has nothing further to do as regards the first two, and that it is too early to do anything as regards the third. On this basis. . . . . no conference would do any good and no conference would be worth having. But we do not gather this to be His Excellency's final opinion. What the intermediaries have clearly got to do is to persuade His Excellency to make a declaration to the effect that these are the questions which the conference would be asked to consider. At the same time they should work to obtain from Mahatma Gandhi the assurance that in the event of a conference being called for this purpose, the non-coöperators, on their side, will call a halt to all their aggressive activities including the *hartal* and the boycott, pending the result of the conference."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

The way to peace.

6. The *Partap* of the 23rd December is of opinion that the grant of Dominion Home Rule to India alone can secure peace in the country.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

The Punjab pleaders and non-coöperation.

7. DUNI CHAND of Ambala contributes to the *Bande Mataram* of the 11th December an appeal to the pleaders of the Punjab, asking them to make adequate sacrifices for the cause of non-coöperation and suspend their practice till an understanding is reached with the Government. Do they not feel ashamed that while Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Stokes have gone to jail for them, they are enjoying life? The writer firmly believes that the non-coöperation movement will soon achieve success and swaraj will be shortly established. Even the strongest Government cannot suppress or ignore such a movement. If the Government ignores it, the result will be dangerous and destructive.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

Civil disobedience.

8. (*a*) The *Bande Mataram* of the 21st December congratulates the people of Jullundur on their courage in starting civil disobedience. It is time that volunteers came forward everywhere and assured the bureaucracy that no free Indian can now fear jail or tolerate that he should, after becoming a volunteer, cease to serve his motherland.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*b*) Referring to the Viceroy's remarks in his reply to the address from the Mahajan Sabha of Bengal that Government will continue arresting people, the *Partap* of the 19th December says that the only reply to this consists in thousands of "recruits" coming forward from every province to go to jail.

ZAMINDAR (Lahore); Said Ahmad, editor.

The situation in the Punjab.

9. The *Zamindar* of the 20th December writes that there has been repression in every province during the last fortnight. At several places, the police hammered peaceful volunteers with clubs and did not spare the spectators. But the peaceful movement culminated in civil disobedience and now at every place rigour and high-handedness is being met by leniency, perseverance and calmness. The Punjab is rightly proud of its brave and worthy sons, the Khalsas. The Nankana affair, the ground of Tarn Taran and the city streets speak of their perfectly non-violent attitude under the most trying circumstances. Their sacrifices will shine in the history of India. A community which was loyal to the core and obeyed every order of the Government and helped it in foreign lands is now in the field to protect the liberty of its religion and country. The interference of the Government in their religious affairs has opened their eyes and eliminated all question of coöperation or non-coöperation. The *kirpan* question was only a trifling matter and would have been hushed up had the Government so wished. But arrests and convictions added fuel to the fire and increased excitement. Then cropped up the question of the Golden Temple keys. What is there in these keys? When the Government has not to get anything out of the *gurdwara* funds, it matters little to it who keeps the keys. The Sharomani Gurdawara Committee wants to rid the *gurdwaras* of all immoral Mahants and keep regular accounts. There is nothing evil in this and we fail to understand what led the Government to interfere. The arrest of the Sikhs and the popular leaders at Lahore and Sialkot has made the situation still worse. The application of the Seditious Meetings Act has been of no conse-

quence. Meetings are held and volunteers parade the streets and sing patriotic songs. One is at a loss to comprehend why the police is called the guardian of law and order and the peaceful volunteers are regarded as hot-headed rebels and mischief-makers. What is the object of the Government in bringing the police from other districts to Lahore and getting the Lahore public humiliated and beaten by them? We congratulate the leaders of the country on the success of their struggle. Trials are held in jail. This is the first instalment of success.

Political work in Sialkot.

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Husain, editor.

10. A correspondent of the *Siyasat* of the 21st December reports that great excitement prevails in Sialkot. The volunteers go the round of the city morning and evening. Three hundred men have already enlisted as volunteers. Everyone seems to be anxious to go to jail Hardly a man is seen in foreign clothes. All this is due to the bureaucracy, which thinks that the movement will be suppressed by the arrest of the leaders. New men have taken charge of the work.

Swaraj.

AKALI (Lahore); Uttam Singh, editor.

11. The *Akali* of the 10th December publishes a letter from one GURCHARAN SINGH, who writes:—"O Sikh community! Be on the alert and open the ears of this tyrannical Government. O my Sikh, Musalman and Hindu brethren! Hold meetings in every city, village and street about the keys. Remain peaceful and create a storm of agitation in the country. At every meeting expose the secrets of this incompetent Government! Neither you should sleep in comfort nor allow it to sleep in comfort. Do not obey any tyrannical and improper order. Obey simply the command of God. Take a vow that you will not rest till you have put an end to the existence of the tyrants. What are keys? We must obtain swaraj. You will have to face thousands of misfortunes to accomplish this work. Kick all misfortunes that the Government may place in your way and reach your goal. Fill the jails. So long as you do not obtain swaraj India will remain a big jail. You will come out from the jail only then when our Sardar Kharak Singh comes out of it, not with the keys of the Darbar Sahib alone, but with the keys of India also."

Gandhi's swaraj criticised.

ISLAH (Ludhiana); Muhammad Shafi, editor.

12. The *Islah* of the 17th December publishes an open letter from GHAZI MAHMUD DHARM PAL of Ludhiana to Mr. Gandhi. The writer criticises Mr. Gandhi's idea about the grant of swaraj by the end of December, examines his scheme, calls it an impracticable vision and voices the Muslim suspicions that the whole propaganda of non-coöperation and civil disobedience would land Muhammadans in a dangerous situation, while the Hindus would first remain in the background and then make terms with the Government, thus repeating the mistake of the mutiny of 1857.

"No one can be governed by the sword."

SIYASAT (Lahore); Wajahat Hussain, editor.

13. The *Siyasat* of the 16th December publishes a poem headed "This country is the body and swaraj is her life". The poet says that India is lifeless without swaraj. Even small countries are free and prosperous, but ours is still a slave. Is the bondage of slavery ordained for us alone? One who always depends on others is an animal. We shall now sacrifice even our lives for the sake of liberty. "No one can be governed by the sword" is the dictum of freedom-loving people.

India cannot use the sword.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor

14. The *Bande Mataram* of the 19th December publishes an article headed "How India should use the sword" from Professor Jagdish Mittar. The writer refers to the Viceroy's remark in a recent speech that swaraj can be granted by Parliament or obtained with the sword, and says the observation is the outcome of some confusion. Against whom can the Indians draw the sword? Will they fight their own countrymen who have entered Government service? It will be foolish and suicidal, leading to civil war? Will they rise against the few Englishmen who work and reside in each district? Their number does not exceed three or four per district and it will be a matter of endless shame for the Indian masses to rise against a handful of Englishmen residing in the districts. It is the head and not the hands that should be tackled and to influence the head it is necessary to bring pressure to bear on the British Parliament and the British public. This alone will secure swaraj for India.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

The promises of the Government.

15. The *Bande Mataram* of the 11th December tries to prove that the British Government does not stick to its promises. As instances in point, the paper refers to the Royal Proclamation of 1858, the Premier's pledge during the war about the Ottoman Empire and Lord Chelmsford's promise that no effort would be made to suppress the non-coöperation movement so long as it remained peaceful. The Punjab Government announced that the wearing of the Gandhi cap was not an offence and yet men using it were not allowed to enter the court compound on the day of the Lahore leaders' trial. Besides, a clerk employed in the Military Accounts Department was dismissed for wearing this cap.

AKALI (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

The power of the Government.

16. UTTAM SINGH contributes a Punjabi poem to the *Akali* of the 18th December. Some of the lines are as follows:—

"(Even) a handful of Moplahs could not be controlled,
"Do not raise the cry of power.
"Ireland has seen thy power,
"The Afghans do not yield to pressure from thee.
"Those (Pathans) who trembled before the lion-like (Hari Singh) Nalwa
"Do not now care a straw for thee
"Dacoities could never be ended (by thee) on the frontier,
"Do not display the pride of thy strength."

LIBERAL (Lahore); Jai Gopal Tandan, editor.

The Fiscal Commission.

1 The *Liberal* of the 19th December writes:—"The evidence so far taken consists of very conflicting elements and one may doubt if any good is going to come out of the labours of the Commission. If the Commission had been asked to recommend the names of industries which wanted protection and the extent to which it should be given them, it would have been something. As it is, the whole thing is going to be an academic discussion of the relative merits of free trade and protection, and nothing tangible seems to come out of it. Even if any liberal recommendations favouring protection are made, the Government may be trusted to condemn them to the limbo as it did in the case of some of the most beneficial recommendations of the Indian Industries Commission."

III—GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

AKALI (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

Application of the Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjab.

18. The *Akali* of the 16th December remarks that the Punjab Government has issued a press *communiqué* to the effect that the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act in certain districts of the province is attributable to grossly seditious and violent speeches and writings. It is strange that while all Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders are advising the people to remain peaceful the Government should allege that they are being incited to resort to violence. In Bombay, where disturbances have actually taken place, the Seditious Meetings Act has not been enforced, but the people of the districts referred to have been quietly gagged. It is also strange that while the Government professes solicitude for the maintenance of peace in the country, it should act in a manner that is calculated to provoke the people. If people go to courts in *khaddar* they are abused and pushed away by the officers. What injury have the people caused to the officials by wearing *khaddar*? Should they now even put on clothes with the permission of Government officers? If this is not so, why are they harassed and subjected to trouble? And why does the Government interfere with the religion and religious places of the Sikhs? Does it accord such treatment to the people owing to their being weak and helpless? It always advises them to maintain peace, but has it ever considered how far it itself acts up to the precept?

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

The volunteer corps.

19. The *Partap* of the 18th December writes that while no one takes notice of the Irish volunteers, who freely move about in Ireland with rifles on their shoulders, which they declare will be used against England, the Indian

volunteers, who have taken the vow to remain peaceful, are held to be an unlawful body. The only charge levelled against the latter is that they intimidated people and forced them to observe *hartal* on the 17th November. But it has not been shown that they beat any one and committed violence. We most respectfully but emphatically say that the Government should reconsider its position and withdraw its orders.

Government warning to newspapers.

Paisa Akhbar (Lahore); Mahbub Alam, editor.

20. (*a*) The *Paisa Akhbar* of the 21st December characterises the Punjab Government *communiqué* issued to warn newspapers against the publication of incitements to civil disobedience as extremely ambiguous. It must be regarded as a serious danger for the press. It is possible that the Government may hold a matter as constituting incitement which may not really be so. For instance, if a meeting is held in which a speaker says that a certain tax should not be paid or a certain law should be disobeyed, the publication of this speech can fall within the purview of the *communiqué*, even though it may be published as a news and without any comments. The *communiqué* would prove a palpable interference with the freedom of the press and the whole press will be justified in protesting against it. The Government should have at least explained the nature of the matter to which exception is taken, or at least it should take into consideration the intention of the printer and publisher in dealing with a newspaper.

Tribune (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 22nd December says:—" Yesterday we published a Press *communiqué* issued by the Punjab Government in which the public generally and newspapers in particular were notified that ' the Government is advised that newspapers publishing incitements, whether in the form of news or otherwise, to any persons to disobey the law commit an offence, and thinks it desirable, therefore, to issue a general warning against the publication of news, correspondence or editorial matter containing such incitements.' .... The Government has the means of judging whether a particular newspaper, in publishing a piece of news, really intends to incite to disobedience of the law of the land or only wishes to perform its legitimate function of being a faithful mirror and chronicler of current events? For it to discard this means and to seek to penalise the mere publication of news as such would be not only to enter on a crusade against the Press, which would, in the long run, only recoil on itself, but to make the conduct of a newspaper, which is already a difficult thing, infinitely more so. If a newspaper had to scrutinise every single item sent to it for publication, lest an oversensitive Magistrate or Police officer might detect the germs of direct or indirect incitement in it, it would soon find its task well nigh impossible... If the Government, therefore, wishes to stop all incitements, ... it must stop the evil at its source by abandoning the present policy.... Lastly let the Government realise that its task would not be complete, unless it again resorted to the now obsolete preventive sections of the Press Act, and proscribed newspapers from other provinces."

(*c*) In its issue of the 23rd December the paper writes:—" It would have been more helpful if the Government had stated the section of the Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code which it or its advisers had in view. If they were thinking of the Press Act, we have nothing to say. The wording of that Act is so vague that we are not aware of anything that cannot be brought within its scope.... But it is scarcely believable that the Government could have intended to convey a warning to the Press under this law at a time when its repeal has been definitely recommended by a committee of the Legislature and the Government itself is pledged to it. So far as the ordinary law is concerned, there is only one principal section in the Penal Code which can conceivably apply to the case." The paper contends that this section (505) is inapplicable and concludes as follows:—" If there is any other section of which the Punjab Government is thinking, will it kindly enlighten us on the point?"

Partap (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

(*d*) According to the *Partap* of the 23rd December, the wording of the *communique* is so vague and comprehensive that no newspaper can save itself. It is the duty of the public press to publish what is going on in the country, and if it is not allowed to do this, it might well close down. Civil disobedience is in full swing in India; how it is possible that newspapers should not publish news regarding it? A telegram has just been received that Mahatma Gandhi has directed Gujrat to be realy for civil disobedience from January. The Government should tell us whether or not this news should be published.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore) : Ram Parshad, editor.

(e) Writing under the heading "A novel order of the Punjab Government to newspapers: why the orders of the bureaucracy are disgraced," the *Bande Mataram* of the 23rd December writes :—"In these days when the tide of civil disobedience is rising on all sides and everyone, following the splendid example of the popular and esteemed leaders, who are devoted to their country, regards the prison as the path to swaraj and is anxious to reach there before others, and (now when) in almost all cities bands of volunteers, inebriated with the desire for imprisonment, roam about with blankets on their backs, the Koran and the Gita under their arms and the rosary (in their hands), we wonder why the Government is subjecting itself to disgrace by issuing such unstatesmanlike and arbitrary orders. The latest order of this type issued by it runs thus :—'The Government is advised that newspapers publishing incitements, whether in the form of news or otherwise, to any persons to disobey the law commit an offence, and thinks it desirable therefore to issue a general warning against the publication of news, correspondence or editorial matter containing such incitements." We do not know who that wise counsellor is who has given this wrong advice to the Government on such a critical occasion. At the present time when everyone, high or low, is wandering about with a longing in his heart to gain eternal life by sacrificing himself for his mother country, does the counsellor take the Indian journalists alone to be so timid and cowardly that he thinks that those who teach others the lesson of patriotism and devotion to the nation will save themselves from imprisonment by showing criminal indifference towards their sacred national duties at the present important and critical juncture? We believe that all self-respecting nationalist journalists will, rather than heed this inopportune warning from the Government, stop their newspapers like their contemporary of the *Independent* or, if necessary, will go to jail laughing while performing their duty. We therefore suggest to the Government to reconsider its press *communiqué* or let it rot in its armoury like the Rowlatt Act."

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

Mr. Stokes' case.

21. The *Partap* of the 23rd December states that by sending Mr. Stokes to jail, the Government has proved that it is difficult even for an Englishman, who is a well-wisher of India, to remain outside the prison.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

The case against the editor of the *Swaraj*.

22. The *Tribune* of the 23rd December has the following :—"We have not before us the articles in respect of which the District Magistrate of Lahore convicted Pandit Badrinath, editor, the *Swarajya*, under section 124-A, and we are not, therefore, in a position to express any opinion regarding justifiability or otherwise of the conviction. But apart from what the articles may or may not contain, it does not appear to us that the maximum punishment could not possibly have been intended by the Legislature for a case of this kind in which the writings, however objectionable, could not possibly have done or be calculated to do the maximum of harm. As a matter of fact, the Magistrate not only gave him the maximum sentence, but actualy directed that for three months of the period he should be kept in solitary confinment. We do not remember any previous case in which a newspaper editor was given this particular form of punishment for anything that he wrote in his paper, though there have been all sorts of cases tried before now by competent tribunals. But the most extraordinary part of the thing is that not content even with this extremely severe punishment which he inflicted upon the accused the Magistrate actually went out of his way to refer to him in the following words :—'From observation of him in court I can come to no conclusion except that he is like a mad dog whom nothing but restraint and imprisonment will prevent from continuing to spread poison and to infect all he can'. . . . The remark shows the temper which some of our Magistrates bring with them to trials of this kind. Do the High Court and the Local Government consider it right and proper that such a remark should be made by a trying Magistrate—without assigning any other reason except his observation of the accused—in respect of a person who is being sent to jail for three years ?"

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakar Singh, ditor.

Police high-handedness at Amritsar.

23. The *Sansar* of the 22nd December remarks that on the 19th instant a procession of Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs was mal-treated by the police and military acting under Mr. Beatty's instructions. We must tell the authorities that

such conduct is not likely to lead to good results. It is calculated to blacken the name of the King. The Kings should hear the sorrows of the people and try to remove them. But the condition of things in this country is quite the reverse.

Complaint against the Lahore police.

LOYAL GAZETTE (Lahore); Amar Singh, editor.

24. The *Loyal Gazette* of the 18th December complains that the police belabour the volunteers who pass through the streets of Lahore. They also beat mercilessly the spectators who had gone to watch the trial of Bhagat Singh Akali and others on the 13th December. Many men received severe hurts. In the evening bludgeons were indiscriminately used by the police outside the Lahori and Mochi Gates. All this is deplorable.

A complaint from the Frontier Province.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

25 (*a*) The *Banda Mataram* of the 23rd December publishes a leading article headed "Nadirgardi" (Nadir Shahi's loot and misrule). When Nadir Shah invaded India, he carried away enormous wealth in plunder, did what he liked and trampled under foot all laws and regulations. Similarly, every member of the present bureaucracy is intent upon emulating Nadir Shahi's methods An instance in point is the order of the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara warning Congress delegates from Hazara that they would be expelled from the Frontier Province under section 36 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations if they joined the Congress. The paper condemns the order and criticises the mentality of those responsible for its issue

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

(*b*) The *Tribune* of the 27th December has the following under the heading "Is attendance at the congress a crime" :—"Either the Deputy Commissioner does not know that the Congress has not yet been declared an unlawful assembly, as some officials are doubtless anxious that it should be, or he thinks that the Frontier Crimes Regulations give him the power to prohibit persons from attending even a lawful meeting. In the first case, we desire to draw the attention of the proper authorities to the ignorance of the Deputy Commissioner In the second, we invite the attention of the Law Member to the matter. Will he still persist in holding that the law in the Frontier Province is just the same as the law in other parts of the country, and that the people of the Frontier Province have no real grievance on account of the operation of this arbitrary and all comprehensive enactment ?"

A Peshawar complaint.

VAKIL (Amritsar); Abdulla Minhas, editor.

26. ALLAH BAKHSH YUSUFI, officiating Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Peshawar, writes to the *Vakil* of the 17th December that the Peshawar police has arrested Abdul Hamid, son of Hakim Muhammad Abdulla, although he was not even present at the meeting for attending which he is in jail.

Confiscation of the security of the *Independent*.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

27. The following is taken from the *Tribune* of the 27th December :—"We have already drawn attention to the forfeiture of the security of the *Independent* under the Press Act and the consequent closing down of the press and the paper. It remains only to express our profound surprise at the unwisdom of the Local Government in taking this action against the journal at a time when it has been definitely decided to repeal the Press Act. The action is the more amazing because only a few days before the editor of the journal had been sent to prison for a pretty long period. There was nothing to prevent the authorities from repeating the proceeding and sending the new editor to prison, if he also had offended."

Treatment of political prisoners.

TRIBUNE (Lahore); K. N. Roy, editor.

28. The *Tribune* of the 24th December says :—"The Bihar Government has issued instructions that political prisoners in the province should be treated like similar prisoners in England. . . In this connection we are glad to note that Rai Sahib Lala Thakar Das M.L.C's. resolution regarding the treatment of political prisoners in the Punjab has been admitted for discussion at one of the meetings of the Punjab Legislative Council. . . . Will the Punjab Government take the wind out of the sail of the Council by issuing definite instructions on the subject to the jail authorities or will it wait till the resolution is passed by the Council when its action would cease to have the appearance of being voluntary?"

The causes of bribery.

BANDE MATARAM (Lahore); Ram Parshad, editor.

29. The *Bande Mataram* of the 14th and 15th December publishes a communication from LALA DUNI CHAND, of Ambala, who says that bribery (among Indian

officials) is ascribable chiefly to the life of servitude which the Indian have been leading for the past hundreds, nay, thousands of year. The best way of ending the evil consists in replacing the present system of administration by one in which 32 crore human beings have a hand.

IV.—COMMUNAL AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

PUNJAB DARPAN, (Amritsar); Sucha Singh, editor.

The *gurdwara* movement.

30. (*a*) The *Punjab Darpan* of the 14th December remarks that Sikh leaders have been sent to the distant jail of Dera Ghazi Khan, as they desired to liberate the *gurdwaras*. The jail will now become a centre of religion, coming generations will make pilgrimages to it and it will be mentioned in Sikh history in which the names of those "moths of religion" will shine like the sun. The Government, however, will surely suffer defeat, as it has lost sight of the unparalleled sacrifices of the Sikhs, who maintained British rule in India by shedding their blood in torrents on many a battlefield. They only want to reform their *gurdwaras* and liberate them from the wicked, vicious and sensual drunkards, the Mahants who bear a bad character. The statesmenship of the Government has fallen so low that it cannot distinguish friends from foes.

AKALI (Lahore); Partap Singh, editor.

(*b*) The *Akali* of the 18th December states that some people arrested in connection with *gurdwaras* are being advised to engage pleaders and furnish securities. This is, however, opposed to the principle of non-cöoperation. Moreover, pleaders should be engaged and securities furnished if there be any hope of justice being done.

PARTAP (Lahore); Krishna, editor.

The Golden Temple keys.

31. The *Partap* of the 16th December says that a recent press *communiqué* regarding the keys of the Golden Temple shows that the Government wants to make peace with the Sikhs and would keep them loyal to it. Unless, however, it releases unconditionally all the Sikhs—leaders and others—recently thrown into Jail, no Sikh will have anything to do with it. The only way to make peace with the Sikhs is to set the prisoners free and relinquish the keys of the Golden Temple.

KESARI (Lahore).

Government and the *kirpan*.

32. The *Kesari* of the 23rd December says that the Secretary of the Sharomani Gurdwara Committee, writing with reference to the press *communiqués* issued by the Punjab Government regarding the use of the *kirpan* in a quarrel between some Akalis in the Ferozepore district, asks if Government seeks to discredit the Akalis and their sacred emblem, the *kirpan*, by such means. In our opinion, adds the paper, the publication of a press *communiqué* regarding the Akalis and the *kirpan* on the basis of such alleged incidents shows that it is the object of the Government to defame the Sikh religion, and this in a way constitutes a religious insult.

V.—LOCAL AFFAIRS.

SANSAR (Amritsar); Thakur Singh, editor.

A German gun at Amritsar.

33. The *Sansar* of the 20th December remarks that with a view to remind the Sikhs of their conquest in the war with Germany, the Government has placed a German gun in the clock tower of the Darbar Sahib with the permission of the Khalsa. There is, however, no reason to keep this emblem of our victory in the hands of others. On the other hand, the Khalsas should carefully treasure the gun; but it appears from the bewildered speeches of the Viceroy and the Governor that the gun will be used against us, because they have openly declared in their *communiqués* that without feeling any apprehension their Government will fully exercise its powers of rigour.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to the Home Secretary to Government, Punjab, a brief report on any local complaint appearing in this Abstract. Such reports should explain whether the facts are incorrectly stated; what the true facts are; and what the origin of the report is believed to be.

ABDUL AZIZ,

Officer-in-Charge, Press Branch,

Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:

The 31st December 1921.

396 SB—160—30-12-21—SGPP Lahore,

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1921.

[*Note.*—Newspapers printed in antique type are essentially devoted to politics.]

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	ENGLISH.			
	DAILY.			
1	**Civil & Military Gazette**	Lahore ...	E. H. Hardy	*Pioneer* and *Civil & Military Gazette*, Limited, Lahore; 3,322.
2	**Tribune**	Do. ...	K. N. Roy ...	*Tribune* Electric and Steam Press, Lahore; 6,290.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
3	**Sikh*** ...	Lahore	Sohan Singh	Caxton Printing Works, Lahore; 758.
	WEEKLY.			
4	**Khalsa Advocate**	Amritsar	Gian Singh, B.A.	Coronation Printing Press, Amritsar; 804.
5	**Liberal** ...	Lahore ...	Jai Gopal Tandan ...	*Liberal* Press, Lahore; 756.
6	Liddell's Weekly ...	Simla ...	S. H. Liddell	Liddell's Printing Works, Simla; 800.
7	Simla Times	Simla	Father Coldicott	*Simla Times* Press, Simla; 500.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
8	Cantonment Advocate	Ambala ...	Mansab Ali	Model Press, Ambala Cantonment.
9	Light	Lahore ...	Sadr-ud-Din, B.A., B.T.	Hardinge Printing Press, Lahore.
	MONTHLY.			
10	D. A.-V. College Magazine ...	Lahore ...	A. R. Sawhney	Punjab Printing Works, Lahore; 1,270.
11	Dyal Singh College Magazine	Do. ...	Professor Bhupal Singh, M.A.	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 550.
12	Review of Religions ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Sher Ali, B.A. ...	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 514.
13	Science Grounded Religion	Lahore	Harnarain Agnihotri ...	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 300.
14	**Vedic Magazine** ...	Do. ...	Rama Deva, B.A.	Commercial Printing Works, Lahore; 702.
	ANNUAL.			
15	Saraswati Annual	Lahore ...	Norah Richards	Mercantile Press, Lahore; 700.
	URDU.			
	DAILY.			
16	**Bande Mataram** ...	Lahore ...	Ram Parshad ...	*Bande Mataram* Press, Lahore; 5,818
	Desh ...	Do. ...	Dina Nath ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,157.
9	**esari** ...	Do. ...	Sham Lal Kapur	Tilak Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
9	**alsa Akhbar** ...	Do. ...	Mahbub Alam	Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,800.
9	**artap** ...	Do. ...	Krishan, B.A.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,687.
21 97	**blic** ...	Do. ...	Dina Nath	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
22 9	**anti**	Rawalpindi ...	Kishan Chand Mohan	*Shanti* Steam Press, Rawalpindi; 1,421.
23 9	**yasat** ...	Lahore ...	Wajahat Husain	*Siyasat* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,355.
24 10	**waraj†** ...	Do. ...	Badri Nath	Hindustani Press, Lahore.
25 1	**azianat†** ...	Amritsar ...	Muhammad Ali ...	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar
26 1	**Vakil** ...	Do ...	Abdulla Minhas	Rose Bazar Eelectric Press, Amritsar; 2009.
7	**Zamindar** ...	Lahore ...	Said Ahmad ...	Congress Electric Press, Lahore; 6,145.
	TRI-WEEKLY.			
28	Bharat	Amritsar ...	Ralia Ram ...	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar.
	BI-WEEKLY.			
29	**Akhbar-i-Am**	Lahore ...	Gopi Nath	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 700.
0	Al-Fazl ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Ghulam Nabi	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 1,359.
1	**Vakil**	Amritsar ...	Abdulla Minhas ...	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 2,020.
	WEEKLY.			
	Ahl-i-Hadis ...	Amritsar ...	Sana Ulla ...	Rose Bazar Electric Press, A

*Ceased.
†Temporarily ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONTINUED.			
	WEEKLY—*concluded.*			
33	**Akhbar-i-Am** ...	Lahore ...	Gopi Nath ...	Mittar Vilas Steam Press, Lahore; 1,523.
34	Al-Hakam ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Yakub Ali ...	Anwar-i-Ahmadia Press, Qadian; 350.
35	Al-Islam* ...	Lahore ...	Muhammad Alam ...	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore; 500.
36	**Al-Munir** ...	Lyallpur ...	Ghulam Husain ...	*Al-Munir* Press, Lyallpur; 1,582.
37	**Ar-Rai** ...	Lahore ...	Fateh Muhammad ...	Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 310.
38	Arorbans Sudharak ...	Do. ...	Salig Ram ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 832.
39	**Arya Gazette** ...	Do. ...	Khushal Chand ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,350.
40	Desh Upkarak ...	Do. ...	Thakar Dat Sharma ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,200.
41	Faruq ...	Qadian (Gurdaspur) ...	Qasim Ali ...	*Faruq* Press, Qadian; 450
42	**Gulzar-i-Hind** ...	Lahore ...	Ahmad Ali Chishti ...	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 600.
43	Hamdard ...	Do. ...	Hakim Ashar, Dehlvi .	Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore.
44	**Himala** ...	Do. ...	Dina Nath ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 7,250.
45	Intikhab-i-Lajawab ..	Do. ...	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
46	Islah ...	Ludhiana ...	Sayed Yasin ...	*Islah* Press, Ludhiana.
47	Ittihad ...	Amritsar ...	Maula Bakhsh, *Kushta* ...	*Ittihad* Press, Amritsar; 300.
48	**Jat Gazette** ...	Rohtak ...	Molar Singh ...	Hariana Press, Rohtak; 548.
49	Jiwan Tat ...	Lahore ...	Amar Singh ...	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 335.
50	Kapurthala Akhbar ...	Kapurthala ...	Zahid Husain ...	Jagatjit Press, Kapurthala; 300.
51	**Kashmiri** ...	Lahore ...	Muhammad Din, *Fauq* ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 833.
	Khalsa Akhbar ...	Do. ..	Sardar Singh	Hindustani Press, Lahore; 1,300.
	Loyal Gazette ..	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	George Steam Press, Lahore; 3,000.
	Municipal Gazette ...	Do. ...	Din Muhammad ..	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 700
55	Nur Afshan	Do. ...	Professor Muhammad Ismail	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 472.
56	Paigham-i-Sulah ...	Do. ..	Muhammad Yusaf Khan ...	Muslim Ahmadiya Printing Press, Lahore; 347.
57	**Paisa Akhbar** ...	Do. ...	Mahbub Alam ...	Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 3,100.
58	Parkash ...	Do. ...	Krishan, B.A. ...	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 2,500.
59	Pate Khan† ...	Do. ...	Sultan ...	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore.
60	Phul ...	Do. ...	Mumtaz Ali ...	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 2,000.
61	Qaum Parast	Do. ...	...	Congress Press, Lahore.
62	Railway Union News ...	Do. ...	Shamas-ud-Din Hassan ...	Rifa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore; 2,000.
63	Rajput Gazette ...	Do. ...	Sukhram Das	George Steam Press, Lahore; 1,470.
64	Sadiq-ul-Akhbar ...	Bahawalpur ...	Muhammad Bashir ...	Sadiq-ul-Anwar Steam Press, Bahawalpur; 460.
65	Sanatan Dharm Parcharak	Amritsar ...	Ralia Ram ..	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar; 1,000.
66	Sanatan Dharm Patrika* ...	Lahore ...	Diwan Chand ...	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore; 600.
67	Tahzib-i-Niswan	Do. ...	Mumtaz Ali's daughter-in-law	*Panjabee* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,400.
68	Victoria Paper ...	Sialkot ..	Brij Lal ...	*Victoria* Press, Sialkot; 1,075.
69	**Virat** ...	Gujranwala ...	Banke Dial ...	*Virat* Press, Gujranwala; 1,000.
70	**Watan** ...	Lahore ..	Akbar Shah Khan ...	Rifa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore; 1,100.
71	Zulfiqar	Do. ...	Ahmad Shah Shamsi ...	Shamsi Steam Press, Lahore; 1,000.
	TRI-MONTHLY.			
72	Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jamaat ...	Amritsar ...	Muhammad Abdul Haq ...	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; [illegible]

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*Ceased.

†[illegible]

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1921—CONTINUED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	URDU—CONCLUDED.			
	TRI-MONTHLY—*concluded.*			
73	Mukhbir	Amritsar	Lakhmi Das	Silcock Press, Amritsar; 245.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
74	Al-Faqih	Amritsar	Hakim Meraj Din	Rose Bazar Electric Press, Amritsar; 300.
75	Al-Quraish	Do.	Muhammad Ali, *Raunaq*	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 350.
76	Brahman Samachar	Lahore	Vidya Ratan	Tilak Steam Press, Lahore; 1,020.
77	Mister Gazette	Do.	Ali Bakhsh	Faiz-i-'Am Press, Lahore; 160.
78	Nur	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Yusuf	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 490.
79	Rajput Hitkari	Lahore	Dasaundhi Ram	Hindu-Muslim Steam Press, Lahore: 604.
	MONTHLY.			
80	Akhlaqi Gazette Mahra	Amritsar	Mul Chand	Riaz-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 200.
81	Al Aziz*	Batala	Ghulam Mohy-ud-din	Anwar-ul-Quraish Press, Amritsar; 500.
82	Al Burhan	Lahore	Muhammad Sibtain	Rifa-i-'Am Steam Press, Lahore; 325.
83	Al Hasan	Batala	Abdur Rahman, B.A. (Alig)	Sahibzada Printing Press, Batala.
84	Anwar-us-Sufia	Lahore	Hafiz Zafar Ali	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 800.
85	Bhatia Sewak	Do.	Khazan Chand	Khadim-ut-Talim Steam Press, Lahore; 550.
86	Brahman Rai Patrika	Do.	Girdhar Rai, Bishwasi	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
87	Isha'at-i-Islam	Do.	Kh. Kamal Din	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
88	Isha'at-ul-Quran	Do.	Hashmat Ali	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore.
89	Masihi	Do.	Mrs. B. L. Rallia Ram	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore; 390.
90	Mahra Sudhar	Do.	Bal Kishan Mahra, B.A.	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 300.
91	Makhzan	Do.	Ahsan Ullah, *Tajwar*	*Panjabee* Press, Lahore; 486.
92	Martand	Do	Ram Lal	Tilak Steam Press, Lahore; 914.
93	Mastana Jogi	Do.	Rai Sahib Sufi Lachhman Parshad.	*Parkash* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,500.
94	Prem Bilas	Gujranwala	Mittar Sen	*Prem Bilas* Machine Press, Gujranwala; 500.
95	Qasid	Lahore	F. M. Najam Din	*Khabardar* Steam Press, Lahore; 350.
96	Risala-i-Anjuman-i-Taid-i-Islam.	Do.	Pir Bakhsh	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 478.
97	Sanatan Dharm Parkash	Ferozepore city	Manohar Lal	Muir Printing Works, Ltd., Ferozepore Cantonment; 300.
98	Sat Sang	Amritsar	Gobind Ram	Sanatan Dharm Electric Press, Amritsar; 800
99	Shiv Shambhu	Lahore	Gauri Shankar Lal	*Gulzar-i-Hind* Steam Press, Lahore; 1,131.
100	Sufi	Pindi Baha-ud-din (Gujrat).	Muhammad Din Awan	Islamia Steam Press, Lahore; 8,000.
101	Tarjuman	Lahore	Tirath Ram	George Steam Press, Lahore; 226.
102	Tashhiz-ul-Azhan	Qadian (Gurdaspur)	Muhammad Zahur Din	Zia-ul-Islam Press, Qadian; 850.
	GURMUKHI.			
	DAILY.			
103	**Akali**	Lahore	Partap Singh, B.A., B.T.	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 2,450.
104	**Sansar**	Amritsar	Thakar Singh	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar.
	BIWEEKLY.			
105	**Punjab Darpan***	Amritsar	Sucha Singh	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar.

* Ceased.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS ON THE EXAMINATION LIST OF THE PRESS BRANCH, CORRECTED UP TO THE 31st DECEMBER 1921—CONCLUDED.

No.	Name.	Place of publication.	Name of editor.	Place of printing; and approximate circulation.
	GURMUKHI—CONCLUDED.			
	WEEKLY.			
106	**Khalsa Samachar** ...	Amritsar ...	Vir Singh ...	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 3,215.
107	**Kayak** ...	Do. ...	Sowarn Singh ...	City Press, Amritsar; 750.
108	**Panch** ...	Lahore ...	Ram Singh .	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 2,150.
109	**Panth Sewak** ...	Amritsar ...	Chanda Singh ..	*Panth Sewak* Press, Amritsar; 2,040.
110	**Punjab Darpan** ...	Do. ...	Sucha Singh ..	Coronation Printing Works, Amritsar; 1,356.
111	**Ramgarhia Gazette** ...	Simla ...	Ishar Singh ...	Army Press, Simla.
112	**Sant Samachar** ...	Amritsar ..	Arjun Muni ...	Sanatan Dharam Electric Press, Amritsar.
113	**Satjug** ...	Lahore ..	Nidhan Singh ...	Partap Hari Press, Lahore; 776.
	FORTNIGHTLY.			
114	**Nirguniara** ...	Amritsar ..	Khalsa Tract Society ..	Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar; 1,250.
	HINDI.			
	MONTHLY.			
115	**Jat Sepoy**	Rohtak ...	Kesara Devi, B.A. (Hindi) ..	Star Press, Delhi; 194.
116	**Jyoti**	Lahore ...	Vidyavati Seth, B.A. ...	Bombay Machine Press, Lahore; 408.
117	**Sewak** ...	Do. ...	Amar Singh ...	*Jiwan* Press, Lahore; 250.

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